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## Two Copper-Plates of Śaśāṅka from Midnapore.

By DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR.

These **two plates** were secured by Mr. B. R. Sen, I.C.S., Collector of Midnapore, in August, 1937, from an inhabitant of the district, but no details of their actual find-place are known. Mr. Sen presented the plates to the local *Sāhitya Parishad*, a literary association, and Mr. Manishi Nath Basu gave a short account of them in a local Journal *Mādhavi* (*Āśādhā*, 1345 B.S., pp. 3ff.). The plates, however, remained unknown, for all practical purposes, to scholars, and I find no reference to them in any discussion about Śaśāṅka during the last seven years. In course of a short visit to Midnapore I was agreeably surprised to find these plates lying in the Museum of the *Parishad*, and with the kind permission of the authorities, brought them to Calcutta. Mr. T. Ramachandram, Superintendent of the Indian Museum, Archaeology Section, very kindly cleaned the plates and prepared estampages of them. I am editing the inscriptions from the original plates which have been returned to the authorities of the *Sāhitya Parishad*, Midnapore.

As soon as the plates were brought to Calcutta they excited great interest, and at my suggestion, Dr. D. C. Sircar, who read the plates along with me, published a short account of them in the Bengali Journal *Prabāsi* (*Śrāvāṇa*, 1350, pp. 291ff.).

The **Plate No. I** measures  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$  and contains 15 lines of writing engraved on one side only. A circular **seal** is soldered to the middle of the narrower side on the proper right. It is  $1\frac{1}{2}''$  in diameter, and on its surface is engraved, in relief, inside a slightly raised circular rim, a vase of a somewhat peculiar shape on a flat pedestal, with a few wavy lines on each side and on the top. It is most probably a representation of a sacred incense-burner between flowers and foliage. Beneath the vase, between two parallel thick double lines, is the legend 'Tāvīr-ādihikarāṇasya'. Mr. T. Ramachandram informs me that vases of a shape similar to that on the seal have been found amid the ruins of Tanluk, the site of the ancient city of Tāmralipti, in the district of Midnapore. A portion of the upper and lower right corners of the plate is broken away, and a small part of the remaining right end of the plate is badly corroded. Consequently some letters at the end of ll. 1-6 and 13-15 are missing, and some of ll. 9-11 cannot be read. One or two letters at the beginning of ll. 1 and 15 are also broken off.

The **Plate No. II** measures  $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$  and contains 12 lines of writing engraved on one side, and only six letters in a single line on the other. The **seal**, which is an almost exact replica of that in No. I, is  $1\cdot2''$  in diameter. The plate is in a fair state of preservation, save that a very small part of the left-hand side, both at the top and the bottom, is corroded and broken off.

The **alphabet** belongs to the type used in North-East India during the period 550-650 A.D. and shows some divergence from those used in the Ganjam plates of Śaśāṅka. While editing the four copper-plates from Soro, Mr. N. C. Majumdar<sup>1</sup> noted the following as chief points of difference, in respect of alphabet, exhibited by the Ganjam plates:—

1. The acute-angled type with nail-heads.
2. Medial *i* and *ī* strokes often extending below the head of the letter.
3. Later form of *j*.
4. The letter *r* with a stroke added to its base on the left side.
5. The letter *s* with an oval loop at the top.

The absence of these in the Soro plates led Mr. Majumdar to conclude that the Soro plates should be placed somewhat earlier than the Ganjam plates. Now, as the present plates which show, in respect of these points, a close resemblance with the

Soro plates B, C, D, belong, like the Ganjam plates, to the reign of king Śaśāṅka, the differences must be regarded as due to locality rather than age. In any case, there is no reason to conclude, on grounds of palaeography, that the Soro plates B, C, D were earlier than the present plates.

The language is Sanskrit, and except a portion of the first line, containing the date, both the grants are written in verses, all in *anuṣṭubh* or *śloka* metre.

As regards *orthography*, the following points may be noted. The same sign is used for *b* and *v*. *Anusvāra* is used for final *m*. Final consonants *k*, *t* and *n* are indicated by a short slanting stroke below the letter (*prthak* in Pl. I, l. 6, *bhavēt* in Pl. I, l. 14 and Pl. II, l. 13 and *drōṇān* in Pl. II, l. 9). In Pl. I *t* is doubled before *r* (*pōtra*° in l. 1, *ēkattra* in l. 7, *mātrā* in l. 9, and *attra* in l. 13) and consonants after *r* are also occasionally doubled (*prakīrṇa* in l. 7, *sarvān* in ll. 8, 9, 13, *carmma* in l. 9, *ṛvācam* in l. 10, *anuvartinā* in l. 11 and *varjita* in l. 13; but we have *caturjaladhi* in l. 3, *bhūmergo*° in l. 9, *svarga* in l. 10 and *adharyavē* in l. 12). This irregularity in the doubling of consonants before and after *r* is remarkably exhibited in Pl. II, where in several cases it spells differently the words used in Pl. I. Thus we have *pōtha*° (l. 1), *caturjaladhi* (l. 3) and *varjita* (l. 6). Further, in Pl. II, consonants are doubled in *kirtti* (ll. 6, 8), *varttamāna* (l. 8), *gōtra* (l. 10) and *pitrōḥ* (l. 11), but not in *gāmbhīrya* (l. 4), *dharma* and *śāstra* (l. 7), and *n* is used instead of *m* in *catvāriṃśad* (l. 9).

Both the plates are dated. But unfortunately, I am unable to interpret the numerical symbols with any certainty. All that I can do is to offer alternative suggestions based on a comparison with similar symbols known from other records.

The upper left corner of Pl. I is broken and one, or possibly two, letters are missing. The first letter that can be read looks very much like the lower part of *mva*. The next letter looks like *tt* with a thick horizontal stroke a little to the right of the top. We may take it as final *t* on the analogy of the Soro plates B (l. 20), C (l. 17), D (l. 14), and the Amauna Plate<sup>1</sup> (l. 5). It is true that the final *t* is written in a different way in the present records, viz. a short form of ordinary *t* with a slanting stroke beneath it (Pl. II, l. 13). But we find the same thing in the Antirigam Plate (*E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 298, l. 30). On the other hand it may be noted that the sign *tt* is used as the numerical symbol for 5 in the Siddhantam Plate.<sup>2</sup> So far as Pl. I is concerned there is no difficulty in taking it as final *t* and restoring the first word [*sa*] *mva*t. The two signs that follow are undoubtedly numerical symbols or figures. The first resembles the symbol for 100 with this difference that the right-hand vertical stroke makes a sharp curve open to the right instead of a more gentle curve on the left. It possesses the closest resemblance to the symbol for 300 used in the Vadner Plate of Buddhārāja<sup>3</sup> (l. 34). Indeed, I would have no hesitation in interpreting it as 300 but for the fact that it closely resembles the first of the two symbols used to denote the day of the month in both Pls. I and II. There is, no doubt, some difference. In the symbol for the year the curves, both on the upper left and lower right ends of the letter, are more open, and there are faint traces of a stroke, like an *ā-kāra* sign, at the top. In the case of the symbol denoting the day of the month we have, of course, to take it as 10 and find an analogy in the form used in the Buddha image inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla from Behar-Shariff.<sup>4</sup> It is to be noted that we have the symbols for 20 and 10, used respectively in one and three instances, in the Soro plates of Sōmadatta, but they have the usual form derived from the Gupta symbol and have not the least resemblance with the signs used in the present plates.

The next letter is the usual symbol for 30. But here, again, this interpretation is rendered doubtful by the occurrence of a similar symbol as the second figure of the day of the month. In the latter case we may interpret it as 9 on the analogy of the Paharpur Plate<sup>5</sup> (l. 20) and Svalpa-Velur Grant<sup>6</sup> (l. 29). In both these cases

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. X, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material (MASI No. 66)*, p. 105, Pl. XI, d.

<sup>4</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 215, l. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 125.

a similar sign<sup>1</sup> has been so read, though I do not know on what basis. It is to be noted that the letter *l*, used for 30, has also been used in some cases with a rounded top for the decimal figure 3.<sup>2</sup> Whether in the two cases referred to above, and in the present plates the letter *l* should also be read as 3, rather than 9, is worthy of consideration. This detailed discussion shows that the reading of the date is uncertain, but we may provisionally read the year as 309 or 19. In the former case it has to be referred to the Gupta era and the date would be equivalent to 629 A.D. But the latter is more probable and we may regard the record as dated in the 19th year.

In Pl. No. II the first distinct letter in l. 1 is *tta* with a horizontal stroke on the top which we have discussed above. If it is taken as the final *t* we should expect *saṁva* or *samva* before, and some numerical figures after, it. The letter preceding *tta* is very indistinct, but what remains does not tally with any possible form for *va* or *mva*. The little that remains of the letter before it also does not look like *s*. The letter immediately following *tta* is simply a vertical stroke with a thickening at the top exactly like the letter *ra*. The lower part of the preceding letter being almost attached with its lower end, it looks like *la* on the estampage (though very different from the second numerical symbol in Pl. 1), but a close examination of the original plate leaves no doubt that the vertical stroke forms a distinct letter. That this, together with the three (or four, for there is space for a letter in the broken corner on the left) preceding letters, denotes the year is proved beyond doubt by the expression that follows. In Bühler's Chart a vertical stroke with a *mātrā* is given as symbol for 1,000 (Pl. IX, Col. III) and the same is used in records of the Gupta period for 8.<sup>3</sup> In spite of all appearances to the contrary, we may, therefore, provisionally read the whole as *samva* 8.

Pl. I records that while Śaśāṅka was ruling the earth his feudatory *Sāmanta-Mahārāja Śrī-Sōmadatta* was governing the province of *Daṇḍabhukti* joined to *Utkala-dēśa*. The object of the grant is to register the donation of the village *Mahā-Kumbhārapadraka* to *Bhaṭṭeśvara*.

Pl. II records that while Śaśāṅka was ruling the earth, *Mahā-Pratīhāra Śubhakirtti* was governing *Daṇḍabhukti*. The object of the grant is to register the donation of some lands in the village *Kumbhārapadraka*, in the *dēśa Kētakapadrika*, to *Dāmyasvāmin*. The donated lands, in both the grants, were situated in the *Tāvira adhikaraṇa* to which belong the seals affixed to both the plates.

Now two of the Soro plates, mentioned above, record the grant of two villages by *Mahā-Balādhikṛta, Antaraṅga, Mahā-Sāndhivigrahika Sōmadatta*. These villages were situated in the *Sarēph-āhāra-ṣaṣaya* in *Uttara-Tōsali* which again formed a part of the *Ōdra-ṣaṣaya*. As Mr. N. G. Majumdar has pointed out, *Uttara-Tōsali* included the Balasore district, and *Sarēphā* is to be identified with Soro in the same district. As *Sōmadatta* of the present Pl. I was governing both *Daṇḍabhukti* and *Utkala*, the region comprising the southern part of Midnapore and the Balasore district must be regarded as within his jurisdiction. As palaeographically also, the two Soro plates of *Sōmadatta* belong to the same period as the present Pl. I, it may be presumed that all the three plates refer to the same individual. The two Soro plates of *Sōmadatta* refer to, but do not mention the name of, his suzerain lord. In the light of the present Pl. I we may identify him with king Śaśāṅka.

If these identities be presumed, the four Soro plates, along with the present Pl. I, supply interesting information regarding the history of northern Orissa in the sixth century A.D.

The Ganjam plates show that the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka was acknowledged by the *Śailōdbhava* rulers of *Kōṅgōḍa*, which certainly comprised southern Orissa, in the year 619 A.D.<sup>4</sup> But we had hitherto no means to ascertain, either the stages by which Śaśāṅka, king of *Gauḍa*, gradually extended his sway so far south, or the

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. S. N. Chakravarty the symbol for nine in the Paharpur ('P. resembles the *au* vowel (*J.A.S.B.L.*, No. IV, p. 388), but the published facsimile shows a clear *la* sign.

<sup>2</sup> *Jirjingi Plate, E.I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 281; *Purle Plate, E.I.*, Vol. XIV, p. 361; *Chicacole Plate, E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Baigram Plate* (l. 25), *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. X, pp. 7-8.

degree of subjection in which the region lying between Gauda and Kōngōda was held by him. The present plates inform us that Śaśāṅka conquered at first *Daṇḍabhukti* and then *Utkala*. The two Soro plates of Sōmadatta and the present Pl. II show that at first both *Daṇḍabhukti* and *Utkala* formed integral parts of Śaśāṅka's dominions and were ruled by his own officers; the former by *Mahā-Pratīhāra Śubhakīrti*, and the latter by *Mahā-Balādhikṛta, Antaraṅga, Mahā-Sāndhivigrahika Sōmadatta*. Pl. I evidently refers to a later period when Sōmadatta was raised to the rank of *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* and ruled over both the provinces under the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka;—an administrative arrangement analogous to that introduced in Kōngōda-*maṇḍala* or southern Orissa, which Śaśāṅka presumably conquered later.

According to Soro Pl. A, the region which Sōmadatta governed, *viz.* Uttara-Tōsali, was in possession of Śambhuyaśas in the year 260 of an unspecified era. The same king Śambhuyaśas seems also to be referred to as the ruler of Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali in the Patiakella Grant<sup>1</sup> dated probably in the year 283 of the same era. Mr. R. D. Banerji, who edited the later plate, referred the year to the Gupta era. But Mr. N. G. Majumdar held that as the alphabets in the Soro plates B, C, D were earlier than those of Ganjam plates, dated 619 A.D., and those in the Soro plate A were still earlier, this last should be assigned to the second half of the sixth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> and the year referred to the Kalacuri era. As shown above, the present plates prove that the Soro plates B, C, D may be regarded as contemporaneous with the Ganjam plates, and as such the Soro plate A may belong to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Thus the date 260 of this plate should be referred to the Gupta era which is proved by the Ganjam plates to have been current in that area, and it is unnecessary, on palaeographic grounds, to fall back upon the Kalacuri era which is not known to have been used in Orissa.

If, then, Śambhuyaśas ruled in N. Tōsali in the year 580 A.D., it may be safely presumed that he or his successor was defeated by Śaśāṅka. If the date of the Patiakella Grant is really 283 (= 603 A.D.), we have to assume that the conquest of Kōngōda by Śaśāṅka did not take place till some time after this date. If, as seems probable, the southern campaigns of Śaśāṅka were finished before he set out for Kanauj about 606 A.D., his conquest of *Daṇḍabhukti*, *Utkala* and Kōngōda may be put between 580 and 605 A.D.

Incidentally, this reveals an unknown chapter in the history of Eastern India. It appears from the Patiakella Grant that Śambhuyaśas was ruling South Tōsali during the reign of the Māṇa Dynasty (*Mānavamśa-rājya-kālē*).<sup>3</sup> Whether Śambhuyaśas himself was the suzerain ruler belonging to this dynasty is not clearly stated. Mr. Banerji, who edited the grant, observes that 'Śambhuyaśas is styled *Paramamāheśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Paramadēvatādhidaivata* which clearly shows his imperial position'. This statement is, however, not strictly accurate. According to Mr. Banerji's own translation, the inscription merely says that while *Parama-Māheśvara* Śambhuyaśas was ruling in southern Tōsali, *Mahārāja* Śivarāja had obtained the position of a ruler of the earth from the *Parama-dēvat-ādhidaivata Parama-Bhāṭṭāraka*. Evidently Mr. Banerji has taken this overlord to be Śambhuyaśas. Such an interpretation is not an unreasonable one, but cannot be regarded as certain, particularly when the latter is styled simply as *Parama-Māheśvara* and is said to have been ruling in southern Tōsali. The main ground of that interpretation is, of course, the absence of any other ruler, mentioned in that record, to whom these titles can be applied. But it is to be remembered in this connection that the Soro plates B, C, D use the phrase *Parama-daivat-ādhidaivata-śrī-Parama-Bhāṭṭāraka-pād-āmudhyāta* without mentioning his name. The same may be the case with the Patiakella Grant. But in the Soro Pl. A, the corresponding phrase is *Parama-daivata-Vappa-pād-āmudhyāta*. This may mean that Śambhuyaśas' father was his suzerain

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. R. D. Banerji takes this expression along with the year and translates: 'In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Māṇa family.' There does not seem to be any justification for this rendering which would imply the existence of a Māṇa era.

or overlord, and from the use of similar phraseology elsewhere we may even presume that he had inherited his father's position. Thus while there is no definite reference, as Mr. Banerji presumes, to the imperial position of Śambhuyaśas, this may be assumed to be the case. But, then, we should rather take '*daṣṣiṇa-Tōsalyām*' in l. 4 of the Patiakella Grant along with Śivarāja rather than with Śambhuyaśas, as Mr. Banerji has done. In other words ll. 1-5 of this grant should be taken to mean that during the rule of the Māṇa family, while Śambhuyaśas was ruling the earth, Śivarāja (issued the command) from Vōrtanoka in South Tōsali, etc.

This Māṇa family has a long history which Mr. Banerji has overlooked. He observes: 'This dynasty has been mentioned in two twelfth century inscriptions only, viz. the Nawādā Inscription of the Śaka year 1059 . . . and in the Dudhpani rock inscription.' This is a serious blunder, for the Dudhpani rock inscription which gives the traditional account of the rise of the Māṇa<sup>1</sup> family of rulers belongs to the seventh or eighth, and not twelfth century A.D., as Mr. Banerji supposes. Prof. Kielhorn, who edited this inscription,<sup>2</sup> says that 'the characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aṃśad inscription of Ādityasena and may be assigned to about the eighth century A.D.' It is clear from the inscription itself that the events, leading to the establishment of the Māṇa kingdom as described therein, had happened many generations before it was engraved. It may, therefore, be safely presumed, that the Dudhpani rock inscription preserves an account of the origin of the Māṇa ruling family to which Śambhuyaśas belonged. This family claimed to rule over Magadha towards the end of the eleventh and at the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., but it would be wrong to assume, as Dr. H. C. Ray has done, that the family 'first rose into importance in the eighth century A.D. and remained petty feudatory chiefs for about four centuries, at the end of which they emerge as independent rulers'.<sup>3</sup> The combined testimony of the Soro plates, the Patiakella Grant, and the present plates proves that the Māṇas, whose original principality lay, according to Dudhpani rock inscription, somewhere in the hilly region between Midnapore and Gaya districts, gradually extended their sway over nearly the whole of modern Orissa by the latter part of the sixth century A.D. It is presumably by defeating this Māṇa dynasty that Śaśāṅka conquered Utkala, Kōṅgōḍa, and probably also Daṇḍabhukti.

A comparison of the Soro plates B and C with D leaves no doubt that Sōmadatta was succeeded by Bhānudatta in the government of Uttara-Tōsali. For the names of the two donees in the first two plates reappear, along with two others, in the third, and the name Āruṅgasvāmī of the former is changed to Āruṅgamitrasvāmī in the latter. The same Bhānudatta is also referred to in another plate found near Balasore.<sup>4</sup> Bhānudatta bears the titles *Mahā-Pratīhāra-Mahārāja* in the Soro plate D, while the title *Mahā-sāmanta* is added in the Balasore plate which was engraved only three months before. Sōmadatta is called *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* in Pl. I, while Śubhakīrtti, mentioned as ruler of Daṇḍabhukti in Pl. II, has only the title *Mahā-Pratīhāra*. On the basis of the titles of the rulers and the governors, as given in the different plates, we may provisionally reconstruct the different stages in the administration of Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti, and chronologically arrange them as follows:—

1. *Mahā-Pratīhāra* Śubhakīrtti governing Daṇḍabhukti on behalf of Śaśāṅka (Pl. II.)
2. *Mahā-Balādhikṛta-Antaraṅga-Mahā-Sāndhivigrahika* Sōmadatta ruling in Odra or Utkala (Soro Pls. B, C).
3. Sōmadatta, raised to the dignity of *Sāmanta-Mahārāja*, ruling over both Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti as a feudatory of Śaśāṅka (Pl. I).
4. *Mahā-Pratīhāra Mahā-Sāmanta Mahārāja* Bhānudatta ruling over Utkala, and possibly also over Daṇḍabhukti (Soro Pl. D).

<sup>1</sup> The family name is spelt as Māṇa in both Nawada and Dudhpani inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 348-49.

<sup>4</sup> *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 611; *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 239.



Although we have no definite information that Śaśāṅka was the suzerain of Bhānudatta, that seems to be the most likely conclusion as Śaśāṅka's empire most probably perished with him.

The two Soro plates of Sōmadatta are dated in the year 15, and those of Bhānudatta, in the year 5. This shows that these dates are not to be taken as the regnal year of the suzerain as should normally be the case, but have to be referred to the period of office of Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta. As already noted above, the readings of the dates of the present plates are uncertain. If we assume Pls. I and II to be dated respectively in the nineteenth and eighth years, the different stages in the conquest and administration, sketched above, must have covered a period of at least 32 years.

Of the actual system of administration some details are furnished by the two plates regarding the Tāvira-*adhikaraṇa* from which they were issued. It seems to have been the administrative headquarters of a *maṇḍala*.<sup>1</sup> In Pl. I it is not quite clear whether the communication about the grant is made by the Tāvira-office, or to it by *amātya Prakīrṇadāsa*. In Pl. II, however, there is no doubt that the sale of the land and its grant are announced by the Tāvira-*karāṇa*. It is, therefore, reasonable to accept this meaning in the other plate too. The second half of v. 7, Pl. I, and the first half of v. 6, Pl. II seem to convey some information about the constitution of the Tāvira-*adhikaraṇa*, but unfortunately the full implication of the two qualifying expressions '*lōkasāṅgatam*' and '*vipra-pradhāna-saṅgatam*' is not easy to understand. Dr. Sircar takes them to mean that the *adhikaraṇa* was composed of Brāhmaṇa elders in one case and the public in the other,<sup>2</sup> but this presumed difference in the constitution of the same *adhikaraṇa* within a comparatively short time goes against this interpretation. The only other possible alternative is that the communication was addressed to the association of Brāhmaṇa elders in one case, and to the people in general in the other. This difference, however, is also not easy to explain.

The word '*karāṇa*', used in both the plates, is obviously an abbreviation of *adhikaraṇa* mentioned in the seals. In Pl. II, the word '*adhi*' also apparently stands for *adhikaraṇika* or members of the *adhikaraṇa*. It is interesting to note that the imprecatory verses are hardly in keeping with the context, as they contain admonitions to 'those born in our family' which can only refer to a king and not to an *adhikaraṇa*.

The village granted in Pl. I is named 'Muhā-kumbhārapadraka' which is probably a mistake for 'Mahā' and is to be distinguished from the village of the same name, but without the prefix, mentioned in Pl. II. In the latter case, certain specified quantities of land in the village are granted, viz. 40 *drōṇas* and 1 *drōṇavāpa* of *vāstu* land. *Vāstu* means homestead lands, and consequently we may infer that 40 *drōṇas* refer to either *khila* (waste) or agricultural lands, though this is not mentioned in the grant. *Drōṇavāpa*, as a technical term of land-measurement, is well known, but its exact equivalent in modern measures cannot be determined.<sup>3</sup> According to Sanskrit lexicons a *drōṇavāpa* is equivalent to one-eighth of a *kulyavāpa*, and this is corroborated by epigraphic evidence. *Drōṇa* is an abbreviated form of *drōṇavāpa*, and is even now current in Bengal.

In Pl. I the entire village of Muhā-kumbhārapadraka is granted. The qualifying epithet '*sarva-maṇḍala-varjita*' is not easy to understand. It may mean that the village is separated from the *maṇḍala*, i.e. the administrative unit within which it was situated, with the object, apparently, of exempting it from taxes, duties and other obligations to which other villages were subject, but this is by no means clear.

It is interesting to note that the lands were purchased, even by the ruling authority, from the local *adhikaraṇa*, as is clearly mentioned in Pl. II. The contemporary records from other parts of Bengal refer to similar transactions with more details.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is not clearly stated, but seems to follow from v. 10, Pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Prabāst*, 1350, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 651-52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 266-67.

**PART I**

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As regards localities mentioned in the inscriptions, *Daṇḍabhukti* and *Utkala* are well known. Pargiter distinguished the *Utkala* country from *Ḍḍra*. According to him the former 'comprised the southern portion of Chuta Nagpur, the Northern Tributary States of Orissa and the Balasore district'.<sup>1</sup> Dr. H. C. Ray also follows him and places *Ḍḍra* to the south of *Utkala*, in the Cuttack district.<sup>2</sup> But the epigraphic evidence proves that they were used as synonymous terms for modern Orissa. In the Soro plate B, *Sarēphā*, which is undoubtedly Soro in Balasore district, is said to be situated in *Uttara-Tōsali* which was again comprised in *Ḍḍra-viṣaya*. Now, it is well known that *Ḍḍra* is the original form of the modern name Orissa, and the Soro plate proves that even in the sixth century A.D., the name *Ḍḍra* was applied to the northern extremity of modern Orissa. According to the *Bhuvanesvar* inscription,<sup>3</sup> dated 1200 A.D., on the other hand, *Utkala-viṣaya* comprises *Bhuvanesvar* in the Puri district. The *Dirghasi Stone Inscription*,<sup>4</sup> dated A.D. 1075, uses the term *Utkala* in the Sanskrit and *Ḍḍa* in the Telugu portion in the list of countries conquered by *Vanapati*. Other evidences may be cited to show the identity of *Utkala* and *Ḍḍra*. Its antiquity goes back to the time of *Kālidāsa* who uses *Utkala* as a general designation for the country between *Suhma* (W. Bengal) and *Kaliṅga*.<sup>5</sup>

The northern boundary of *Utkala* or *Ḍḍra* seems to have varied in different ages. But we can fix it with a tolerable degree of certainty for the sixth century A.D. Pl. I shows that *Daṇḍabhukti* and *Utkala* were coterminous, and the former certainly comprised the Midnapore district or at least the greater part of it. That it did not extend much further south into the Balasore district is proved by the Soro Pl. B, as mentioned above. Thus the present boundary line between Balasore and Midnapore districts roughly corresponds to that between ancient *Daṇḍabhukti* and *Ḍḍra* or *Utkala*.

The present plates contain the earliest reference to *Daṇḍabhukti* and push back the antiquity of the name by nearly four centuries. For the next mention of it occurs in the *Irda CP.*<sup>6</sup> belonging to the tenth century A.D. But in the latter period it had ceased to be an independent administrative unit of the *bhukti* class and is referred to as *Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala* comprised within the *Vardhamāna-bhukti*. It is probable, therefore, that *Śaśāṅka* created this new *bhukti* when he conquered the southern districts, but in course of time it was incorporated into the *Vardhamāna-bhukti*, though curiously enough, the suffix *bhukti* was not discontinued. Evidently, like *Tirabhukti* in North Bihar, *bhukti* came to be a part and parcel of the geographical name *Daṇḍabhukti* irrespective of its original connotation as an administrative unit. *Daṇḍabhukti*, as the name of a principality, occurs in the list of countries conquered by *Rājendra Chōla* and of the feudal States that helped *Rāmapāla* in his fight against the *Kaivarta* chief *Bhīma*. In the former it figures as a neighbouring State of *Ḍḍa*, and in the latter, that of *Utkala*.<sup>7</sup>

*Tāvira*, the administrative headquarters in *Daṇḍabhukti*, from which both the grants were issued, may be identified with *Debra* about 15 miles south-east of Midnapore, and shown in *Rennel's Map No. IX*. The village *Kumbhārapadraka* and *dēśa Kētakapadrika* I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT No. I.

1. [Sa\*]mvat 10, 9 Bhādra di 10, 9 [||\*] Viṣṇoḥ pōttr-āgra-vikṣēpa-kṣaṇabhā[vita-sādhvasām | śēṣ-ā-\*]
2. śēṣa-śirō-madhyam=adhyāsina-mahā-tanuṁ || [1 ||\*] Kām-ārāti-śirō-bhiraṣṭa-[Gaṅg-augha-dhvasta-\*]
3. kalmaṣām [1 ||\*] Śrī-Śaśāṅkē mahīm pāti catur-jaladhi-mēkhalām || [2 ||\*] Tasya pāda-na[kha-jyōtsnā-\*]

<sup>1</sup> *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*—English Transl., p. 327, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Map 7. But on p. 461 Dr. Ray regards *Utkala* and *Ḍḍa* as identical.

<sup>3</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> *Raghuvamśa*, IV, v. 38.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Bengal* (Dacca Univ.), pp. 23, 32, 138, 157.

<sup>6</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 314.

<sup>7</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XXII, p. 150.

4. vibhūṣita-śirō-mañau [1 \*] Śrī-sāmanta-mahārāja-Sōmadattē guṇādhikē || [3 ||\*]  
Sa<sup>1</sup> × × ×
5. gam-ōtsanna-kālēya-dhvānta-saṁhatau [1 \*] Sahitām = Utkala-dēśēna Daṇḍa-  
bhuktiḥ praśā[sati ||4 ||\*]
6. Satya-śaurya-kṛt-āstratva-rūpa-vidy-ādayaḥ prthak [1 \*] Pāṇḍavēṣu sthitāḥ  
santi ya[smi]
7. nn=ēkattra tē guṇāḥ || [5 ||\*] Amātyō yasya guṇavān=Prakīrṇadāsa iti  
śrutāḥ [1 \*] Sādhukāri-
8. tayā nityam yaḥ pūjyaiḥ pūjyatō dvijaiḥ || [6 ||\*] Āgāminō nṛpān=sarvvān  
jñāpayitvā
9. praṇamya ca [1 \*] Prāha Tāvīrakam sarvvaṁ karaṇam lōka-saṅgataṁ || [7 ||\*]  
Bhūmēr=gō-carma-mātrā[yāh\*]
10. dānē svargaḥ phalaṁ smṛtaṁ [1 \*] Parāśara-sutasya=ōccair=vvācam śrutv=  
ēti bhāsitām || [8 ||\*] Tēn=[ēdam ca\*]
11. samāmnātā[m\*] Manu-sāstr-ānuvartinā [1 \*] Śrī-sāmantaēna kṛtinā Sōmadattē  
[na]
12. dhīmatā || [9 ||\*] Bhaṭṭēśvarāya guṇinē Kāśyapāy=ādhvaryavē [1 \*] Muhā(?)  
Kumbhārapadrakō=
13. dattaḥ sarvva-maṇḍala-varjjita[h\*] || [10 ||\*]  
Tad=yō=ttr=āsmat-kulē jātō mōhād=anyō=pi vā [naraḥ 1 \*]
14. Pāpam prakurutē lōbhān=mahā-pātakavān=bhavēt || [11 ||\*] Sukhānām=  
anva × × × ×
15. × × sy=āty-alpa-dhīmatāḥ [1 \*] Dvija-dēvaśya bhāhētōḥ ślōkāḥ × × × ×  
sahitā × ×

## TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-2)—Year 19, 19th day of *Bhādra*.

While the illustrious *Śaśāṅka* is protecting the earth,—whose girdle is formed by the four oceans; whose sins are washed away by the Ganges fallen from the head of the enemy of the Cupid (*i.e. Śiva*); whose great body is placed in the middle of the infinite hoods of the *Śeṣa* (*Nāga*); and who was agitated when *Viṣṇu* (*in the form of a boar*) cast his snout (*to raise her*) (vv. 1-2).

(Ll. 3-9)—While *Daṇḍabhukti*, along with *Utkala*, is being ruled by the illustrious feudatory *Mahārāja Sōmadatta*—the jewel on whose head shines by the light of the nails of his (*Śaśāṅka's*) feet; who has excessive virtues: by whose . . . . the mass of darkness, due to *Kali* age, is dispelled (vv. 3-4): in whom are found together the virtues such as truth, prowess, skill in wielding arms, beauty and learning which were possessed separately by the (*five*) *Pāṇḍavas* (v. 5); whose excellent minister, known as *Prakīrṇadāsa*, and daily worshipped for his good deeds by the *Brāhmaṇas* who are themselves worthy of worship (v. 6), having saluted and informed all the future kings, addressed all the officers and people of *Tāvira* (*as follows*) (v. 7).

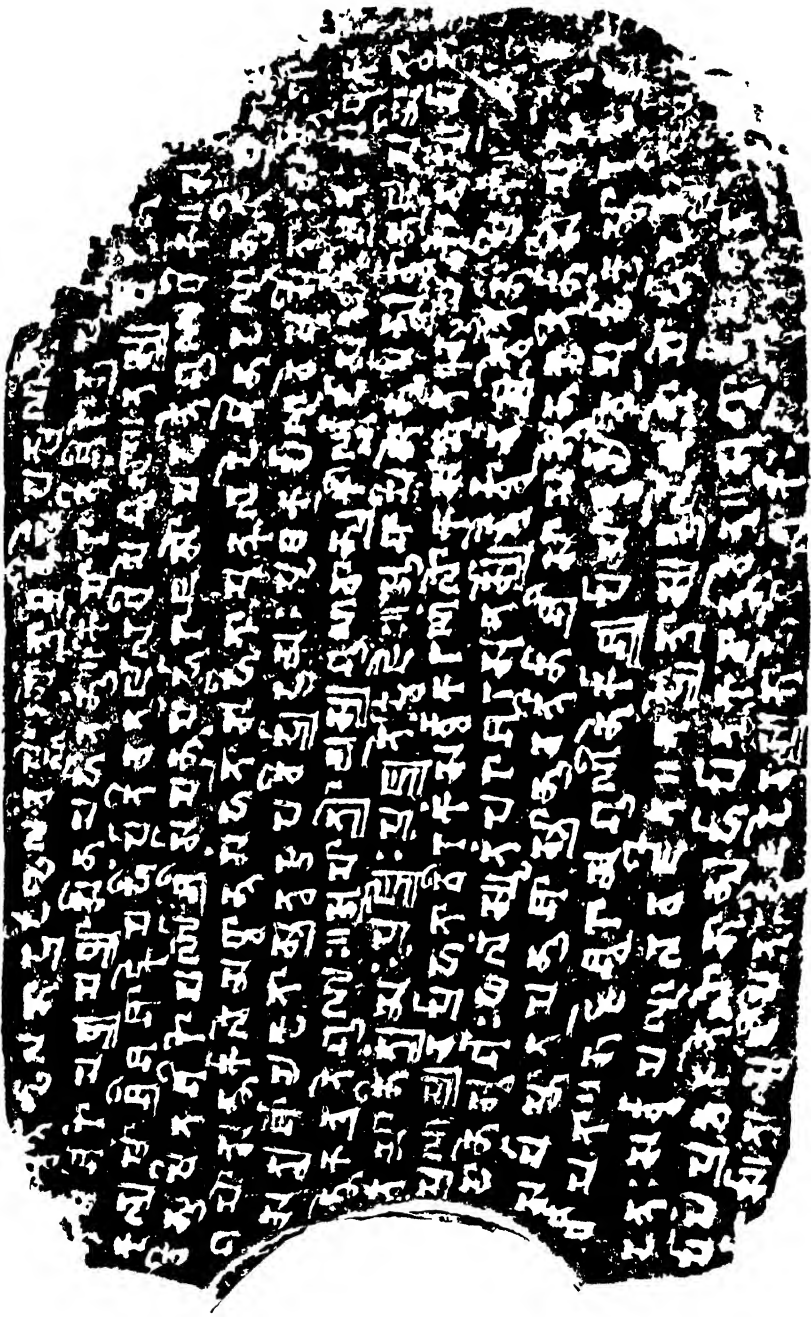
(Ll. 9-10)—It is loudly proclaimed by the son of *Parāśara* (*Vyāsa*) and (*consequently*) held that the gift of even a *gō-carma* measure (*i.e. 150 cubits square*) of land leads to the attainment of heaven (v. 8).

(Ll. 11-13)—Hence the successful, intelligent and illustrious feudatory *Sōmadatta*, who follows the Law-Code of *Manu*, has ordered as follows (v. 9):—

The village of *Muhā-Kumbhārapadraka*, detached from the district (?), has been given to the meritorious priest *Bhaṭṭēśvara* (*of the*) *Kāśyapa* (*gōtra*) (v. 10).

(Then follow the imprecatory verses, vv. 11-12.)

<sup>1</sup> Three letters are missing here. Dr. D. C. Sircar restores them as 'va sama', but the second letter shows distinctly a thick stroke at the top indicating a superscript *r* or *ā-kāra*.





## No. II.

## First side.

1. [Samvāt] 8 Pauṣa di 10 2 asmin-divasa-māsa-samvatsarē || Viṣṇōḥ pōtr-āgra-vikṣē-
2. pa-kṣaṇa-bhāvita-sādhvasāṁ [1 \*] Śēṣ-āśēṣa-śirō-madhyam=adhyāsina-mahā-tanuṁ || [1 ||\*] Kām-ārā-
3. ti-śirō-bhraṣṭa-Gaṅg-augha-dhva[sta\*] -kalmaṣāṁ [1 \*] Śrī-Śaśāṅkē mahim=pāti catur-jjaladhi-mēkhalāṁ || [2 ||\*]
4. Yasya gāmbhīrya-lāvaṇya-vahu-ratna-tayā=nayā [1 \*] Na samah kṣāra-kāluṣyaṁ<sup>1</sup> vyālōpaya x
5. tay=ōdadhi[h\*] || [3 ||\*] Tasya pāda-nakha-jyōtsnā-vibhūṣita-śirō-mañau [1 \*] Śrīmān-mahāprati(tī)-
6. hārē **Subhakīrttau** vicakṣaṇēḥ<sup>2</sup> || [4 ||\*] **Daṇḍabhuktim**=imāṁ pāti pitṛvat=pāpa-varjitē [1 \*]
7. Dharma-śāstr-ānūrōdhēna nyāy-ānyāyaṁ vicētari || [5 ||\*] Asyām **Tāvira**-karaṇaṁ vipra-pra-
8. dhāna-saṅgataṁ [1 \*] Bhaviṣyad-varttamān-ādhīm vijñāpayati sūnṛtaṁ || [6 ||\*] Kṛitv=āsmattō
9. yathā-nyāyaṁ **Subhakīrttir**=ēy(im)aṁ vu(bu)dhaḥ [1 \*] Catvāriṁ(m)śad=dadau drōṇān drōṇa-vāpaṁ ca
10. vāstunaḥ || [7 ||\*] **Kēta**(?)**kapadrik**-ōddēśē<sup>3</sup> grāmē **Kumbhārapadrakē** [1 \*] Bharadvāja-sagōttarā-
11. ya Mādhyandināya dhīmatē || [8 ||\*] **Dāmyasvāmīna**=ētasmai pittrō[h\*] puṇyābhivṛddhayē || [9 ||\*]<sup>4</sup>
12. Tad=yō v=āsmat=kuḷē jātō mōhād=anyō pi vā naraḥ [1 \*] Pāpaṁ prakṛutē mōhān<sup>5</sup>=mahā-

## Second side.

13. [pā\*]takavān=bhavēt || [10 ||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(L. 1)—Year 8, 12th day of *Pauṣa*; in this day, month and year.

(L. 1-3)—*Vv.* 1-2, as in No. I.

(L. 4)—Who (**Śaśāṅka**) possesses profundity, beauty and many gems like the ocean, but cannot be compared to the latter (*on account of its*) pollution by 'black salt' (v. 3).<sup>6</sup>

(L. 5-7)—While this **Daṇḍabhukti** is being ruled like a father by the wise, illustrious *Mahā-Pratīhāra Subhakīrtti*, the jewel on whose head shines by the light of the nails of his (*Śaśāṅka's*) feet; who distinguishes right from wrong in conformity with the *Dharmaśāstras*; and who is free from sin (vv. 4-5);

(L. 7-8)—The administrative office of **Tāvira**, full of eminent *Brāhmaṇas*, situated within this (*Daṇḍabhukti*), communicates the (*following*) true and pleasant words to the present and future (*officers*?)<sup>7</sup> (v. 6).

(L. 9-11)—Having purchased from us, according to rules, the learned **Subhakīrtti** gave 40 *drōṇas* (*of land*) and one *drōṇavāpa* of homestead, in the village **Kumbhārapadraka** in the *dēśa* **Keta**(?)**kapadrika** to the intelligent **Dāmyasvāmī**, of the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and *Mādhyandina* (*śākhā*) for increasing the religious merit of his parents (vv. 7-9).

(Here follows the imprecatory v. 10.)

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sircar reads: 'kṣara-kālē-py=avyālō[pāṅga\*]tay=ōdadhi[h\*]'. But *kāluṣyaṁ* is quite clear. I do not find any *ā-kāra* on *p* and it is difficult to read the next letter as *ṅga*.

<sup>2</sup> 'h' should be omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Read *dēśe*.

<sup>4</sup> The first half of the verse is wanting.

<sup>5</sup> Read *lobhān* on the analogy of Pl. I for *mōhād* is already used in the first half of the verse.

<sup>6</sup> The full meaning of the verse cannot be grasped on account of the uncertainty of reading at the end of l. 4. The last part of the translation is, therefore, only conjectural.

<sup>7</sup> The word *adhī* seems to have been used as an abbreviation for '*adhikaraṇika*'.

## The 'City of Bengala' in early Reports.

By A. CORTESÃO.

(Communicated by K. Nag.)

In the rather lengthy chapter dealing with Bengal in the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, written in Malacca and Cochín in 1512-1515,<sup>1</sup> there is the following passage: '*Ports of Bengala*—The principal port is that of the City of Bengala (*Cidade de Bengalla*), whence the kingdom derives its name. It takes two days to go from the mouth of the river up to the city, and they say that at the lowest tide there are three fathoms. The city must have forty thousand hearths. The king has his residence in this city. They are all palm-leaf huts, but the king's house is of adobe and well built. This river is the Ganges—the Bengalees say that it comes from heaven. The other port is Satgaon (*Sadegam*) over against Orissa. It has a good port; it has a good entrance. It is a good city and rich, where there are many merchants. It must have ten thousand hearths. These are the chief trading cities of Bengala. There are others inland, but they are strongly fortified garrison towns, of no [commercial] importance, and there is constant war in the interior'.

Varthema in 1510 mentioned the great City of *Banghella*, and Barbosa, writing a little later than Pires, also mentions the great City of *Bengala*.

In his edition of Varthema's *Itinerario* (Hakluyt Society, 1863), G. Badger had already asserted in a note to the text that 'Gour was undoubtedly the capital of Bengal at this period, but it appears that the name of the province was very commonly applied to the city, more especially by foreigners' (p. 210). Later, however, when writing the Introduction, he tried to rectify his 'erroneous identification of Varthema's *Banghella* with the capital of *Gour*' and said that he was 'inclined to infer that *Bengala* occupied a position between the Hattia and Sundcep islands, situated at the present mouth of the Brahmaputra'. He was led to this opinion by James Rennell's odd supposition, expressed in 1793, 'that the site of the city named *Bangella*, described as being near the eastern mouth of the Ganges, has been carried away by the river'. A few years later, H. Beveridge said that after he had seen the first volume of Ramusio's *Collection of Travels* he was 'almost convinced that the lost city of Bengala is neither more nor less than the famous city of Gour'.<sup>2</sup> In Ramusio's translations he read Barbosa's and Pires' references<sup>3</sup> to Bengal, and to the king as being a Mohammedan, which confirmed his opinion, because Gaur was the only great Mohammedan city in Bengal. Pires indeed says in the *Suma* that the King of Bengala 'is a very faithful Mohammedan. The kings of this kingdom turned Mohammedan three hundred years ago'. This is remarkably accurate, as the Mohammedan conquest of Gaur dates from c. 1198.

The identification of the 'City of Bengala' has been the subject of a learned controversy in which many scholars have joined. A comprehensive survey of the problem is given by M. Longworth Dames in a long note in Vol. II of his edition of

<sup>1</sup> The *Suma Oriental* contains the first and most complete description of the East, from the Red Sea to China and Japan, written in the first half of the sixteenth century, by a man of some learning and as a result of his personal observation. The MS. of the *Suma Oriental* is extant in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Paris, where I discovered it in 1937. I have translated and prepared it for publication, and the Hakluyt Society is now printing the translation, with the original Portuguese text, an Introduction and notes, in two volumes.

<sup>2</sup> *The District of Bakarganj*, pp. xiii-xvi, London, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Battista Ramusio knew some part of the *Suma Oriental* and published it under the title *Sommario di tutti li regni, cotta, and populi orientali, con li traffichi and mercantie, che iui si tonano, cominciando dal mar Rosso fino alli populi della China*. Tradotto della lingua Portuguese nella Italiana, as being from an anonymous author, in his *Primo Volume della Navigationi et Viaggi*, ff. 310 seqs. Venice, 1550.

*The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (Hakluyt Society, 1921). Opinions are divided between Gaur, Chittagong, Satgaon, and even Sonargaon, Sripur and Dianga. Even as recently as 1928, Sir Richard Carnac in his edition of Varthema's book identified the 'City of Banghella' with Satgaon, and the latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* records that Chittagong 'has been generally identified with the City of Bengala mentioned by Portuguese and other writers'. Tomé Pires' references, together with the closer study of other Portuguese sources, from sixteenth century chronicles and maps, may help to throw new light on the matter.

Varthema states that 'the city of Banghella was one of the best that I had hitherto seen'. This applies much better to the wonderful city of Gaur, then in all its splendour, than to Chittagong or Satgaon, mainly commercial centres, important though they may have been. Barbosa writes: 'There is to the north (of the Gulf of Bengal) a right great city of the Moors, which they call Bengala . . . On issuing forth from this city of Bengala and going further on there are many other towns likewise inhabited by Moors and Heathen both up country and on the coast, subject to this King.' Then follows the description of Burma, which begins: 'Going past the Kingdom of Bengala and following the coast towards the south there is another Heathen Kingdom called that of Berma.' As Chittagong, then heathen, lies just on the north-east end of the Bay of Bengal, and as there is no important town between it and the Burmese frontier to the south, it could hardly be the 'City of Bengala', the 'right great city of the Moors' which Barbosa places 'to the north'. On the other hand Pires says that 'it takes two days to go from the mouth of the river up to the city', which eliminates the possibility that he is referring to Chittagong, lying as it does to the south-east of the mouth of the river. And that it could not be Satgaon is shown by the fact that he mentions Satgaon or *Sadegam*, with ten thousand hearths, as a port or city distinct from the 'City of Bengala', with forty thousand hearths. Perhaps this very important point escaped the notice of Beveridge and others who followed him, because they could not know of Pires' MS., and Ramusio's translation has '*Asedegā* verso il regno di Orixā' where the Portuguese text has '*Sadegam* contra Orixā'. This is the more curious—mainly on the part of those who identified the 'City of Bengala' with Satgaon—because Badger had already noticed that the *Asedegā* in Ramusio's translation corresponded to Satgaon (p. cxv). Though the Portuguese later on wrote *Satgam* and other similar forms, Pires followed the Arabs (the probable source of his information), for in Ibn Batuta the city is called *Sadkawan* (Lee's translation, p. 194) and in the *Mohit* (Tomaschek's translation, p. 78) it is *Sadigam*.

Varthema, who never was in Bengal (it has been shown that he lies whenever he asserts that he had been beyond southern India), as well as Barbosa and Pires, wrote from hearsay. They simply recorded the information they gathered from local travellers in India, and in Pires' case also in Malacca. It was only natural that the 'great City of Bengala' mentioned to them should be the deservedly famous Gaur, and that they should have made mistakes, mixing up some of the things they heard. For instance, when Barbosa says that it is 'a very excellent sea-heaven', though it must be remembered that the western side of Gaur was then washed by the Ganges and was probably accessible to sea-going ships; or when Pires states that 'it takes two days to go from the mouth of the river up to the city', which was actually more than 200 miles up the river, and that the city of such wonderful buildings was 'all palm-leaf huts'.

The Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., who has on several occasions dealt with this question, wrote: 'Unfortunately, so little attention has been paid to the accounts of Bengal written by the earliest European travellers in Bengal, especially the Portuguese, that the passages in which the name of Bengala is found, as applied to a town, have never been properly collated. The general impression produced on me by my reading is that the term has been used for a variety of places: Sonārgāon, Sātgaon, Chittagong, and even such places as Hūgli and Chandernagar; that, in fact, it applied to the chief port at the time. It is easy to understand why "Bengala" should have been placed at Chittagong by Portuguese cartographers. The first Portuguese settlement was at Chittagong from about 1534, and, till the time when they founded



Hügli (1578), "to go to Bengal" must have meant for the Portuguese "to go to Chittagong". *Bengala* once located at Chittagong by the Portuguese geographers, the mistake continued to be reproduced in the old maps even as late as 1743.<sup>1</sup> To a certain extent this may sum up the situation; but, in fact, the 'City of Bengala' referred to by Varthema, Pires and Barbosa, was Gaur, and the 'City of Bengala' mentioned in later Portuguese chronicles and maps was Chittagong.

The chronicler Castanheda describes how in 1518 a Portuguese fleet of four ships went to the 'cidade de Chetigã cidade de Bégala'. In the same chapter he says that there are many and very beautiful cities situated along the river Ganges, 'mainly one called *Gouro*, which lies up the river a hundred leagues from the sea ... and here the king of Bengala has his court and abode in a sumptuous palace ... On the sea-coast this kingdom has no more than two ports in two cities, one called *Chetigão*, twenty leagues from one of the mouths of the Ganges ... the other port is called *Sategão* in the other mouth of the Ganges, eighty leagues by sea from *Chetigão*, but it is not so important'.<sup>2</sup> This remarkably accurate description is quite clear: for Castanheda the 'City of Bengala' was Chittagong, not Gaur. João de Barros writes: 'The first mouth (of the Ganges), which is westerly, is called *Satigam*, on account of a city of this name situated along its current, where our people carry on their businesses and trade; and the other one, easterly, discharges very near another (city) called *Chatigam*, more famous because all the merchandise that enters or leaves this kingdom generally comes together there'.<sup>3</sup> But later on (IV, ix, 3) he refers to events that happened in 1529 in 'Chittagong, which is the City of Bengala'. Dâmião de Góis refers to the event described by Castanheda as taking place in 1518, mentioning also 'Chittagong, City of Bengala'.<sup>4</sup> All three chroniclers agree.

No less interesting is a brief survey of the sixteenth century Portuguese maps on which Bengal is shown. The earliest Portuguese map to represent Bengal is an anonymous one (the so-called Cantino, from the name of an Italian who smuggled it out of Portugal), made in Lisbon in 1502. It shows Satgaon (*Catigum*) on a river in the western corner of the Bay of Bengal, and Chittagong (*Carigum*) on another river in the eastern corner. This remarkable representation shows how accurate was the information gathered in Lisbon, perhaps from some Arabian map or maps brought back by the first two expeditions of Gama and Cabral to India. The next maps are those of Francisco Rodrigues of 1513 (Paris), Pedro Reinel of c. 1517 (Munich) and of c. 1518 (British Museum), Jorge Reinel of c. 1519 (Munich), and Diogo Ribeiro of 1527 (Weimar) and 1529 (Rome); all of them show the head of the great bay bearing the name 'The River of Bengala', 'Kingdom of Bengala', or simply 'Bengala'. Then comes the anonymous Portuguese map of c. 1540 (Wolfenbüttel), which shows *sategam*, near the western corner, and *chatigam* on the eastern corner, besides other names between the two.

Real improvement begins with Lopo Homem's large world map of 1554 (Florence). On the western side of the Ganges Delta is written *onde fazem a veniaga* (where they trade), and *tatigam* (a mistranscription of *catigam*) a little to the north-east. Further north-eastwards is *ogouzo*, i.e. *o gouro* or Gaur, this being its first appearance on a map. Finally, on the right hand side of some river which may

<sup>1</sup> *The Twelve Bhuyas or Landlords of Bengal*, in *J.A.S.B.*, IX, 444, 1913. Possibly misled by a remark in Ovington's *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, and assuming that 'Dianga was the first Portuguese settlement on the Gulf of Bengal', Hosten believes that 'the City of Bengala, after the Portuguese had settled in Arakan, was Dianga', on the left bank of the Karnaphuli, not far from Chittagong which lies on the right bank. *Bengal Past and Present*, XIII, 262, 1916. J. J. A. Campos, who thinks that 'it may be safely asserted that all evidence points to the conclusion that Chittagong was the real City of Bengala, spoken of by the early writers', has shown already that Dianga, where the Portuguese did not establish themselves until late in the sixteenth century, is out of the question. *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp. 75-8.

<sup>2</sup> *História de Descobrimento and Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, IV, xxxvii. Lisbon, 1554. 1 Portuguese league = 3.2 miles.

<sup>3</sup> *Ásia*, Decada I, ix, 1. Lisbon, 1552. Barros died in 1570 and Decada IV was not published till 1615.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, IV, xxvii. Lisbon, 1567.

correspond to the eastern branch of the Ganges Delta, is *cidade de bengala*, and under this *talingam* (a mistranscription for *catingam*, i.e. Chittagong). The representations of the Ganges Delta on this and on all the other maps I am about to refer to, follow more or less the same prototype and have several other names besides those I mention. In Diogo Homem's atlas of 1558 (British Museum) we find, in the same order: *onde fazê a ueniagua, xatigam, ogouzo, cidade de bengala* and, under this, *xategam*; in Lázaro Luiz's atlas of 1563 (Lisbon): *aonde fazem a ueniagua, xatigaõ, ogouro and Cidade de bēgala xatigaom*; in Diogo Homem's atlas of 1568 (Dresden): *onde se faz a ueniaga, xatigam, ogaozo, Bengala and xategã*; in Vaz Dourado's atlas of 1568 (Lisbon): *Sategam, ogouro and chatigam*; <sup>1</sup> in Dourado's atlas of 1571 (Lisbon): *Sategaõ omde fazê a ueniaga, ogouro and chatigam*; in Dourado's atlas of c. 1573 (British Museum): *Sategaõ o da ueniagua, ogouro and chatigam*; in Dourado's atlas of 1580 (Munich): *Sategam o gouro and chatigam*; in Bartolomeu Lasso's atlas of 1590 (Rotterdam): *donde fazem a ueniaga, Satigaõ, ogouro and cidade de bēgala xatigam*. Other contemporary maps which represent the Ganges Delta with some approach to reality follow more or less closely Portuguese originals.

Besides the references of Castanheda, Barros and Góis, the maps of the two Homens, Luiz and Lasso show that after the first half of the sixteenth century, and perhaps even earlier, Chittagong was the 'City of Bengala' of the Portuguese. This may be not unconnected with the fact that Chittagong was the seaport serving Gaur—the 'great City of Bengala' of Varthema, Pires and Barbosa—which began to decline about the middle of the sixteenth century, and practically ceased to exist as a living town after 1575. No less interesting is the inscription 'where they trade' associated with Satgaon, beginning with the map of c. 1540 and becoming still more precise on Dourado's maps of 1571 and 1573—'Satgaon where they trade', and 'Satgaon, that of the trade', on the Hugli river represented as the western branch of the Ganges Delta.

Though the Portuguese had probably traded in Bengal from the early sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> it was not till 1537-8 that they settled in Satgaon and Chittagong. Satgaon was then the chief commercial port of Bengal, though Antonio Nunes referred in 1554 to the Small Port (*Porto Pequeno*) and the Large Port (*Porto Grande*) of Bengala<sup>3</sup> which, as we know from later references, correspond respectively to Satgaon and Chittagong. Writing in mid sixteenth century, Garcia d'Orta mentions 'Satgaon (*Satiguam*) which is a very famous port in Benguala',<sup>4</sup> and Fernão Mendes Pinto says

<sup>1</sup> Dourado was perhaps the only one of these cartographers who actually visited Bengal. In the *Livro de Marinharia* (a collection of sixteenth century Portuguese rutters and nautical rules published by J. I. Brito Rebelo, Lisbon, 1903) there is a rutter of the 'Navigation from Cochín to Bengala, the port of *Chattigão*', and another called 'Course from Negapatam to the entrance of the port of *Sataguão*'. It is said there that 'Fernão [Vaz] Dourado had made that voyage when he went (apparently to Bengal) with Vasco da Cunha' (p. 234), referring perhaps to a voyage made in 1543-4 to the coast of Bengal and *Porto Pequeno* mentioned by Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, IV, 297 and 398. It is possible that Dourado, one of the most consummate Portuguese cartographers (born in India, where he lived the greater part of his life: see A. Cortesão, *Cartografia*, II, 1-104), drew some map which was sent to Lisbon and served as prototype for all the others mentioned. This may explain to some extent the greater accuracy of the names on the maps after that date.

<sup>2</sup> There are in early Portuguese documents many references to ships (*naus*) going to Bengal; for example, in at least three letters written by Afonso de Albuquerque to the King of Portugal from India, on the 1st April, 1512 (*Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo*, p. 251), 8th November, 1512 (*Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* I, 99), and 30th November, 1513 (*Ibidem*, I, 155). In the third, Albuquerque says that the Portuguese factor of Cochín sent ships to Bengal. In another letter of the 1st December, 1513, he says that 'Bengala asks for all sorts of our merchandise and needs them' (*Alguns Documentos*, p. 300). In a letter of 6th January, 1514, to the King of Portugal (*Cartas*, III, 94) and another of the same date to Afonso de Albuquerque (*Ibidem*, III, 221), Rui de Brito, Captain of Malacca, refers to a junk of the Bendara that was sent to Bengal with 'news of our truth and justice'. Although it does not seem that any of these ships were Portuguese, it is very possible that in some of them one or more Portuguese travelled, as happened very often in those times. But as far as we know positively, it was in 1516-7 that a Portuguese, João Coelho, visited Bengal for the first time, according to António Galvão's information. *Tratado*, p. 129 (Lisbon, 1563). Hakluyt Society edition, 1862. On early Portuguese settlements in Bengal, see Campos' remarkable book mentioned above.

<sup>3</sup> *Livro dos Pesos*, p. 37 (written in 1554). Lisbon, 1868.

<sup>4</sup> *Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas*, Col. L. Goa, 1563.

that in 1546 he visited 'the port of Chittagong (*Chatigão*) in the kingdom of Bengala, where at that time there were many Portuguese'.<sup>1</sup> None of these references warrants the supposition that the Portuguese have ever meant Satgaon to be the 'City of Bengala'.

In 1579-80 the Portuguese founded Hugli, a little to the south-east of Satgaon, and established themselves there, after which the decline of Satgaon began. They then called Hugli *Porto Pequeno*. Father Fernão Guerreiro, writing in 1603-4, refers to *Goli, porto pequeno of Bengala*, speaking of the Portuguese who live in 'that old *bandell* or town (*povoação*), where there are more than 5,000 souls' and of 'our town alongside the river'. Further on he refers to the place also as *o Goli*.<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese said *O Goli*, just as they say *O Porto*. From the latter resulted *Oporto*; so the former gave Hugli. In an anonymous Portuguese atlas of c. 1615-23 (the so-called 'de la Duchesse de Berry', Paris), there is near Satgaon (*Satigão*) a *porto novo onde fazê a fazenda* (new port where they trade), which corresponds clearly to Hugli.

In conclusion, the 'City of Bengala' of the early sixteenth century writers was Gaur. There are many reasons for this identification, but the decisive argument in its favour is the fact that Tomé Pires mentioned the 'City of Bengala' and Satgaon as different places, and says that the former, a great city of 40,000 hearths, lay two days' journey up the river, which excludes Chittagong. Later on, however, when the Portuguese settled in Bengal, the designation 'City of Bengala' corresponded to Chittagong, as is shown by several mid sixteenth century Portuguese chroniclers and cartographers.

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### Astronomical Time-Indications in Kālidāsa.

By P. C. SENGUPTA.

As to the date of Kālidāsa, the greatest of our Sanskrit poets, most divergent views have been held by different researchers. According to Maxmuller, Fergusson, and H. P. Sāstri, Kālidāsa lived about the middle of the sixth century A.D. On the other hand, Macdonell, Vincent Smith and A. B. Keith have held that the poet flourished about the time of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II, the first Indian monarch who, on epigraphic evidence, is known to have assumed the title of Vikramāditya (ca. 380-415 A.D.). This is of course on the assumption that Kālidāsa adorned the court of a king named Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, a tradition which appears to be of very doubtful value. Then again Prof. S. Ray,<sup>3</sup> Sten Konow, Chatterjee and other Sanskritists of the old school have identified the now known Vikrama Samvat, with the era alleged to have been started by Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, and have tried to assign to the post the first century B.C. But epigraphic and other evidences are, so far as I am aware, against this identification as the original name of this Samvat era was 'Mālavābda' or even Kṛta era. We do not yet know when the original name of the era was changed into the Samvat era.

<sup>1</sup> *Peregrinacão*, CLXXI. Lisbon, 1614.

<sup>2</sup> *Relação Anual*, III, iii, 3. Lisbon, 1607.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. S. Ray's paper, 'Age of Kālidāsa', *J.R.A.S. Bengal*, 1908.

As no definite epigraphic evidence about the date of Kālidāsa is forthcoming, such differences of opinion are quite natural, and any attempt to throw fresh light on the problem from a new point of view will probably be welcomed by scholars.

In this paper, I have tried to show that the great poet was thoroughly conversant with the Hindu *Siddhāntic* (Scientific) astronomical literature, such references being found scattered throughout his poetical and dramatic works. These references have not been, as I shall show, correctly interpreted by his many commentators including Mallinātha. The reason is obvious. These commentators were primarily rhetoricians and not experts in astronomy; hence they failed to get at the proper meaning of the passages and thus by their failure in this respect, have only 'darkened counsel by their words' in their commentaries. We take these references one by one. I shall try to interpret them correctly and ascertain their chronological significance.

(a) The first reference is—

Nakṣatra-tārāgraha-saṁkulā-pi jyotiṣmatī candramasaiva rātrih

—Raghu, VI, 22.

Here the word 'tārāgraha' is a Hindu astronomical term not recognized by Mallinātha. It means 'star-like planets', viz. Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn in contradistinction to the Sun and the Moon which possess discs; the Hindu scientific astronomers throughout maintain this classification (cf. *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, XVIII, 61; the *Aryabhaṭīya*, Gola, 48; Modern *Sūrya Siddhānta*, VII, 1, etc.). Here Mallinātha splits up the compound word as 'nakṣatra' + 'tārā' + 'graha'. This sort of interpretation is apparently against the meaning of the poet.

(b) That Kālidāsa was a keen observer of the first visibility of crescent is evidenced by:—

(i) Netraih papus trptimanāpnuvadbhir  
Navodayamñāthamivaṣaḍhīnām

—Raghu, II, 73.

(ii) Nidarśayāmāsa viśeṣaḍṛṣyam  
indum navotthānamivendumatyai

—Raghu, VI, 31.

In these instances we have the expressions which are equivalent to 'the newly risen lord of the ṣaḍhis' and 'to newly risen moon'.

(c) We have further in Kālidāsa:—

Tisrastri-lokīprathitena sārddhamajena marge vasatīruṣitvā  
Tasmādapāvartata Kuṇḍineśaḥ parvātyaye somaivoṣṇarasmeḥ

—Raghu, VII, 33.

Here the poet says that in Aja's return journey to the city of Ayodhyā, the prince of Vidarbha (his brother-in-law) unwilling to part company of him as it were, accompanied Aja for *three nights*, just as the moon, as if unwilling to part company of the sun at the conjunction remains invisible for the maximum period of three nights and then separates from him. This interpretation makes the figure a *pūrṇopamā* or a complete similitude. Hence Kālidāsa was also an observer of the fact that the moon's maximum period of invisibility lasts for three nights. Mallinātha here fails to interpret the simile in Kālidāsa.

(d) Again we have the line:—

'Eṣa cārumukhi, yogatārāyā yujyate taralavimbayā Śaśi'

—Kumāra, VIII, 73.

'This Moon, O lovely one, is getting conjoined with the *liquid-bodied*, "junction-star" of this night.'

Here we have the two words 'Yogatārā' and 'taralavimbayā', the first one means any one of the several 'stars' with which the moon gets conjoined in her 'sailing' through the sky in the course of a sidereal month. Mallinātha makes a muddle of the whole thing when he says that the moon is always accompanied by a particular star in all nights (*pratyahamīyayā yujyate sā yogatārā*). Again the word

'tarala-vimbayā' means liquid-bodied, and not as Mallinātha expounds it. A verse of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, as quoted by Bhattotpala (966 A.D.) in the commentary on the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira, runs thus:—

Tejasām golakah sūryo grahārksānyambugolakāḥ  
Prabhāvanto hi dr̥syante sūryaraśmividipitāḥ

—Bṛhatsamhitā, IV.

(first cited by Dīkṣita, in his work *Bhāratiya Jyotiḥśāstra*, p. 179).

'The sun is a sphere of energy, the planets and stars are spheres of water, they are seen shining by being illumined by the rays of the sun.'

This evidence shows that the poet had studied the *Sūrya Siddhānta* as known to Bhattotpala, and used the word 'tarala-vimbayā' in the strict *Siddhāntic* sense.

(e) Another very important astronomical passage in Kālidāsa is—

Agastyaciṇṇādayanāt samīpam diguttarā bhāsvati sannivṛtte  
Ānandaśītāmivavāspavṛṣṭīm himaśrutīm haimavatīm sasarya

—Raghu, XVI, 44.

or 'when the sun neared the solstice (summer solstice) which was the place of *Canopus*, North caused a flow of ice from the Himalayas, which was like a delightfully cold shower of rain'.

Here also Mallinātha owing to ignorance of *Siddhāntic* astronomy fails to interpret the phrase. 'Agastya-ciṇṇāyana' which cannot but mean the ecliptic place of *Canopus*. His meaning of the phrase is 'the southern solstice' (the winter solstice). The poet in the very preceding stanza speaks of the advent of summer at the beginning of which the sun had already left the winter solstice *four months* before, and was only 60° distant from the summer solstice. The phrase in question undoubtedly means the summer solstice. As to the *Agastya's (Canopus)* 'polar' longitude and latitude the astronomical *siddhāntas* say:—

In Modern *Sūrya Siddhānta* (VIII, 10) we have 'Agastyo Mithunāntagaḥ'.

In *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (XIV, 10) we have 'Karkatādyāt'.

From the above and other works we learn of *Canopus'* place as:—

		Polar longitude.	Polar latitude.
Modern <i>Sūrya Siddhānta</i>	..	90°	S 80°
<i>Pañcasiddhāntikā</i> (550 A.D.)	..	90°	S 75° 20'
Brahmagupta (628 A.D.)	..	87°	S 77°
Lalla (748 A.D.)	..	87°	S 88°

From the above 'polar' longitudes of *Canopus* it appears that both Varāha and Kālidāsa belonged to the same school of *Siddhāntic* teaching. The date of the earliest form of the Modern *Sūrya Siddhānta* is most uncertain. It may even be about 560 A.D. as estimated by Burgess.<sup>1</sup>

(f) The poet is almost enamoured of the event of the sun's reaching the summer solstice when the tropical month of *Nabhas*, the first of the rainy season began. The poet says in *Raghu*, XVIII, 6.

Nabhaścaraigr̥tajasāḥ sa lebhe  
nabhastala śyāmatanum tanūjam;  
Khyātām nabhaśābdamayena nāmnā  
kāntām nabhomāsamiva prajānām.

'The king (Nala) whose fame was sung by the denizens of the sky, got a son of the same colour as the sky who became known by the name of *Nabhas* and was to his people, as pleasing as the month of *Nabhas*, the first of the rainy season.

(g) Kālidāsa has again in *Raghu*, XV, 36.

Tau videhanagarinivāsinām gām gatāviva divaḥ punarvasū  
Manyate-sma pivatām vilocanaiḥ pakṣapātāmapi vañcanām manah.'

<sup>1</sup> If it was recast first into the modern form by Lātādeva (427 Śaka year or 505 A.D.) as recorded by Alberuni (*Indiā*, Vol. I, XIV, p. 1) the date may go up to, say, about 510 A.D. and not earlier.

'The princes, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, as they stood before the people of the city of Videha, appeared as charming as the two stars, *Castor* and *Pollux*, of the *nakṣatra Punarvasu*. As they drank with their eyes the beautiful forms of the princes, their mind took it a disappointment that their tired eyelids fell preventing a continuous vision.'

To the poet why the stars *Castor* and *Pollux* were so charming, was that the sun reached the summer solstice, at a place near to them, and the bursting of the monsoons took place. In the northerly course, the star *Castor's* place is first reached by the sun. We shall not therefore be very wrong to assume that the poet indicates that the summer solstice of his time lay very near to the place of this star. The time when the summer solstitial colure passed through it was 546 A.D. It remains yet to be examined how far it indicates the date of the poet. Enough has been shown to establish, I trust, that Kālidāsa was well trained in the *Siddhāntic* astronomy of his time, was himself a keen observer of the heavens and specially of the moon's motion amongst the ecliptic stars. We now proceed to consider the other time-references in Kālidāsa's works.

#### Other Time-References in Kālidāsa.

The first of these time-indications is derived from the *Meghadūta*. The stanzas in Part I, 1-4, say that the exiled Yakṣa addressed the cloud messenger on the first or last day of *Āṣāḍha*: 'prathama' and 'prasama' are the two variants of the text. In the edition of the *Meghadūta* by Hultsch, the commentator Vallabhadeva accepts the reading *praśamadivase* and discards the other, and Mallinātha on the other hand accepts the reading as *prathamadivase* and rejects the other. We have to settle which is the correct reading. We learn from Part II, verse 49, that the Yakṣa's period of exile would end when Viṣṇu would arise from his bed of the serpent Śeṣa ('Śāpānto me bhujagaśay anādutthite śārngapānau, śeṣānmāsān gamaya caturo, etc.'). The date for this last event being the day of the 11th *tithi* of lunar *Kārtika*, four lunations before it was the day of the 11th *tithi* of lunar *Āṣāḍha*. Hence the day on which the Yakṣa is said to have addressed the cloud messenger was that of the 11th *tithi* of lunar *Āṣāḍha*. As this day can never be the first or the last day of the lunar *Āṣāḍha*, and as this day can never fall on the first day of solar *Āṣāḍha*, the real reading of the text is '*Praśamadivase*' and not '*Prathamadivase*'; the month being the solar and never the lunar, *Āṣāḍha*. Thus the day on which the Yakṣa is made to address the cloud messenger was:—

- (1) The day of the 11th *tithi* of lunar *Āṣāḍha*.
- (2) The last day of solar *Āṣāḍha*.
- (3) The day of the summer solstice, as this was the day for the bursting of the summer monsoons marked by the first appearance of clouds. Here Kālidāsa says 'that a huge mass of the first rain-clouds hanging from the side of the hill, looking like a fully developed elephant, burying its tusks on the hill side'. 'meghamāśliṣṭa-sānum vaprakṛidāpariṇata-gaḇa-prekṣaṇīyaṁ dadarśa', as the poet has it. The next day itself was the first day of *Nabhas* the first month of the rainy season. The poet says that this month was imminent or 'pratyāsanne Nabhasi' when the Yakṣa addressed the cloud. With the learned Sanskrit authors, the summer solstice day was the true day for the bursting of the monsoons. On this point cf. the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, Ch. 63, St. 14-16.

The poet here in the *Meghadūta* has recorded a notable astronomical event of his time. We have already seen before that the poet has indicated by the position of the summer solstitial colure as almost passing through the star *Castor*, that this time was about 546 A.D. Now examining the period from 541 to 571 A.D., we find that the day on which the three conditions tabled above were satisfied was:—

The 20th June, 541 A.D., on which at G.M. Noon or the Ujjayinī mean time,			
5-4 p.m.		Khaṇḍakhādyaḇa.	Moderns.
True Moon	=	226° 1'	227° 2'
True Sun	=	89° 38'	90° 0'

*Note.*—The *Khaṇḍakhādya* is an astronomical compendium by Brahmagupta, dated 665 A.D., in which he sets forth the *ārḍharātri* system of astronomy as taught by Āryabhaṭa I. Varāha, in his *Sūryasiddhānta*, has borrowed wholesale from Āryabhaṭa I, but without mentioning in any way the source he is a borrower from.<sup>1</sup> There are indeed only two systems of the Hindu *Siddhāntic* astronomy, the *ārḍharātri* and the *audayika*. To the former class belongs also the Modern *Sūrya Siddhānta*, to the other class fall the *Āryabhaṭiya*, the *Brāhmaṣphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta (628 A.D.), the *Śiṣyadhivṛddhida* of Lalla (748 A.D.), the *Siddhānta-śekhara* of Śrīpati and the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* of Bhāskara II.

Here according to the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, Moon—Sun =  $136^{\circ} 23'$ ; the eleventh *tithi* was over about nine hours before, i.e. at about 8 a.m. in the morning, and the first day of *Nabhas* was the next day, and that this date of June 20, 541 A.D., was the true last day of the solar *Āṣāḍha*. The sun's longitude according to the modern constants shows the day as the true day of the summer solstice of the year. This reference thus indicates the time of Kālidāsa as about 541 A.D., which is not very different from 546 A.D. obtained before.

The second of these time-indications is derived from our poet's drama, *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, VII, 91. Here Kālidāsa employs an astronomical simile to describe the final union of Duṣyanta with Śakuntalā. The prince thus speaks to his consort:—

‘Priye, Smṛtibhinna-mohatamaso  
 Diṣṭyā pramukhe sthitāsi sumukhi  
 Uparāgāntesaśinā  
 Samupagatā Rohiṇi yogam.

‘It is by a piece of good luck, my lovely darling, that you stand before me whose gloom of delusion has been broken by a return of memory. This has been, as it were, the star *Rohiṇi* has got conjoined with Moon at the end of a total eclipse.’

So far as we can see our poet again uses another specially noticeable astronomical event of his time for a simile. A total eclipse of the moon happened according to Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* on November 8, 542 A.D., with the middle of the eclipse at 17 hours 5 minutes of G.M.T. or the Ujjayinī mean time 22 hours 9 minutes: The half durations for the whole eclipse and the totality were 112 minutes and 51 minutes respectively. As to the magnitude and the half durations, I trust, Oppolzer's book is correct, although not based on the most up-to-date astronomical constants. The authorities for his longitudes were Leverrier and Hansen, thus the beginnings and ends are not very correct as set forth below:—

On November 8, 542 A.D., at 17 hours 5 minutes, G.M.T., we have—

	Newcomb and Brown. Leverrier and Hansen.	
Apparent Sun ..	$228^{\circ} 28' 49''$	$228^{\circ} 28' 46''$
Apparent Moon <sup>2</sup> ..	$48^{\circ} 16' 41''^2$	$48^{\circ} 26' 3''^2$

Thus according to the most up-to-date authorities, Moon—Sun =  $12' 18''$ , while according to Oppolzer's authorities the same =  $2' 43''$ . The difference of  $9' 25''$  would be gained by the moon in 19 minutes more. Consequently the beginnings, the middle and the ends have to be shifted forward by 19 minutes. The eclipse thus began most conveniently at 8-36 p.m. and ended at 0 hour 20 minutes a.m. of the Ujjayinī mean time on November 9, at a very favourable time for the observation of the conjunction of the moon with the star *Rohiṇi* (*Aldebaran*), and at this instant—

Apparent Moon ..	..	..	$49^{\circ} 31' 10''$
Longitude of <i>Rohiṇi</i> ( <i>Aldebaran</i> ) ..	..	..	$49^{\circ} 30' 11''$
Latitude of <i>Rohiṇi</i> ( <i>Aldebaran</i> ) ..	..	..	$-5^{\circ} 28' 17''$

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Sengupta, Translation of the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, the introduction, Calcutta University Press, 1934 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected by 12 principal equations.

The moon at the end of the eclipse had almost complete equality in longitude with the star *Aldebaran* or *Rohinī*, as could be estimated by producing the line of the moon's cusps formed at the eclipse some time before its end.

The date of this peculiar lunar eclipse, viz. 8-9 Nov., 542 A.D., confirms the dates 546 A.D. and 541 A.D. as obtained before. The period in which Kālidāsa in all probability observed these three astronomical events, which he has recorded in his work in his own way, runs from 541 to 546 A.D. The events thus tend to place Kālidāsa in the middle of the sixth century A.D.

In the previous reference (from the *Meghadūta*) we have shown before, that in the phrase '*Āṣāḍhasya prāsamadvase*', the word '*Āṣāḍha*' is to be taken in the sense of the 'solar' and not of the 'lunar' month of *Āṣāḍha*.

This interpretation makes the date of the poet later than the date of the starting of the Hindu *Siddhāntic* astronomy. I have not as yet come across any mention of solar months in Indian epigraphy. That the Hindu *siddhāntas* date from that epoch at which the planetary mean places (or even apparent places) are almost all equal to the tropical mean longitudes as calculated from the most modern astronomical constants, is the sole test by which it can be ascertained. Āryabhaṭa I indeed makes his epoch 3,600 years after the Kali epoch of 3102 B.C., Feb. 17, 24 hours or February 18, 6 hours of Ujjayinī mean time. The date and hour we arrive at is:—

March 21, 499 A.D., Ujjayinī mean midday. The mean longitudes are shown in the following table.

Planet.	Ardha- rātrika system.	Audayika system.	Mod. S. Siddhānta	Mean Trop. longitudes. Moderns.	Error in Ārdha- rātrika.	Error in Audayika.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4) <sup>1</sup>	(5)	(6)	(7)
Sun	0° 0' 0"	0° 0' 0"	0° 0' 0"	359° 12' 5"	+17' 55"	+17' 55"
Moon	280° 48' 0"	280° 48' 0"	280° 48' 0"	280° 24' 52"	+23' 8"	+23' 8"
L.A. Nodo	352° 12' 0"	352° 12' 0"	318° 20' 0"	352° 2' 26"	+9' 34"	9' 34"
L. Apogee	35° 12' 0"	35° 12' 0"	34° 56' 43"	35° 24' 38"	+17' 22"	+17' 22"
Mercury	180° 0' 0"	186° 0' 0"	198° 7' 48"	183° 9' 51"	-189° 51"	+170° 9"
Venus	350° 24' 0"	350° 24' 0"	352° 48' 0"	356° 7' 51"	+16' 9"	+16' 9"
Mars	7° 12' 0"	7° 12' 0"	9° 48' 0"	6° 52' 45"	+19' 15"	+19' 15"
Jupiter	186° 0' 0"	187° 12' 0"	186° 0' 3"	187° 10' 47"	-70' 47"	+1' 13"
Saturn	49° 12' 0"	49° 12' 0"	50° 24' 0"	48° 21' 13"	-50' 47"	+50' 47"

The mean 'planets' of the *ārdharātrika* system are the same as taught by Varāha in his so-called *Sūryasiddhānta*. The date of the Modern *Sūrya Siddhānta* as judged by a similar test is put at 1091 A.D. by Bentley, which cannot be set aside as unacceptable (Calcutta Univ. reprint of Burgess translation, page 24). The reader may on this point compare Dikṣita's work, the *Bhāratiya Jyotiḥśāstra*, page 200, 1st edn., and also my article, 'Hindu Astronomy' in the journal *Science and Culture* for June, 1944.

The planetary position as in cols. (2), (3) and (5) are in general agreement, excepting in that of Mercury, where the error is respectively  $-3^\circ$  and  $+3^\circ$  nearly in the above two systems. The next great difference of  $+51'$  occurs in the mean place of Saturn; in almost all other cases the Hindu mean places (or more correctly Āryabhaṭa's) are almost the same as calculated from the most modern constants. Hence there should not be any doubt as to the date from which the *Siddhāntic* calculations were started, that date must be March 21, 499 A.D. The Hindu rule for calculating what is called *Ayanāṁśa*, or the distance of the 1st point of the Hindu sphere from the vernal equinox of date, also accepts this as the date when the two points were coincident. There is another date also, viz. 445 of Śaka era or 523 A.D., called the *Bhaṭa* year, from which also the *Ayanāṁśa* is calculated. Thus we conclude that as Kālidāsa means the solar month of *Āṣāḍha* in the phrase '*Āṣāḍhasya*

<sup>1</sup> The Modern *Sūrya Siddhānta* longitudes are for 12 hours 33.6 minutes of U.M. Time.



*prasamadvase*, his date cannot be earlier than 499 A.D., or even 523 A.D. It was from about these dates that the Hindu signs of the zodiac were formed and solar months for the different signs of the zodiac came to be calculated in the Hindu calendar, in the form of transits of the sun from one sign of the zodiac to the next.

As to the date of Kālidāsa, we have, as set forth above, the first time-indication in which he hints that the summer solstitial colure of his time passed almost straight through the star *Castor*, for which the date has been worked out as 546 A.D. Secondly, the astronomical event of the combination of the last day of solar *Āṣāḍha*, the day of the 11th *tithi* of lunar *Āṣāḍha* and the day of the summer solstice falling on the same day has given us the date 541 A.D., June 20. Thirdly, the date of the total lunar eclipse, which was most favourable for the observation of the moon being conjoined with the star *Rohini* (*Aldebaran*) at its end, has led to the date Nov. 8-9, 542 A.D., so closely converging to the preceding dates. All these findings finally fix the date of the greatest of the Sanskrit poets at about the middle of the sixth century A.D. We have also shown that as the date of all the extant Hindu scientific *siddhāntas* cannot be earlier than 499 A.D., March 21, and that it may even be later than 523 A.D., the date of Kālidāsa cannot but be about 541-546 A.D. as he uses the phrase '*Āṣāḍhasya prasamadvase*' which cannot but mean the last date of the solar month of *Āṣāḍha*. Even by the learned ancients such an expression, indicating the use of a solar month, was not possible before the time of *Āryabhaṭa I*, so far as I have come to learn from my study of Hindu astronomy for more than three decades. Before 499 A.D. this science was in the *amorphous state*. The Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga calendar has a tradition that the five-yearly Vedic calendar was started from about 1400 B.C. but we have evidence to show that this calculation was never extended beyond five years. The late Mr. S. B. Dikṣita in his *Bhāratiya Jyotiḥśāstra*, page 125, has quoted a verse from the *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti*, Ch. 301, 46-47, in which we find that the calendar-makers or the wise men found 'omitted years, months, half lunations and even days' in trying to follow the five-yearly luni-solar cycle. It is a pity that nothing is on record to show when arose occasions for such adjustments being made and how these wise men failed to find the 19 years or the 141 years as more correct luni-solar cycles by these processes. In these calculations there was no use of the signs of the zodiac and of no other planets except

Date.	Ujjayini Mean Time hr.	Tropical longitude of the sun. Moderns.	The same referred to the M.V. Equinox of March 21, 499 A.D.	Khaṇḍa- khādyaka, <sup>1</sup> True sun.	Khaṇḍa- khādyaka, True moon.	Cur- rent tithi.	Summer Solstice on
188 A.D., June 23.	6 a.m.	89° 50' 38"	3° 4° 9' 7"	3° 5° 12' 46"	....	..	The 6th of solar Śrāvaṇa.
302 A.D., June 22.	..	89° 49' 10"	3° 2° 27' 52"	3° 3° 33' 18"	....	..	The 4th of solar Śrāvaṇa.
416 A.D., June 21.	..	89° 44' 42"	3° 0° 53' 34"	3° 1° 26' 26"	....	..	The 2nd of solar Śrāvaṇa.
427 A.D., June 21.	..	89° 6' 41"	3° 0° 6' 24"	3° 0° 37' 19"	7° 11' 14' 32"	11th	The 2nd of solar Śrāvaṇa.
484 A.D., June 20.	24 hrs.	90° 2' 0"	3° 0° 14' 13"	3° 0° 37' 23"	7° 11' 43' 58"	11th	The last day of solar Āṣāḍha.

<sup>1</sup> We have followed the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta in the calculations as no better or more reliable ancient works are known to us.

the sun and the moon. When Kālidāsa uses the solar month, we have an indication of the existence of the *crystalline state* of Hindu astronomy of the time of Āryabhaṭa I which dates from March 21, 499 A.D.

For finally settling this point, there should be forthcoming epigraphic evidence as to the use of the solar months by the learned Indians before the time of Āryabhaṭa I. So far as I have seen, I have not come across any earlier use of solar months in any epigraphic statements: the dates are invariably stated in terms of the lunar months alone. If we want to explore the possibilities of a repetition of the *Meghadūta* astronomical event in the period from 188 A.D. to 541 A.D., we find that the only previous date for its occurrence was 484 A.D., as the above calculation will show.

We refer the tropical longitudes of the sun to the mean vernal equinox of March 21, 499 A.D., as this was the true date from which the Hindu *siddhāntic* calculations are really started and the mean vernal equinox of the date is the true first point of the Hindu sphere.

It appears from the above calculations that the date 541 A.D., June 20, may be raised by the short interval of 57 years to the date 484 A.D., June 20, from a pure astronomical finding taken singly. There are, however, at present no good reasons even for this small shifting of the date already arrived at, as explained already. It becomes quite inadmissible on a consideration of our last reference in the same way.

In the list of total eclipses of the moon visible in India and happening near the star *Aldebaran* as given in Oppolzer's *Cannon der Finsternisse* during the period from 100 A.D. to 600 A.D., we have only the following:—

Date.	Middle of Eclipse G.M.T.	Half duration for whole eclipse.	Half duration for totality.
459 A.D., October 27 ..	14 hrs. 30 mins.	111 mins.	50 mins.
477 A.D., November 6 ..	23 hrs. 21 mins.	111 mins.	50 mins.
542 A.D., November 8 ..	17 hrs. 5 mins.	112 mins.	51 mins.

As to the eclipse of date October 27, 459 A.D., there cannot be any conjunction of the moon with the star *Rohinī* (*Aldebaran*) at its end, as both the date and the hour are unfavourable. As regards the eclipse of November 6, 477 A.D., it would end according to Oppolzer's *Cannon* on the next day at the Ujjayinī mean time 6 hours 16 minutes. But as his authority for the longitude of the moon was Hansen, the end of the eclipse would have to be shifted forward by 23 minutes. Hence the end of the eclipse would be at 6 hours 39 minutes of the Ujjayinī mean time. The sunrise works out as 6 hours 27 minutes of U.M. time, i.e. the eclipse did not end before the sunrise on the day in question. Kālidāsa could not possibly mean this eclipse in his simile in the *Śakuntalā*.

The peculiar lunar eclipse on 8-9 November, 542 A.D., and the sun's turning south on June 20, 541 A.D., taken together thus fixes the date of Kālidāsa about the middle of the sixth century A.D. and this leads to the conclusion that the great poet and the astronomer Varāha were contemporary. We have also already pointed out that Kālidāsa indicates that the summer solstitial colure of his time passed through the star *Castor* for which the date becomes 546 A.D.

As to Varāha's date, we know that he flourished about 550 A.D., as he mentions Āryabhaṭa I (499 A.D.) by name and is himself mentioned by Brahmagupta (628 A.D.). Āmarāja, the commentator of the *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta, says that Varāha died in 587 A.D. Hence the two of the 'nine gems' of the tradition may be contemporary, but that they all belonged to the court of the King Vikramāditya may be wholly wrong.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the verse which records the tradition, viz. :—

'Dhanvantari-Kṣapanakāmarasinghaśaṁku-  
Vetālabhaṭṭa-Ghatakarpara-Kālidāsāh  
Khyāto Varāhamihiro nṛpateḥ sabhāyam  
Ratnāni vai Vararuci-r-nava Vikramasya',

occurs first of all in the last chapter of the astrological work named the *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa* by another *Kālidāsa*, who was an astrologer—whose date cannot but be about 1243 A.D. from the following considerations:—

In this work in the last chapter the author says that the epoch of his work is placed at 3,068 years of *Kali* elapsed, i.e. 34 B.C. This cannot be the date of the author as it is only the date from which the calculations are started. His rule for finding the distance of the origin of the Hindu sphere from the vernal equinox shows that this was zero at 445 of the Śaka year elapsed, or 523 A.D. This also cannot be the date of this astrologer *Kālidāsa*. If we examine his rules for finding when the sun and the moon would have numerically equal declinations except near about conjunctions and oppositions, this yields the result that at the time of this astrologer, the distance of the origin of the Hindu sphere from the vernal equinox was about 12°. This makes his date about 1243 A.D. This was also the finding of the late MM. Sudhākara Dvivedī in his Sanskrit work named *Gaṇaka Taranigīṇī*, page 46. This author can never be the same person as the greatest Sanskrit poet bearing the same name. As to the last chapter of this work Pandit Dvivedī has said:—

‘Ayanāntimādhyayo granthakṛtā jagad-vañcanayā  
svayam viracito vā kenacidityāhāsānabhijñeṇa prakṣipta  
iti nihsaṁśayam ayanāntimānayaṇa—krāntisāmyasādhana  
granthasthair vibhātī’,

or, ‘This last chapter is either written by the author himself in order to deceive the world or that it was interpolated by a person who was ignorant of history: a conclusion which follows as a necessary corollary to the rules given in the body of the work for finding the distance of the origin of the Hindu sphere from the vernal equinox of date, and for finding the numerical equality in declination of the sun and the moon excepting near about conjunctions and oppositions.’

Thus any statement of the *Vikramāditya* tradition if found only in the last chapter of this astrological work cannot be taken as correct. The King *Vikramāditya* may be a mere invention. The moot point here is to explore earlier and more reliable authors before this tradition may be accepted as true. Some of the ‘nine gems’, however, may have been contemporary.

Then again the hypothesis that the ‘*Vikrama*’ era of having been started from 57 or 58 B.C. is also of very questionable nature, as its original name was perhaps not ‘*Vikrama*’ era but ‘*Mālava*’ or ‘*Kṛta*’ era.

I have examined the statement in the *Māndāsor* inscription of *Kumārgupta* and *Vandhuvarmā*, dated 529 of the *Mālava* era, the day of the second *tithi* of the lunar month of ‘*Tapasya*’. Taking the year to have been 394 Śaka era, the date of the inscription works out as February 15, 473 A.D., on which at *Ujjayinī* mean midnight:—

True sun = 328° 48' 24",

True moon = 360° 20' nearly, as calculated from the most modern constants.

It appears that the beginning of spring, as stated in the inscription, was estimated about 30 hours earlier, as the astronomical spring is taken to begin when the sun's longitude becomes 330°. It was perhaps owing to the local conditions that the season was taken to have begun two days earlier on the date of the inscription.

Now 473 A.D. = 394 of Śaka era = 529 of the *Mālava* era = 529 of the now-known *Saṁvat* era, or that the old ‘*Mālava*’ era came to be called in later times (not now known exactly) the ‘*Saṁvat*’ era. I have also found the term ‘*Malavābda*’ in the *J.R.A.S. Bengal*, manuscript of the *Vṛddha Garga Saṁhitā* (I—D—20) in folio 61, *Janapadabyūha*. From the facts stated above we may take it that the old name of the era in question was not known or called as the *Vikrama* era. The traditional king *Vikramāditya* of *Ujjayinī* is in all probability a mythical person. He cannot be identified with any of the Gupta emperors who assumed the title of *Vikramāditya*. The now-known *Saṁvat* era can also have nothing to do with the time of *Kālidāsa*.

As to the date of Kālidāsa, so far as we can reasonably deduce from the astronomical data in his works, comes out as about 541-546 A.D. or about the middle of the sixth century A.D., and that he is a contemporary of Varāhamihira. So far as I have seen the finding in this paper would not go against any epigraphic evidence as discovered up to date.

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### The Genealogical Patronymic Linking System of the Tibeto-Burman Speaking Tribes.

By LO CH'ANG-P'EI.

(Communicated by Dr. K. Nag.)

The genealogical patronymic linking system is a dominant cultural trait of the Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes which, besides the physiological and linguistic factors, can help to determine the relations between the various tribes and throw light on some of the historical problems about the descent and inter-relationship of the *Houses* which have long baffled inquiry. According to this tradition, which is of great antiquity, of the Tibeto-Burman people, generally the names of the father and the son overlap; that is, the last one or two syllables of the father's name are transmitted to the name of the son and become its first one or two syllables; and this is done continuously from generation to generation. It has, to be precise, the following forms:—

1. A B C	C D E	D E F	F G H
E.g., Ên-hêng-no	No-pên-p'ei	Pên-p'ei-k'o	K'o-Kau-lie
2. A <sup>1</sup> □ B	B □ C	C □ D	D □ E
E.g., Kung-a-lung	Lung-a-kau	Kau-a-shou	Shou-a-mei
3. A B C D	C D E F	E F G H	G H I J
E.g., Yi-tsun-lau-sho	Lau-sho-tu-tsai	Tu-tsai-a-tsung	A-tsung-yi-k'ü
4. □ A □ B	□ B □ C	□ C □ D	□ D □ F
F.g., A-tsung-a-liang	A-liang-a-hu	A-hu-a-lie	A-lie-a-kia

In each several branch, there may be some slight variations but, as a rule, the forms do not go beyond the above four.

My interest in this subject was first aroused by some casual readings. In 1942 I made a trip to Chi-tsu-shan, a mountain in the west of Yunnan; and there in a temple called Si-t'an-sü, I came upon the records of the house of Mu, the native governor of Li-kiang. The records are called 'The Genealogy of the House of Mu with Portraits'. My curiosity was thus further piqued. After the trip I referred myself to the various treatments of the subject in the writings of Dr. T'ao Yun-k'uei, Mr. Tung Tso-pin, and Dr. Ling Shun-shêng; and, putting my notes in order, I wrote the Genealogy of the House of Mu at Si-t'an-sü on Chi-tsu-shan, which was published in issue 25, volume 3 of the *Contemporary Review*. After that, through my own researches and the aid of friends I have gathered together varied other data. With these I now write this treatise in the hope that those interested in the

<sup>1</sup> The sign □ shows the same inserted sound.

problem, whether anthropologists, ethnologists or linguists, may supplement or revise what is here put forward so as to solve this problem adequately.

I shall discuss the subject under three headings, each with its items and sub-items.

# I. THE BURMAN BRANCH.

## 1. *The Burman.*

About this branch I have acquired as yet no first-hand data; however, I have discovered the genealogical patronymic linking practice in their histories. The Dynasty Moriya of Burma, covering the period from the second to the fourth century A.D., did also use the system as can be seen in the following genealogy of theirs:—

Pyo-so-ti	Ti-min-yi	Yi-min-baik
Baik-then-li	Then-li-jong	Jong-du-yit <sup>1</sup>

I hope the above to be supplemented by scholars versed in Burman lore and history.

## 2. *The A-chit.*

The A-chit is a branch living in tracts of country bordering on Burma in the north-west of Yunnan. I got, last spring, two genealogies of this branch. One is of a man called K'ung-k'o-lang and includes forty-six generations. The other is of one named Tung-ch'ang-shau and counts nine generations. We now reproduce them here:—

### A. The genealogy of K'ung-ko-lang:

1. Ya be bawm <sup>2</sup>	2. Mashaw bawm	3. Bawm shaw chung
4. Chung shaw nin	5. Shaw nin k'ying	6. K'ying da ê
7. da ê saw	8. Shaw yaw chu	9. Chu fu fek
10. Fu fek k'um	11. K'um kwe zik	12. Zik k'u lam
13. K'u lam pe	14. Shaw gyaw la ts'ang	15. Ts'ang zaw hyu
16. Byu zaw te	17. Te maw yaw	18. Maw yaw p'yau
19. p'yau byaw yang	20. Yang lawm lik	21. Lik ding chit
22. Chit kang yau	23. Kang yau gwi	24. Gwi chung chyt
25. Chung chyt yaw	26. Yaw au ding	27. Ding law waw
28. Waw law jang	29. Jang law bawm	30. Bawm law nu
31. Nu kyang	32. Kyang bau	33. Bau myaw
34. Myaw t'uk	35. T'uk bawm	36. Bawm zing
37. Zing yaw	38. Yaw Bawm	39. Bawm k'aw
40. K'aw ying	41. Ying sau	42. Sau ying
43. Ying yaw	44. Yaw ying	45. Ying k'aw
46. K'aw lang		

Of the forty-six names above, except the first and the second which are of the same generation, all the rest show name-linking practice between the father and the son. There is indeed a break between the thirteenth and fourteenth generations. But according to K'ung-k'o-lang 'from the thirteenth generation up, they could still talk with oxen, dogs, trees and plants as they were not yet men altogether'. If so, are the names from that generation up yet legendary perhaps, and not to be accepted as the true genealogy of the house of K'ung-k'o-lang?

### B. The genealogy of Tung-ch'ang-shau:

1. Yawn sau	2. Sau chang	3. Chang lang
4. Lang bau; Lang gying	5. Bau zung; Bau ying; Bau taik	
6. Zung ying	7. Ying sau	8. Sau chang
9. Chang sau		

<sup>1</sup> Phayre: History of Burma, p. 279, quoted by Dr. Ling Shun-shêng in his article 'A Study of the U-man and Pei-man of Yunnan in the T'ang Dynasty', The Anthropological Journal of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> The notation used here follows O. Hansen's System for Kachin Language with a little modification.

In this genealogy the fourth generation consists of two brothers and the fifth of three brothers. Tung's line seems to have derived from the eldest brother. According to Tung-ch'ang-shau, P'ien-ma was quite a jungle when his ancestor of the first generation in the genealogy, Yawn sau, went there four hundred years ago, and began to reclaim the place. His grave is now at Lower P'ien-ma. There are monuments with inscriptions in Chinese and engraved portraits at the grave. The grave of his ancestor of the fourth generation is on the Gyang mountain also at Lower P'ien-ma; that of his ancestor of the fifth generation is at Aw Yaw Bau also at Lower P'ien-ma. There are no monuments at these two graves.

Comparing these two genealogies, it is evident to us that the genealogy of Tung's house is later by far than that of the house of K'ung. If the words of Tung-ch'ang-shau are to be believed, the Tung's seem to have removed to P'ien-ma at the end of the reign of Kia-ting in the Ming Dynasty, that is about 1541-1566 A.D.

## II. THE MOSO OR NA-KHI.

Mr. Yü-k'ing-yuan made the following statement on the Moso in his *Notes about Wei-si*: 'The Moso have no names and surnames. They use the last word of the name of the grandfather and that of the name of the father together with a new word to form their own name. The names of the successive generations link themselves like a chain and the removes in kinship are thus shown.' As a matter of fact, if we examine with care the two genealogies of the Moso given below as well as the ways of name-linking shown above, the words of Mr. Yü will soon be found to be but plausible and by no means accurate. The data we have come at are as follows:—

(a) The religious classics of the Moso at Li-kiang which record thus the six generations after the great Deluge:—

- |                                   |                |                              |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Tsung-cheng-li-ên <sup>1</sup> | 2. Ên-hêng-no  | 3. No-pên-p'ei               |
| 4. Pên-p'ei-k'o                   | 5. K'o-kau-lie | 6. Kau-lie-ts'u <sup>2</sup> |

According to Mr. Yü the name of the third generation should be Ên-no-p'ei, that of the fourth should be No-p'ei-k'o. It is evidently at odds with the data.

(b) The genealogy of the house of Mu at Li-kiang.

The head of the house of Mu was successively the native governor of Li-kiang from about the reign of Wu-têh (618-626 A.D.) to the beginning of the Ts'ing Dynasty. There are four extant documents about the genealogy of this house:

(1) The introduction to the genealogy of the house of Mu by Yang shên written in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Kia-ting in the Ming Dynasty (1545 A.D.) now kept at Mu's house at Li-kiang.

(2) The genealogy of the house of Mu with portraits; bound in one volume with Yang's introduction. There are two extant copies: one was inscribed on the cover as 'The Picture of Mu's Tendering Allegiance' by Ch'en Chao-chung of Hainan and had an addendum and epilogue in verse by the same. It is now at Mu's house at Li-kiang. The other, inscribed as 'The Genealogy of the House of Mu with Portraits', is now in Si-t'an-sü on Chi-tsu-shan.

(3) The monument engraved with the genealogy of the house of Mu now in the graveyard of the house at Shê-shan about ten li south-east of Li-kiang, erected in the twenty-second year of Tau-kuang in the Ts'ang Dynasty (1842 A.D.).

(4) A draft of the genealogy of the house of Mu in the notes appended to the Moso Chao in the records about the natives of the south in the draft of a sequel to the provincial gazetteer of Yunnan compiled by Wang-Wen-shau and others in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Kuang-hsü in the Ts'ing Dynasty (1901 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> The Moso's genealogies (a) and (b) are read in Mandarin from the Chinese translation, and transcribed by T. F. Wade's system.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Mr. Tung Tso-pin, in his article 'New Evidence concerning the Genealogy of Tibeto-Burman People', Bulletin of the Ethnological Study, No. 2, pp. 181-200, 1940, published by Sun-Yet-sen Cultural and Educational Institute.

The agreements and divergences among these four kinds of data are detailed in the article 'On the Name, the Habitation and the Migrations of the Moso'<sup>1</sup> by T'ao Yun-k'uei and my article 'The Genealogy of the House of Mu at Si-t'an-sü on Chi-tau-shan'. We shall not enlarge upon them here but just give the genealogy as is engraved on the monument:—

- |                                |                            |                          |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Ts'ü-yang                   | 2. Yang-in-tu-ku           | 3. Tu-ku-la-kü           |
| 4. La-kü-p'u-mêng              | 5. P'u-mêng-p'u-wang       | 6. P'u-wang-la-wan       |
| 7. La-wan-si-nai               | 8. Si-nai-si-k'o           | 9. Si-k'o-la-t'u         |
| 10. La-t'u-ngo-kün             | 11. Ngo-kün-mou-kü         | 12. Mou-kü-mou-si        |
| 13. Mou-si-mou-ts'uo           | 14. Mou-ts'uo-mou-lê       | 15. Mou-lê-mou-pau       |
| 16. Mou-pau-a-tsung            | 17. A-tsung-a-liang        | 18. A-liang-a-hu         |
| 19. A-hu-a-lie                 | 20. A-lie-a-kia            | 21. A-kia-a-têh (Mu-têh) |
| 22. A-têh-a-ch'u (Mu'ch'u)     | 23. A-ch'u-a-t'u (Mu-t'u)  |                          |
| 24. A-t'u-a-ti (Mu-shen)       | 25. A-ti-a-sü (Mu-k'in)    |                          |
| 26. A-sü-a-ya (Mu-t'ai)        | 27. A-ya-a-ts'iu (Mu-ting) |                          |
| 28. A-ts'ing-a-kung (Mu-kung)  | 29. A-kung-a-mu (Mu-kau)   |                          |
| 30. A-mu-a-tu (Mu-tang)        | 31. A-tu-a-shêng (Mu-wang) |                          |
| 32. A-shêng-a-chai (Mu-ts'ing) | 33. A-chai-a-sü (Mu-tsêng) |                          |
| 34. A-sü-a-chun (Mu-yi)        | 35. Mu-hsi                 |                          |
| 36. Mu-sung                    | 37. Mu-run                 |                          |
| 38. Mu-tsi                     | 39. Mu-ren                 |                          |

In the thirty-nine generations above, the first and second generations are seen to use the first form of patronymic linking system; from the third to the sixteenth they used the third form; from the seventeenth to the thirty-fourth they used the fourth form. Though the surname of Mu was conferred on them by the Ming Dynasty since its beginning, they could not yet give up their habit of name-linking and merely added the last word of their name to the surname Mu to form the required name. Thus A-kia-a-têh was also called Mu-têh. It was not till the reign of K'ang-hsi in the Ts'ing Dynasty (after 1662 A.D.) that such a cultural trait began to disappear in the name of Mu-hsi.

As to those branches of Si-fan beside the Moso we have to pass them over for the present for want of reliable data.

### III. THE LOLO BRANCH.

About this branch the data I have gathered are more ample; it may be treated under three items and six sub-items.

#### 1. *The Lolo.*

I have so far seen five genealogies of this branch:—

(a) The thirty generations before the Deluge in the so-called royal genealogy in 'A Collection of Lolo Writings' by V. K. Ting. They read as follows:—

- |                            |                  |                     |
|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Hsi-mu-chê <sup>2</sup> | 2. Chê-tau-kung  | 3. Kung-chu-shih    |
| 4. Shih-a-li               | 5. Li-a-ming     | 6. Ming-ch'ang-kuai |
| 7. Ch'ang-kuai-tsuo        | 8. Tsuo-a-ts'ie  | 9. Ts'ie-a-tsung    |
| 10. Tsung-a-yi             | 11. Yi-a-tsi     | 12. Tsi-p'ê-nêng    |
| 13. P'ê-nêng-tan           | 14. Tao-mu-yi    | 15. Mui-yi-ch'ih    |
| 16. Ch'ih-a-suo            | 17. Suo-a-têh    | 18. Têh-si-suo      |
| 19. Si-suo-to              | 20. To-pi-yi     | 21. Pi-yi-tu        |
| 22. Tu-si-sien             | 23. Si-sien-t'o  | 24. T'o-a-ta        |
| 25. Ta-a-wu                | 26. A-wu-no      | 27. No-chu-tu       |
| 28. Tu-chu-wu              | 29. Wu-lau-ts'uo | 30. Ts'uo-chu-tu    |

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Vol. VII, pp. 121-135, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> The Lolo's genealogies (a), (b), (c) are read in Mandarin and transcribed by T. F. Wade's system.

The translator Lo Wên-pi said in the introduction: 'During the thirty generations from the first man Hsi-mu-chê to Ts'uo-chu-tu, there was no writing of any sort; all things were transmitted orally. In the twenty-ninth generation, it pleased God to send down a priest, Mi-a-tie by name, who instituted sacrifices, rites, and laws and invented writing. Thus culture dawned and good manners began. I have not here the book called *Notes on the Deluge* and so cannot describe what happened then more circumstantially.' The so-called Deluge seems to have been an epoch from which we may trace back to their legendary first man Hsi-mu-chê and forward to their connection with the house of An at Shui-si to whose first ancestor, Tu-mu-wu, Ts'uo-chu-tu the thirtieth and last of the genealogy transmitted the last syllable of his name.

(b) The genealogy of the Lolo house of An at Shui-si in Kweichow in the so-called royal genealogy in '*A Collection of Lolo Writings*'.

There are eighty-four generations in all from Tu-mu-wu to Yi-fen-ming-tsung (also called An-k'un in Chinese):—

1. Tu-mu-wu	2. Mu-ts'i-ts'i	3. Ts'i-a-hung
4. Hung-a-têh	5. Têh-ku-sha	6. Sha-ku-mu
7. Ku-mu-kung	8. Kung-a-lung	9. Lung-a-kan
10. Kau-a-shou	11. Shou-a-mei	12. Mei-a-têh
13. Têh-a-shih	14. Shih-mei-wu	15. Mei-wu-mêng
16. Mêng-tie-to	17. To-a-chih	18. Chih-wu-shuo
19. Wu-shuo-pi	20. Pi-yi-mei	21. Mei-a-liang
22. Liang-a-tsung	23. Tsung-a-pu	24. Pu-a-shuo
25. Shuo-a-t'au	26. T'au-a-ch'ang	27. A-ch'ang-pi
28. Pi-yi-mêng	29. Mêng-wu-shou	30. Shou-a-tien
31. Tien-a-fa	32. Fa-yi-yi	33. Yi-yi-ch'ih
34. Ch'ih-a-chu	35. Chu-a-tien	36. Tien-a-tsi
37. Tsi-a-têng	38. Têng-a-tu	39. Tu-a-ta
40. A-ta-to	41. To-a-t'a	42. T'a-a-K'i
43. K'i-a-fou	44. Fou-na-chih	45. Na-chih-tu
46. Tu-a-kêng	47. A-kêng-a-wên	48. A-wên-lo-nan
49. Lo-na-a-k'ê	50. A-k'ê-yi-tien	51. Yi-tien-tsi-k'i
52. Tsi-k'i-ren-yi	53. Ren-yi-pu-yie	54. Pu-yie-yi-tsun
55. Yi-tsun-lau-shuo	56. Lau-shuo-tu-tsai	57. Tu-tsai-a-tsung
58. A-tsung-yi-k'u	59. Yi-k'u-pu-yi	60. Pu-yi-a-yi
61. A-yi-a-lo	62. A-lo-a-tung	63. A-tung-ta-wu
64. Ta-wu-lau-nai	65. Lau-nai-lau-tsai	66. Lau-tsai-a-k'i
67. A-k'i-lau-ti	68. Lau-ti-pu-chih	69. Pu-chih-na-k'au
70. Na-k'au-pêng-tsai	71. Pêng-tsai-lau-chih	72. Lau-chih-lau-p'u
73. Lau-p'u-pu-tsu	74. Pu-tsu-chih-pa	75. Chih-pa-an-tsuo
76. An-tsuo-chih-wu	77. Chih-wu-lau-ch'êng	78. Lau-ch'êng-lo-si
79. Lo-si-fei-shuo	80. Fei-shuo-lau-ku	81. Lau-ku-lau-têh
82. Lau-têh-lau-tien	83. Lau-tien-yi-fen	84. Yi-fen-ming-tsung

It was said by Lo Wên-pi, 'I have found in the genealogy that there are eighty-four generations from our ancestor Mu-ts'i-ts'i to our lord An-k'un who was captured by Wu-san-kuei.' The vicissitudes of peace and war, prosperity and decline in the course of the long ages cannot be here minutely recorded. From the ruin of the house by Wu-san-kuei to Lo Wên-pi, there are six more generations. So if we are to count from their first ancestor Hsi-mu-chê, there are one hundred and twenty generations altogether which used uniformly the patronymic system.

(c) The ancient history of the Lolo of Wu-ting.

The data on this subject were got by Mr. Ma Shüe-liang from the house of the native governor Fêng. One of the data is a genealogy of six consecutive generations:—

1. Chu-ch'ê-k'ê'	2. Ch'ê-k'ê-shih	3. Shih-a-sha
4. Sha-lu-cho	5. Lu-cho-ch'um	6. Ch'u-shu-tsu



There is another of ten generations:—

- |               |                |                |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Mu-a-ts'i  | 2. Ts'i-a-hung | 3. Hung-a-têh  |
| 4. Têh-wo-suo | 5. Suo-wu-mu   | 6. Wu-mu-ch'ou |
| 7. Ch'ou-a-nu | 8. Nu-a-lu     | 9. Lu-a-shih   |
| 10. Shih-a-mê |                |                |

The first three generations of the second genealogy are the same as the second, third, and fourth generations of the genealogy of the An's of Shui-si. There are more than twenty such genealogies in the data collected by Mr. Ma. We here reproduce but two of them.

(d) The patronymic linking system of the Lolo at Mien-ning in Szechwen.

This is put down by Mr. Fu Mao-tsi from the report of the Black Lolo of Siao-siang-kung-ling at Mien-ning, and Mr. Fu has written an article 'The Genesis in the Lolo Lore' published in *Frontier Service*, a journal of Ch'êngtu. A copy of the data he sent me is reproduced below:—

V	jê	Shih	l	<i>tsü</i> <sup>1</sup> ( <i>tsü</i> means 'from').
Shih	l	hê	t'ê	<i>ts'ü</i> ( <i>ts'ü</i> means 'first generation').
hê	t'ê	vo	lê	<i>gnie</i> ( <i>gnie</i> means 'second').
Vo	lê	ch'ü	pu	<i>sua</i> ( <i>sua</i> means 'third').
(h'u	pu	jü	m	<i>l</i> ( <i>l</i> means 'fourth').
jü	m	zê	so	<i>go</i> ( <i>zê so</i> means 'three sons'; <i>go</i> means 'measure' in its original sense, here it is used in the sense of 'having').
jü	m	jü	t'ê	<i>ge</i> ( <i>ge</i> means 'without issue').
jü	m	jü	l	<i>ge</i>
jü	m	v	v	<i>dzu</i> ( <i>dzu</i> means 'having descendants').
v	v	zê	so	<i>go</i> .
v	v	ki	tsih	<i>le no su</i> ( <i>le</i> is a particle used as a connecting word, <i>no su</i> means 'black man').
v	v	la	ie	<i>ic le he ngga</i> ( <i>he ngga</i> is the name used by Lolo to (Chinese).
v	v	sü	sha	<i>le o .dzu</i> ( <i>o dzu</i> is the name used by Lolo to Si-fan).

In this example we see words of specific sense added to the names; all those italicized are such words. It counts but six generations but the patronymic linking system therein is quite evident while the relations of Lolo, Chinese, Si-fan in the mind of the Lolo are also betrayed.

Dr. Ling Shun-shêng said in 1935, 'When I came upon at Yunnan a young Lolo of the vicinity of Ta-liang-shan, called K'ü-mu-tsang-ming, he told me that his father can recite with precision the genealogy of their house which comprehends scores of generations all with linked names.'<sup>2</sup> Corroborated by the testimony of Mr. Fu, it is proved that this practice of linking names is equally current with the Lolo of Szechwen.

## 2. The Woni.

The Woni is the name given by the Chinese to those speaking a language related with Lolo in the south of Yunnan. They live in places none of which is north of long. 24°N. In Book VIII of *Man-su-ho-chih* the combined records of Native Tribes, by Mao K'i-ling, it is said: 'The natives of the region, the Lolo and the Woni, are given to fighting with each other. Deaths are paid for with money. They have no family names; their names are formed with the last word of the father's name. In the reign of Hung-chih (1488–1505 A.D.) the chief magistrate Ch'ên Cheng assigned severally the first eight surnames in the Book of *Pai-kia-sing* or one hundred surnames to eight districts to be added to their names. Each district accepted its surname except the Na-lou.' We see here that the Woni use the patronymic linking

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fu's original transcription is written by I.P.A., here I have changed it into T. F. Wade's system with a little modification.

<sup>2</sup> Ling Shun-shêng, *ibid.*, p. 70.

system as well. Last summer Mr. Kao Hua-nien and Professor Yuan Kia-hua went to Sin-p'ing and Ngo-shan, two districts in south Yunnan, to inquire into the Woni language. To my regret they have not noted this practice of theirs. Probably the Woni in those districts are deeply imbued with Chinese influence and gradually forget their old ways. So I cannot verify the words of Mao K'i-ling as I can do in the case of the Lolo.

### 3. *The A-ka.*

The A-ka are very numerous in the east part of Keng Tung and the adjoining parts of French Laos and Southern Yunnan. In 1935, Dr. T'ao Yun-k'uei made an anthropological investigation of the Shan people of Southern Yunnan; and in his journey from Mong-lem to Mong-chieh, he came upon an A-ka village where from the mouths of two A-ka old men he got the two following genealogies:—

(a) The genealogy of Bluo-sä, fifty-six generations in all:—

1. Su-mi-o <sup>1</sup>	2. O-tzuo-lö	3. Tzuo-lö-tzung
4. Tzung-mö-yieh	5. Mö-yieh-ch'ia	6. Ch'ia-di-hsi
7. Di-hsi-li	8. Li-hö-bä	9. Hö-bä-wu
10. Wu-nio-za	11. Nio-za-tzuo	12. Tzuo-mö-er
13. Mö-er-chü	14. Chü-tuö-p'uo	15. Tuö-p'uo-muo
16. Muo-küo-tuö	17. Küo-tuö-ji	18. Ji-lê-nio
19. Nio-ch'i-la	20. La-tang-buö	21. Buö-muo-buo
22. Muo-buo-ji	23. Ji-la-bi	24. Bi-mö-tzuo
25. Tzuo-huä	26. Huä-jiä	27. Jiä-tzä
28. Tzä-jio	29. Jiö-blung	30. Blung-läi
31. Läi-mi	32. Mi-hsia	33. Hsia-yi
34. Yi-ch'ia	35. Ch'ia-kung	36. Kung-kang
37. Hsia-tzuo	38. Tzuo-ji	39. Ji-z'a
40. Z'a-bang	41. Bang-läi	42. Läi-ni
43. Ni-buo	44. Buo-pö	45. Ma-buo
46. Buo-gong	47. P'u-da	48. Da-tzung
49. Tzung-ch'iuo	50. Ch'iuo-ji	51. Ji-z'a
52. Z'a-nio	53. Nio-chuo	54. Chuo-zä
55. Zä-bluo	56. Bluo-sä	

(b) The genealogy of Ou-la, forty-seven generations:—

1. Su-mi-o	2. O-tzuo-lö	3. Tzuo-lö-tzung
4. Tzung-mö-yieh	5. Mö-yieh-ch'ia	6. Ch'ia-di-hsi
7. Di-hsi-li	8. Li-hö-bä	9. Hö-bä-wu
10. Wu-nio-za	11. Nio-za-tzuo	12. Tzuo-mö-er
13. Mö-er-chü	14. Chü-tuö-p'uo	15. Tuö-p'uo-muo
16. Muo-küo-tuö	17. Küo-tuö-ji	18. Ji-lê-nio
19. Nio-ch'i-la	20. La-tang-buo	21. Tang-buo-sö
22. Buo-sö-läi	23. Läi-lang-buo	24. Buo-yi-nö
25. Nö-muo-buo	26. Muo-buo-di	27. Di-hsia-biä
28. Biä-muö-tzö	29. Tzö-wo-yi	30. Wo-yi-jia
31. Jia-tzä	32. Tzä-jio	33. Jiö-blung
34. Blung-läi	35. Läi-hsia	36. Hsia-yi
37. Yi-chiä	38. Chiä-kung	39. Kung-kang
40. Hsia-tzuo	41. Tzuo-ji	42. Ji-za
43. Za-bang	44. O-dë	45. Dë-gong
46. Gong-tzuo	47. Ou-lä	

The two genealogies are the same for the first twenty generations. The first genealogy from the twenty-seventh to the fortieth generation corresponds to the second from the thirty-first to the forty-third generation. Yet the first genealogy from the twenty-first to the twenty-sixth and the forty-first to the fifty-sixth as

<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Tao's own transcription.

well as the second from the forty-fourth to the forty-seventh have their own several lines. We see, however, the two genealogies are, at all events, very near in kinship. The breaks at the twenty-seventh and thirty-seventh generations in the genealogy A, and at the fortieth and forty-fourth generations in the genealogy B, may be due to errors of the recital or some other causes about which we cannot yet be sure in the present state of our knowledge.

The above discussion is limited to the data we have yet got at. It seems to be a matter of course that there is many another branch in the Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes as well as other peoples that have the same cultural tradition. In this account, I propose by the way that scholars, similarly interested, may help to find out the spread and antiquity of the practice among the related peoples.

Now it may well be asked what is the real use of such a practice. To our mind, it is, in the first place, mnemonic. All the branches except the Lolo and Moso have no writings; or, where they have some writing, it is not for everyday use. When names are thus overlapped in a sequence, they are much easier to remember. Everyone can then keep in mind the names of all his known ancestors down to himself and therewith identify their kinsmen and know their removes from himself. It is therefore of evident importance with them.

The other use is that it is of aid to us in solving the problems about descent of families in history.

As to the ancient history of Yunnan, though there are records of it in ancient Chinese histories such as the *Book of Historical Records* by Su-ma-ts'ien, the *History of the Han Dynasty* by Pan-ku, the *Hwa-yang-kuo-chih* by Ch'ang-kü and *Man-shu* by Fan-ch'o, they are, one and all, too brief and general. It was in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties that the Chinese came to have access to the *Pa's Ancient History* written in the Pa-tsi language and began to know more about the ancient history of Yunnan. Then there came in the Yuan Dynasty the *Records of Ancient Yunnan* by Chang Tau-tsung, in the Ming Dynasty the *Legends of Nan-chao*<sup>1</sup> by Ruan-yuan-shêng; and Yang Shên wrote the *Records of Ancient Yunnan*. They all have accounts of the genealogy of the ancient kingdom of Nan-chao. But they are often mixed up inextricably with Ai-lao's tale of Sha-yi related in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* on the one hand, and on the other the legends about Acoka brought in by Buddhism. Mr. Tung Tso-pin in his *New Evidences concerning the Genealogy of the Tibeto-Burman People* made a comparison between the nine sons of Ti-mung-tso in the *Pa's Ancient History* and the twelve sons of Tu-chu-wu, or Tu-wu-chu according to Mr. Tung, in the *Royal Genealogy* of the Lolo and adduced many a valuable idea which we cannot dwell upon in detail here. We shall rather confine ourselves to the genealogy of Nan-chao.

There are historians, western sinologists, and students of the Shan history, such as Hervey de Saint-Devis, Parker, Rocher, Cochrane and others who are of opinion that the Nan-chao was very akin to the Shan and should therefore be referred to the Tai people; and they go so far as to assert that Nan-chao was a kingdom founded by the Shan.

With regard to such opinion, let alone other objections, the evidence of the genealogy itself is enough to refute them.

In the *Legends of Nan-chao* compiled by Yang-shên, the genealogy of Nan-chao according to the *Pa's Ancient History* is:—

Pyo-tso-ti

ti-mung-tso

Mung-tso-tu

After that there are thirty-six generations down to the following:—

- |                     |                 |                      |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Si-nu-lo         | 2. Lo-ch'êng    | 3. Ch'êng-lo-p'i     |
| 4. P'i-lo-ko        | 5. Ko-lo-fêng   | 6. Fêng-kia-yi       |
| 7. Yi-mou-sün       | 8. Sün-lo-k'üan | 9. K'üan-lung-ch'êng |
| 10. Ch'êng-fêng-you | 11. Shih-lung   | 12. Lung-shun        |
| 13. Shun-hwa-chên   |                 |                      |

<sup>1</sup> The word Chao means kingdom here.

If we acknowledge the name-linking practice to be the cultural trait of the Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes, the opinion referred to above will fall to the ground of itself when confronted with the evidence of the genealogy of Nan-chao.

Besides Nan-chao there are five other Chao which also use the name-linking system. The four generations of Mung-tsün-chao are:—

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. Tsün-fu-shou | 2. K'a-yang-chau (Tsün-fu-shou's brother) |
| 3. Chau-yuan    | 4. Yuan-lo                                |

The two generations of Yüe-si-chao or Moso-chao are:—

- |              |                                  |
|--------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Po-ch'ung | 2. Yü-tsêng (Po-ch'ung's nephew) |
|--------------|----------------------------------|

The six generations of Lang-k'ung-chao are:—

- |               |                |               |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Fêng-shih  | 2. Lo-to       | 3. To-lo-wang |
| 4. Wang-p'ien | 5. P'ien-lo-yi | 6. Yi-lo-kün  |

The five generations of Têng-yan-chao are:—

- |                 |                |                |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Fêng-mie     | 2. Mie-lo-p'i  | 3. P'i-lo-têng |
| 4. Têng-lo-tien | 5. Tien-wên-to |                |

The four generations of Shih-lang-chao are:—

- |               |                                    |
|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Wang-mu    | 2. Wang-ts'ien (Wang-mu's brother) |
| 3. T'ien-pang | 4. Pang-lo-tien <sup>1</sup>       |

In the house Tuan at Tali which was later more deeply imbued with Chinese influence, such a cultural trait was no longer salient. Yet the son of Tuan-chih Siang was called Siang-hsing; his grandson was called Hsing-chih. So traces of the name-linking practice were still betrayed.

As to the house of Kau which founded their so-called 'Ta-chung-kuo', they, too, preserved the custom as is shown in the following genealogy:—

- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Kau-chih-shêng | 2. Kau-shêng-t'ai  |
| 3. Kau-t'ai-nung  | 4. Kau-ming-ts'ing |

The descendants of the house of Kau were in succession the native governors of Yau-au-fu at the beginning of the Ts'ing Dynasty, and they also observed the name-linking practice. On page 17, Volume 135 of the provincial gazetteer of Yunnan, compiled in the twentieth year of the reign of Kuang-sü (1894), there is the following statement which is a quotation of the old records:—

'At the beginning of the reign of Shun-chih (1644 A.D.) Kau-kuêng-yêng offered allegiance and was confirmed in his hereditary powers. At his death, his son Yêng-hou succeeded who was again succeeded by his son Hou-têh. In the third year of the reign of Yung-chêng (1775 A.D.) he was deposed for defiance of the law and exiled to Kiang-nan.'<sup>2</sup>

From this note the prevalence of the custom of name-linking is further brought home to us.

It occurred to me that Dr. Shih Hu had also a note on 'the Absence of Surnames in India' in his *Ts'ang-huei-shih Diary*, Volume V, entered under July seventh, 1914. It said: 'Happening to meet Mr. So and So of India, I was told that there are no family names there. They have only names. The transmission of the names is like this: If the name of the father is John Joseph Mathew, the son's name will be Joseph Mathew Richard. Richard is the new name; the former two are derived from the father's name. And the grandson's name is to be Richard Philip Charles and the great grandson's, Philip (Charles William and so on.) The names John, Richard and the like are of course just borrowed from the west to make clear the practice to foreigners. I am much interested in this; and I regret that my knowledge

<sup>1</sup> The genealogies of the six Chao are determined with reference to Fan-ch'o's *Man-shu*, *Nan-man-chuan* in the *New History of T'ang Dynasty* and the *Legends of Nan-chao* by Yang Shên. And they, as well as the genealogies of the houses of Tuan and Kau, are read in Mandarin from the Chinese translation and transcribed by T. F. Wade's system.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Dr. Ling Shun-shêng in his article mentioned above.

of India is so meagre. It is my hope, however, that the earnest concern implied in dedicating this article to the 11th All-India Oriental Conference could induce some response from Indian scholars and this common point in the cultures of India and China be illuminated by their blend light.

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### Short Account of Nawab Sultanyar.

By M. KAZI.

(Communicated by Dr. K. Nag.)

Nawab Sultanyar was the son of Alayar, a near relative of Mirza Aziz Kokal Tash (foster-brother of Akbar). His father worked under Khan Azam when the latter was appointed Subedar of Malwa by the Emperor Akbar. From small beginning, Alayar, through his best efforts in serving the emperors faithfully, from Akbar to Aurangzeb, reached the position of an officer of 1,000 horse over and above an Alambardar (flag bearer) in the reign of Aurangzeb.<sup>1</sup>

Alayar had four sons: Sultanyar, Asfandiyar, Abdulgazi Mahyar and one brother Rehmatyar. All of them served the Moghal kings. Sultanyar in his early years had the honour of becoming an Amir in the reign of Shahjahan and received the mansabdarship in the year 1038<sup>2</sup> A.H. As he was bold and brave, wise and witty, pious and God-fearing, the emperor offered him a mansabdarship over 250 horse. The emperor was very much pleased when he was sent along with his brother Asfandiyar to attack Bijapur where he fought bravely and with great tact. The emperor as a mark of honour showed favour by increasing his post from Rs.600 to Rs.1,000 and later on, he was given the title of Nawab and sent along with his brother Asfandiyar as a joint *Fozdar* of Baroda in the year 1057<sup>3</sup> A.H. and after five years, his brother was called to Delhi and he was given the full powers to work as a Fozdar of Baroda as well as the title of Himmatkhan.<sup>4</sup> He worked in Baroda for ten years and became very popular among the public, and so the emperor had a good idea of him and in order to inspire him, he showed him favour by transferring to Dholka.<sup>5</sup>

From above it is clear that Sultanyar was an able man and rendered his services promptly and faithfully in the interest of the State and as for further proof, the emperor again increased his pay from Rs.1,000 to Rs.1,500. From Dholka he was transferred to Belpar as Thanedar with mansabdarship of 1,000 horse.<sup>6</sup>

When Prince Murad Bakhsh was the Viceroy of Ahmedabad, Nawab Sultanyar was under him as Thanedar of Belpar. He was then called to Delhi to take part with him in fighting against Dara on the side of Aurangzeb. During that time when Shahjahan fell ill in 1657, the administration of the State was in the hands of Dara; and there was a disunion among brothers. This brought them to arms. Aurangzeb joined his hands with Murad. Thus Dara met his brothers on the battle-field near Dharmatpur in April 1658 and in May at Samugarh, where Dara was defeated. In these two battles Sultanyar was present<sup>7</sup> and had to fight bravely in the cause of his master. Afterwards Aurangzeb imprisoned Murad in the fort of

<sup>1</sup> Alamgirnama, page 751.

<sup>2</sup> Badshahnama, Part 1st F. 3, page 265.

<sup>3</sup> " " " F. 9, " 320.

<sup>4</sup> " " " 2nd F. 18, " 732.

<sup>5</sup> Mirate Ahmedi, page 242.

<sup>6</sup> Mirate Ahmedi, page 23.

<sup>7</sup> Alamgirnama, page 77.



Handwritten text in Arabic script, arranged in approximately 12 lines. The script is cursive and appears to be a form of Ottoman Turkish or Persian. The text is written in black ink on a light background.



Gwalior in 1659.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the officers of Murad, some entered in the camp of Aurangzeb and others fled away to their respective posts. Sultanyar fled to Belpar in 1659. One of the faithful servants of Dara, named Gulmahomed, collected men and material to help him in this plight. The people of Broach played an important part in this game. Aurangzeb was very much enraged against them and he ordered to raze some of the fortifications of Broach.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that in that bloodshed, Sultanyar was killed as a martyr. He was buried there in the year 1071 A.H. (1661).

A mausoleum was erected on his tomb and, through the influence of his father Alayarkhan, his brother Asfandiyar and other relatives serving in the Moghal empire, a farman from the emperor Muhamed Shah was issued for the maintenance of the mausoleum and a grant of fifty bighas of land in the Haveli paragnas of Broach of Subah Ahmedabad for the livelihood of sajjadas was made.

This farman in origin is discovered recently and its text is legible and is in good condition. During that period it was customary to re-issue farmans for the progeny and in this way that farman was re-issued in the reign of Farrukhsiyar to Muhamed Karim, grandson of Sultanyar on the 21st Safar, 1129 A.H., and was again renewed on the 16th Safar, 1139 A.H. to Muhamed Jafar. After his death it was granted to Muhamed Attaullah on the 11th Zilqad, 1139. After the last assignee Muhamed Attaullah, the emperor Muhamed Shah granted the farman to the effect that the rights and privileges of the said land would be enjoyed perpetually by the family members of Sultanyar.

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## Arakan in the pre-Mughal History of Bengal.

By A. B. M. HABIBULLAH.

The history of south-eastern Bengal in the Mughal period is mainly an account of the Portuguese and Mug depredations on the coastal districts from Sandip to Hijli. Their piratical raids seem to commence almost suddenly at the opening of the seventeenth century. It is during the governorship of Raja Mansingh, in 1601, that we first hear of the Arakanese, in alliance with the Bhuiyas of Bhusna and Sripur, making raids on Satgaon, against which an expedition was sent.<sup>3</sup> During Islam Khan's governorship (1606-1613) occurred the first Arakanese invasion of Bhuluah.<sup>4</sup> Their hostile operations on the Mughal districts roughly coincide with the final destruction of the Bhuiyas of Bhati, particularly those of Sripur, Bakla and Bhusna.<sup>5</sup> From the determined and persistent nature of their subsequent attacks it seems that the Arakanese, then led by their ambitious king Meng-ra-dzy agyi, had inherited from the Afghans and then from the Bhuiyas, the hostility to the Mughals. The final conquest of Chittagong in 1666 may thus be regarded as the conclusion of the operations which commenced with Daud Kararani's final defeat near Rajmahal.

<sup>1</sup> *Mirate Ahmedi*, page 247.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbar Nama*, tr. iii, p. 1235.

<sup>3</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer*, Volume III, page 113.

<sup>4</sup> *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, tr. i, p. 329.

<sup>5</sup> It was sometimes between 1601 and 1603 that Mansingh, after his battle with Osman at Sherpur Atiya, proceeded against the Bhuiyas and occupied their territories. Bhusna had been already occupied by 1596; after 1601 Kedar Rai of Sripur was killed and Sandip occupied; Bakla was reduced by Islam Khan, *AN.*, iii, p. 1235; *BG.*, i, p. 131.



In any case Arakan figures in the Muslim chronicles only from after the Mughal conquest of Bengal although her contact with Muslim Bengal commenced nearly two centuries earlier. This contact appears to have turned on the possession of Chittagong, the undoubted record of whose occupation by Bengal in the medieval period—if we exclude Ibn Battuta's *Sudkawan*<sup>1</sup> as referring to Satgaon—is to be found in a coin of Danujmardan, dated 1417.<sup>2</sup> The chronicles of Arakan throw little light on the process by which Bengal acquired control of the port. Its conquest must evidently have preceded Danujmardan's usurpation of power which was much too short-lived to enable him to make fresh territorial acquisitions. Unless we can ascribe it to an unrecorded military advance on the part of Sikandar, it may be supposed to have had some connection—at present impossible to elucidate—with an invasion of Arakanese territory by the king of Ava some time towards the end of Azam's reign (1391–1410). Being ousted from his throne the Arakanese king Meng-tsaumum (Naramaikhlā) fled, in 1406 or 1407, to Bengal and took refuge with the king of Gaur who had then his capital at Sonargaon. He was honourably received and stayed there, it is said, twenty-four years during which he rendered useful service to the king and was instrumental in repelling a foreign attack. Having thus pleased his host he obtained a promise to aid him with a military force to regain his throne. This force was supplied to him under the command of one named Wali Khan who, however, on reaching Arakan, treacherously seized and kept him a prisoner. Meng with difficulty escaped from confinement, repaired to Gaur and obtained another force. Wali Khan was subsequently punished and the fugitive king eventually reinstated on his throne.<sup>3</sup> His reinstatement was conditional on his continuance as a tributary vassal of Gaur.

The account does not name the king of Gaur, but during the twenty-four years of his sojourn he must have lived through the reigns of more than one king. In 1410 Ghiyasuddin Azam's reign terminated and was followed by a period of Hindu predominance culminating, as is well known, in the accession of Ganesha himself in 1417. The king who ultimately gave the Arakanese fugitive material help in 1430 could thus be no other than Jalaluddin Muhammad. The occupation of Chittagong, however, does not appear to have coincided with Meng's reinstatement but, as is proved by the Chatgaon coins of Danujmardan, Mahendra and Jalaluddin and, as has been remarked above, must have taken place earlier than 1417. In all probability it was already in the possession of Bengal when in the year 1406, the Chinese interpreter, Ma-huan, accompanying emperor Yung-lo's military mission, landed at Cheh-ti-gon, on his way to the kingdom of Bang-ko-la (Bangala) *via* Sona-urh-kong (Sonargaon).<sup>4</sup>

The Arakanese chronicle at any rate makes it clear that by the year 1430 the kingdom of Arakan became tributary to Bengal. The Muslim allies of Meng settled at the new capital and built what is known as the Sandikhan mosque. Whether the vassalage was carried out in a concrete manner for any length of time after Meng's death in 1434 is doubtful, but an increase of Bengali Muslim influence from that date is undoubtedly noticeable in Arakanese life. The vassalage was carried out certainly in spirit if not in any material form. Meng's successor Mengkhri (1434–1459) started the tradition of adopting, in addition to his Buddhist titles, a purely Muslim proper name and is accordingly known in the chronicles as Ali Shah. His successor Basauppyu (1459–82) gave himself the curious Muslim name of Kalima Shah. This practice was continued in the sixteenth century also and we have Gadzabadi or Gajapati (1523–31) calling himself Ilyas Shah, and Meng-beng (1531–53), Zabauk Shah, apparently a misreading either for Mubarak or Barbak. The names of Sikandar, Salim and Husain were adopted by the next three kings, Meng-phalaung, (1571–93), Meng-ra-dzagyi (1593–1601) and Meng-khamaung (1612–22).

<sup>1</sup> Those who identify *Sudkawan* with Chittagong will, however, find support in the statement of Shihabuddin Tahsh-Sarkar, *Studies*, p. 122—that Fakhruddin fully conquered Chittagong and connected it with Chandpur on the Meghna by a raised highway.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology*, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Phayre: *JASB.*, 1844, part I, p. 45; Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> *JRAS.*, 1896, p. 529.

For the next two kings, Narapadigyi (1638-45) and Thrithudamma (1622-38) no Muslim titles are assigned by the chronicle but their coins contain unreadable words in Persian letters which undoubtedly were designed to represent their Muslim appellations.<sup>1</sup> Evidently their knowledge of Muslim names was confined to those of the Sultans of Bengal. A more concrete expression of Arakan's cultural vassalage was given also by Meng-khri. Coins which began to be issued about this time as commemorative pieces of coronations and whose use was most probably inspired by Bengal were inscribed with the full Arabic legend and title of the Gaur Sultans to the exclusion even of Burmese or Buddhist names. Indeed, so perfect was the copy to the point, even of reproducing the *Kalima* and the invocatory phrases of the Gaur coins that Phayre, who, in the last century, brought for the first time a series of these remarkable coins to light, was inclined to doubt their ascription to Arakan.<sup>2</sup> The earliest of the series belongs to Ali Shah and served as a model for his successors. Only two other coins of this type have so far been discovered, those belonging to Gadzabadi (Iliyas Shah) and Meng-phalaung (Sikandar), but considering the wide interval between their dates it is permissible to expect similar issues for other kings also. Bengal's influence was not confined to coins and royal titles only. From the end of the sixteenth century, when the writings of the Bengal poets, Daulat Kazi and Alaul, begin to supply a good deal of information concerning Arakan, a large number of offices in the court and the government appear to have been held by Bengali Muslims. It is to the patronage extended by the Arakanese court that we owe some of the notable Bengali works of the medieval period.<sup>3</sup>

In these instances of Bengal's influence one cannot, however, read anything like proofs of Arakan's continued political subjection. How long and in what form Meng-tsau-mum's vassalage was given expression in detail will remain a problem. Nor was Bengal, after Jalaluddin's death, in a position to demand its fulfilment. A weakening of her hold on the south-eastern districts, on the contrary, is indicated by the absence from the coins of the mint-names of Muazzamabad and also of Chatgaon. The Arakanese chronicle, on the other hand, suggests that not only was the vassalage repudiated but Meng-khri adopted an aggressive policy towards Bengal's possessions on his border and occupied Ramu, a name applied in the sixteenth century to the Chittagong country as a whole.<sup>4</sup> It certainly indicated a considerable territorial advance which facilitated the conquest of the town itself by the next king Basaupyu. This aggression did not go unresisted, for Bengal regained her military energy from the end of Mahmud's reign and Barbak succeeded in recovering a number of frontier tracts. The inscription of Rasti Khan found in the tomb of Alaul, dated 1473-4,<sup>5</sup> is perhaps a proof of its recovery from the Arakanese.

Bengal's hold on the Chittagong area, however, was not destined to be permanent. In 1512 the Tipperah king appeared on the scene and occupied the town, possibly from the Muslims,<sup>6</sup> but by 1517, the Arakanese had reconquered it. According to the Rajmala, its loss was due to Husain's preoccupations in his war with Tipperah, a statement which, if true, would suggest that the Tipperah occupation in 1512 was followed by its recovery by the Muslims. This second Arakanese advance led to the launching of a general offensive against Arakan under the command of prince Nusrat. The evidence gathered from the writings of the poets Kavindra Parameswar and Srikanan Nandi<sup>7</sup> as well as the local Muslim traditions of Chittagong<sup>8</sup> prove beyond doubt that the Arakanese were driven out of the area. The statement of De Barros that when Joao di Silveira landed at Chittagong in 1517,

<sup>1</sup> *Int. Numismata Orientalia*, 1882, p. 7; 26-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see Huq: *Arakan Rajshabdhay Bangla Shahitya*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 140; *Camb. Hist.*, iv, p. 477; For Ramu, see Dasgupta: *Bengal in the sixteenth century*.

<sup>5</sup> *JBORS.*, 1918, p. 181.

<sup>6</sup> *JASB.*, 1850, p. 543. Rai Chaichag, the Tipperah general, is said to have expelled the Gaur garrison.

<sup>7</sup> Sen: *Bangabhasha O Shahitya*, pp. 147-8, 153-4.

<sup>8</sup> Hamidullah: *Ahadiatul Khwanin*, quoted in Blochmann, *JASB.*, 1872, pp. 336-7.

'the port belonged to 'king of Bengal and Arakan was a vassal of the Bengal King'<sup>1</sup> may refer to the result of Nusrat's campaign. The port was certainly in Muslim occupation in 1528, when Martin Jusarte landed there and was imprisoned by the local Muslim governor.<sup>2</sup> From 1528 till at least Sher Shah's conquest of Gaur it remained under Bengal as is proved by the Portuguese accounts detailing the proceedings of the various Portuguese trading and military missions that were sent to negotiate with Ghiyasuddin Mahmud at Gaur and which eventually acquired the Chittagong customs and trading rights in return of their military assistance against Sher Khan.<sup>3</sup> The same account is responsible for the additional information that after his final occupation of Gaur Sher sent one of his officers, 'Nogazil' for taking over the Chittagong administration from Mahmud's governor, Khuda Baksh Khan.<sup>4</sup> About the year 1545, however, during the uncertainty consequent upon Sher Shah's death, Arakan again commenced aggressions. Meng-beng (1531-53) is said to have retained his hold on Chittagong, a statement that can, in view of the evidences referred to above, only mean its occupation, possibly during the rule of the Sur dynasty.<sup>5</sup> Chittagong does not again appear in Muslim coins or chronicles till its conquest by Shaista Khan. In spite of its description in the *Ain*<sup>6</sup> as a *sarkar* in the Bengal *Subah*, the Mughals, as was remarked by Blochmann, are not known to have obtained any footing east and south of the Fenny. It is hardly possible to accept Banerji's statement that Muhammad Shah Sur conquered Arakan in 1555.<sup>7</sup> It not only conflicts with the known facts respecting Bengal's holds in the south-east at this period but is exclusively based on a clearly wrong reading by Wright of a mint-name on one of Muhammad's coins.<sup>8</sup>

It was nearly a century since Arakan commenced hostile operations against Bengal's possessions south of the Fenny. The Husain Shahi reconquest had been short-lived and by the time the Afghan dynasty came to power her frontiers had again been pushed northwards. We are indebted to Shihabuddin Talish for the information that 'towards the end of the Bengal kings, when Chatgaon again fell into the hands of the Mugs, they did not leave a bird in the air or a beast on the land from Chatgaon to Jagdia, the frontier of Bengal'.<sup>9</sup> They closed all communications, destroyed Fakhruddin's causeway, and increased the desolation in the intervening space which became impassable on account of the thick jungles. This probably marked a new phase in their operations and was intended to raise a barrier against the Bengalis. Arakan utilized the resulting security in extending her military power on the south and north. With the help of the Portuguese whom Mahmud had permitted to trade in Chittagong and who had since been taken under Arakanese protection and allowed to build a fortified post in Dianga, Arakan now prepared to bring in the greatest period in her history. A military expedition sent under Di Britto resulted in the conquest of the Pegu kingdom.<sup>10</sup> By 1569, Sandip, on the mouth of the Meghna, passed under her suzerainty. Ceaser Frederick's 'King of Bengal' to whom both the governor of Chatigaon and the king of Sandip—'a very good man of a Moor king'—were subject, could only refer to the king Meng-

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, p. 28, note and p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> De Barros, abstracted in Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see Campos, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-40.

<sup>4</sup> Castanheda : *História*, cited in Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Continuance of Muslim hold on the town up to at least 1543 is suggested by the Rajmala, according to which, following Bijoya Manikya's abortive attempt to conquer the town, it was occupied by the Muslims. *Bengal, Past and Present*, 1929, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 140. The weakness of Bengal at this period is illustrated by the daring invasion of Sonargaon by the Tipperah king, between 1543 and 1559. See *Bengal, Past and Present*, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Jarrett's tr., ii, p. 139.

<sup>7</sup> *Banglar Itihas*, ii, p. 356.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Mus. Cat. of Muslim coins*, ii, p. 180, No. 229. The marginal legend was read as *zarb arkan*, but it is clearly *rikab*. What has been read as *A* of Arakan is obviously the dot of *B* of *zarb* and the supposed dot of *N* appears below what should then be read as *B* of *rikab*. Besides, the Muslims never used the anglicized term Arakan; they always called it Rakhang, the nearest approximation to the true Burmese Rakhanga. See Huq, *op. cit.*, p. 3; see also *JASB.*, 1873, p. 234, note.

<sup>9</sup> Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

ra-dzagyi of Arakan,<sup>1</sup> who, in his letter granting facilities to the Portuguese missionaries, called himself 'king of Bengala and of Tipperah',<sup>2</sup> doubtless by virtue of his hold on parts of Tipperah and Chittagong. From the latter place were now (1601) issued trilingual coins, in Arabic, Burmese, and Devnagari with the king's Burmese and Muslim titles, a clear declaration of his sovereignty over the Muslims and Hindus of the area.<sup>3</sup> During the early years of the Mughal conquest which corresponded with the reign of Meng-phalaung (1571-93), some sort of collaboration with the Bhuiyas of Bhati must have come into force and the island of Sandip was taken possession of by the Bhuiya of Sripur from whom it was wrested by Mansingh's forces sometime in 1601. The second half of the sixteenth century, at any rate, does not afford instances of active Arakanese hostility to Bengal. The Mughals by replacing the Bengal kings also inherited their enmity with Arakan and the latter now became friendly with the anti-Mughal elements. The forcible occupation of Sandip by the Portuguese freebooter Carvalho in 1602 occasioned a demonstration of this alliance and in the expedition against him and, in fact, in subsequent actions against the Portuguese, Arakan was assisted by a naval contingent from Sripur.<sup>4</sup> During Islam Khan's operations against the Zamindars of Bhati not less than three Arakanese invasions occurred details of which are, however, not on record, but which were most probably meant to create diversions in favour of the hard-pressed Bhuiyas. The attack in 1615, directed against the newly established Mughal outpost of Bhuluah, cannot be isolated from its above-mentioned political contexts. It was a determined and well-planned advance and was reinforced by the Portuguese under Carvalho who brought up the combined Arakanese-Portuguese fleet to co-operate with the land forces. The Mughal commandant was compelled to fall back and Bhuluah was plundered. Portuguese treachery, however, killed the enterprise and the Arakanese king returned a fugitive to Chittagong.<sup>5</sup> The Bhuiyas on their part rendered their ally such help as were possible for them against the Portuguese of Sandip who had lately become a source of great danger to Arakan. It was a desire to please the Arakanese king that led Pratapaditya to treacherously seize and execute Carvalho when the latter sought his help in 1607.<sup>6</sup>

It was Portuguese treachery and high-handedness that seem to have been responsible for this alliance failing to bear its full weight on the Mughals. From 1602 Arakan was kept fully occupied by the Tibau brothers who occupied Sandip and for nearly twelve years menaced both Bhati and Arakan. They wrested the Pegu kingdom and threatened to take Mrohaung itself. So sorely was Arakan tried by Gonsalvos that Anaporan (Anik Frank of the Muslim writer), the governor of Chittagong, appealed to Islam Khan in 1610 and offered to accept Mughal vassalage for Sandip in return for help against the pirates.<sup>7</sup> It was only after great military exertions supported by treachery that Meng-khamaung, assisted by the timely arrival of the Dutch fleet, was able to deal a final blow to them in 1616.<sup>8</sup> Sandip was finally occupied and the remnants of the Portuguese freebooters were settled in Chittagong and Dianga. The Bhuiyas meanwhile had all, one by one, been crushed by the Mughals. By the year 1612 Sripur, Khizrpur, Bhuluah, Fathabad and Bakla were all reduced and converted into Mughal military outposts. Before Islam Khan moved on his final expedition against the Afghan chief Osman in 1613,

<sup>1</sup> *Purchas his pilgrims*, x, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Du Jarric, cited in Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 78. This finds confirmation in the Rajmala according to which, following an invasion of Chittagong and Ramu by King Amara Manikya in 1585, Tipperah itself was overrun and conquered by Sikandar Shah of Arakan in 1586. *Bengal, Past and Present*, 1929, p. 141. For Ralph Fitch's reference to wars between Arakan and Tipperah, see *JASB.*, 1873, p. 234, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Int. Num. Orient.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6. These coins were issued by the governor, *Karamkari*, who, according to Talish, stamped his own name on them.

<sup>4</sup> Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> *BG.*, tr. i, p. 329. This is stated to have been the fourth invasion since Islam's assumption of office; Campos, pp. 86-7.

<sup>6</sup> Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> *BG.*, i, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 155. For details of the operations against the Portuguese, see *ibid.*, pp. 67-87.

Pratapaditya was crushed<sup>1</sup> and all resistance ceased in the Bhati. With the final destruction of Osman in North Tipperah the Afghan phase of the Mughal conquest thus came to an end.

The occupation of Sandip and the employment of the Portuguese corsairs, however, meant a vast accession of strength to the Arakanese who now determined to continue the war—if war it may be called—with the Mughals. A new technique of operations was now introduced, the technique of sea-borne lightning raids on the coastal areas. With the bold and unscrupulous Portuguese seamen co-operating in their well-built ships with the land forces, Arakanese military power now attained its greatest height. After the failure of the invasion in 1616<sup>2</sup> they appear to have realized the difficulty of land operations against the vast resources of the Mughals and changed over to the Portuguese methods of piracy. With large vessels carrying cannons and troops in swift-moving boats they now extended their raids not only on the coastal districts but, as is well known, along the Meghna far into the interior. The frightful proportion which these combined Mug-Feringhee raids assumed and against which successive Mughal governors remained powerless, is well known. The attempts of Quasim Khan (1613–17) and Ibrahim (1617–21) to conquer Chittagong and put an end to the raids, could not succeed against the strong defences put up by the Arakanese near Sitakund and the difficulties of marching through the trackless forests.<sup>3</sup> Fear of the Arakanese fleet hampering the progress of his army proceeding along the coastal route led Ibrahim to conquer Tipperah in order to avoid travelling by the sea. The terror which the Mug boats inspired is well illustrated by the amusing incident, recorded by Talish, of the Mughal *Mir Bahr* who, while cruising with his fleet on the coastal waters espied a dozen Mug boats and, forgetting the right Bengali words for turning back, in his fright kept shouting for broth to be immediately given to him.<sup>4</sup> The Mug-Feringhee combination proved almost invincible and diplomacy had to be resorted to in order to separate them before military measures could be expected to have any permanent effect. In 1638, Islam Khan II gained a temporary diplomatic success when the Arakanese governor, Mutuk Rai, because of his personal quarrel with Thirithudamma, offered to hold Chittagong as a Mughal vassal.<sup>5</sup> This, however, remained only a paper arrangement, and did not affect the continuance of Mug raids which, on the contrary, appear to have been intensified with renewed vigour during Shuja and Mir Jumla's administration. Shaista Khan's final occupation of Chittagong in 1666, which put an end to these devastating operations, was, as is well known, the result more of his diplomacy by which he won over the Portuguese, than of his military might.

<sup>1</sup> *BG.*, i, pp. 136–138.

<sup>2</sup> *BG.*, i, p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> Details of these attempts are given only in *BG.*, i, p. 404, ii, p. 632.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB.*, 1907, p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> *Alamgirnamah*, tr. quoted in *JASB.*, 1907, p. 410 note. This date coincides with the cessation of Arakanese coins from Chittagong, perhaps an indication of Mutuk's proposed vassalage. For the Arakanese name of the governor, see *JASB.*, 1846, pp. 234ff.

## Early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters.

By DR. B. C. LAW.

The early history of Buddhism, like that of Jainism or Christianity, centres round a supreme human personality with a galaxy of devoted disciples. In the case of Buddhism, the supreme personality was Gautama the Buddha, with his inner circle of followers, male and female. Amongst his lay worshippers and supporters, the *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*, there were many who became prominent in the public eye, although their relationship with the Master, in so far at least as their modes and habits of life were concerned, was not so intimate as that of those men and women who had renounced the world and were admitted into the religious order. In the present article I shall confine my observations to the general historical position of the early Buddhist brothers and sisters, the term 'early' being applied here precisely in the sense in which the late lamented Mrs. Rhys Davids used it in her English metrical translation of the *Thera-Therīgāthā*.

The early Buddhist brothers and sisters belonged to a distinct religious Order and school of thought in respect of which the position of the Buddha was that of a *Sanḅhi* (founder of an Order), *Gaṇi* (leader of a following), and *Gaṇācariyo* (teacher of a band of followers), the epithets usually applied to the contemporary founders of different Orders and leaders of different schools of thought.<sup>1</sup> These Orders and schools were mainly represented by the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas*, all of whom were ascetics or recluses leading the life of wanderers.<sup>2</sup> Although they are broadly distinguished in the Pāli Nikāyas as *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas*, one is to understand that the former admitted into their Orders none but those who belonged to Brahmin families or were at least of the twice-born castes, while the latter kept the door of admission open to recruits from all social grades.<sup>3</sup> So far as the other Orders were concerned, women, too, were equally entitled to seek admission into them. In other words, the institution of the *Śramaṇas* (recluses) was based upon the principle of democracy.

The religious Order founded by the Buddha was that of the *Śramaṇas* in the above sense, and precisely like the *Nirgranthas* (Jainas) and others, the early Buddhist brothers passed as *puttas* or sons of the Master. They became known to the members of other Orders as *Sākyaputtiya Samanaṇas*,<sup>4</sup> i.e. recluses belonging to the Order founded by a scion of the *Sākya* race of Kapilavastu situated in the Nepalese Tarai. They represented themselves as *Buddhaputtū* or sons of the Buddha. In the phraseology of outsiders, they are sometimes simply called *Sākyas*,<sup>5</sup> while in the later Indian inscriptions they have been introduced as *Sākyabhikkhus* and in case of sisters, as *Sākyabhikkhunīs*. The Buddha himself came to be revered as *Sākyamuni*,<sup>6</sup> and also as *Sākyasimha*.

The *Vinaya Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga* seek to present a connected ecclesiastical history of the early Buddhists from the Buddhahood of the Master down to the session of the Second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī. It shows that the nucleus of the *Sanḅha* was formed after the conversion of the first group of five disciples—the *pañcavaggiyas*—at the Deer Park of Isipatana (Sarnath), near the city of Benares. This was rapidly followed by the conversion of Yasa, the banker's son, and his fifty-four comrades. No formality was yet needed to be gone through. Just as Jesus of Nazareth addressed his first disciples five centuries later, so also did Gautama the Buddha, who addressed his first sixty disciples thus: 'Come ye! (*ehi, ettha*), the

<sup>1</sup> *Dīgha*, I, p. 48; *Suttanipāṭa*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 141ff.

<sup>3</sup> Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp. 191ff.; B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Buddhist India*, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, p. 420.

<sup>6</sup> Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Aśoka; *Barhut Inscriptions* (Barua and Sinha), Nos. 141 and 158.

Law is well expounded, lead the holy life to make an end of all pain.' The attainment of sainthood and salvation as implied by the term *arahatta* was not at all a remote ideal; it was attained and attainable here and now where human nature was mature for the reception of the truth and the acceptance of the norm (*dhamma*). There were just sixty Arahants at the time, we are told, besides himself, when the newly Enlightened One addressed his worthy followers in these inspiring words: 'Freed am I, O mendicants, from all nooses, whether divine or human, and you too are thus freed. Go ye forth, O mendicants, and wander about for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the advantage, good and happiness of gods and men. Go not two by the same road. Address, O mendicants, the doctrine which is beneficial in the beginning, beneficial in the middle, beneficial in the end, pregnant with meaning, well-worded, complete in form, and reveals the pure life of holiness. There are individuals who, in spite of their little proneness to sin, fall away from the truth and norm for want of preaching, but may be the future expounders of the Law, and I, too, will proceed to the Senānigāma at Uruvelā for preaching the Law.'<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Enlightened One and his first disciples enthusiastically started the work of preaching the message under the fervour of a new-born faith. They stayed during the rainy season at the same Deer Park, during which, we are told, the mendicants brought to the Master ardent applicants for initiation and ordination from various quarters and various localities (*nānādisā nānājanapadā*), which proved to be a tedious job for them as well as for the applicants. This impelled the Master to think and, risen up from trance at dusk, he called his followers in his presence and addressed them, saying, 'Enjoin, O Brethren! Henceforth do you yourselves initiate and ordain (persons as you find yourselves) in this or that quarter, in this or that locality. And thus are they to be initiated and ordained: Causing them, at first to be shaven clean of hair and beard, clad in yellow garments, with the upper robe donned on one shoulder, making them bow down at the feet of the brethren and sit on their heels with joined hands, say unto them, "Thus do thou declare the faith: I recourse to the Enlightened One as my Refuge, I recourse to the Doctrine as my Refuge, I recourse to the Order as my Refuge. For the second time and for the third time do I declare the same"'. The rule thus introduced and enforced was the same for initiation (*pabbajjā*) and ordination (*upasampadā*).

At the end of the rainy season, the Master again addressed the mendicants in these words: 'By me verily, O Brethren, hath the highest form of salvation been attained and realized through the rightly directed mind, through the rightly directed effort; you, too, O Brethren, attain and realize it thereby.'<sup>2</sup>

After this they parted company for the time being and each went his way to preach salvation. The Master himself wended his way back to Uruvelā where he ordained in the first instance a band of thirty comrades. But the real triumph was not achieved until he succeeded in converting the three Jāṭila brothers with their thousand followers. With all of them he came down to Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, where king Bimbisāra and all the citizens found that it should be so. Twelve millions of citizens of Magadha assembled in the capital, to whom the erstwhile Jāṭila leaders bore their personal testimony to the Master's powers and faithfully

<sup>1</sup> Vinaya Piṭaka, I, pp. 20-21:

Atha kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi: muttāhaṃ bhikkhave sabbapāsehi ye dībbā ye ca mānusa. Tumhe pi bhikkhave muttā sabbapāsehi ye dībbā ye ca mānusa. Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya athāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamītha. Desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhakalyāṇaṃ pariyosānakalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ savyatthjanāṃ kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi satta apparajakkhajātikā assavaṇatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhaviṇṇā dhammassa aññātāro. Ahaṃ pi bhikkhave yena Uruvelā yena Senānigāma ten' upasaṅkamissāmi dhammaṇṇānāyā'ti.

<sup>2</sup> Vinaya Piṭaka, I, p. 22:

Atha kho bhagavā vassaṃ vuttho bhikkhū āmantesi: mayhaṃ kho bhikkhave yoniso-manasikārā yonisosammappadhānā anuttarā vimutti anuppatā anuttarā vimutti sacchikatā. Tumhe pi bhikkhave yoniso-manasikārā yonisosammappadhānā anuttaraṃ vimuttiṃ anupapūṇātha anuttaraṃ vimuttiṃ sacchikarothā'ti.

stated how the change came over them. The Master preached to them a discourse embracing the topics suited to their temperament and holding before them the stern realities of life and the means of escape therefrom. Their hearts were so ripe for the reception of the truth that eleven millions of them, headed by king Bimbisāra, acquired at that very sitting the eye of clear insight into the Law, while one million only declared their *upāsakahood*, i.e. their position as mere lay worshippers.

The next great triumph was achieved when Sāriputta and Mahā-Moggallāna of the school of Sañjaya were converted to the new faith together with the half of the other followers of the same famous wandering teacher through the instrumentality of Assaji (Aśvajit) who belonged to the first band of five disciples. In presenting the Buddha's doctrine to Sāriputta, the Venerable Assaji (Aśvajit) gave a terse but significant expression to the fundamental axiom of Buddhist thought.

This amazing initial success of his preaching mission in Magadha produced a hubbub among the citizens of Rājagṛha, who expressed their sentiment in the following couplet.

‘Āgato kho mahāsamaṇo Magadhānaṃ Giribbajam,  
sabbe Sañjaye netvāna, kaṃ su dāni nayissatī ti.’

‘Verily the great recluse has come to Magadhan Girivraja, lo! carrying all the Sañjayakas away, whom will he carry now?’<sup>1</sup>

The Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu was a notable event as it was followed by the conversion of all of the Śākyaans to the new faith and the ordination of Siddhārtha's son Rāhula and half-brother Nanda, as well as of such gifted Śākya youths as Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Devadatta who came along with their barber attendant Upāli. They requested the Master to initiate the barber Upāli first and others afterwards so that after paying due homage to their attendant they might get rid of their racial pride.<sup>2</sup>

The Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu was all the more important for the reason that the Śākya ladies headed by Siddhārtha's aunt, step and foster-mother Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and including his wife Yasodharā left the city in a body in right earnest and travelled on foot as far as Vaiśālī to seek admission into the *Sanḡha*. Ānanda pleaded their cause and the Master granted the prayer. His reluctance caused by fear lest the duration of the Good Faith be shortened, if women were admitted into it, was not without its effect. The sisters were ‘made juniors’ (to use the phrase of Mrs. Rhys Davids) to the brothers. However, with their admission, there grew up a sisterhood, the *Sanḡha* of the bhikkhunīs side by side with that of the bhikkhus, and both existed and flourished through centuries that followed. Thereafter the Buddhist community came to be composed of the brothers, the sisters, and the lay worshippers, male and female.

The admission of women into the Śākya Order was no novelty in the history of the religions of ancient India, inasmuch as women had not only gained admission into the various earlier and contemporary religious Orders of the Hermits (*Tāpasas*), the Wanderers (*Paribbājakas*), the Ājivikas and the Jains (*Niggaṇṭhas*) but also enjoyed an equal status with men. Here the novelty consisted rather in certain restrictions placed on the sisters, which went to make them subordinate to the brothers in monastic life. The result was that the sisters were found to be the *antevāsīnīs* or pupils of the elderly brothers or sisters but no brother was known to have been the *antevāsī* of any sister, however spiritually advanced she might be.

The admission into the Order of boys like Rāhula, who were below the age of twenty, necessitated the creation of a rank of the *Sāmaṇeras* (novices), and that of girls under that age to that of the *Sāmaṇerīs*, and the *Sāmaṇeras* and *Sāmaṇerīs* came to be treated as probationers (*sikkhamānas*, *sikkhamānās*) for ordination under a competent brother or sister.

The dedication of the Veṇuvana (Bamboo grove) to the Master and his followers by king Bimbisāra led to the foundation of the first Buddhist Vihāra in India which was followed in quick succession and in other parts of the Buddhist Midland as well

<sup>1</sup> *Vinaya Pīṭaka*, I, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 182-183.



by numerous other *vihāras* or *ārāmas* that served as permanent places of retreat, fixed abodes or monasteries for the brothers and sisters and the probationers under them. The ruling princes and the rich bankers vied with one another in erecting and endowing them.

There was yet no shrine attached to those *vihāras* to serve as a *sanctum sanctorum* or fixed place of worship. The lay worshippers who were in the rôle of devotees needed a *cāitya* or shrine for the purpose of worship of a tangible substitute in the absence of the Master, as we are told in the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka*, and the first shrine suggested and introduced within the precincts of a *vihāra* was a Bo-tree grown from the graft or seed or sapling from the Bo-tree under which the Master attained to Buddhahood.<sup>1</sup> This was followed since the Master's demise by other objects used by the Master and by the *stūpas* or relic-shrines,<sup>2</sup> all redolent with personal associations of the Master and memories of his living presence on earth; and long afterwards, by the images that were the creation of imaginative art and emotional religious sentiment. With the introduction of images came the temples into existence, and Buddhism became thoroughly Hinduized.<sup>3</sup>

The number of followers and lay worshippers multiplied year after year during the forty-five years of the Master's ministration and preaching career. The new centres of activity grew up in the countries around Magadha, although, on the whole, the movement remained confined to the Buddhist Midland. Many new *vihāras* were erected and dedicated to the fraternity of all times and quarters. The rules and formalities increased, the laws were formulated and enforced and amended from time to time, many forms of speech and conventions were introduced, all having a restrictive effect on the conduct of his followers. And yet nothing was enacted or promulgated in advance. The Master proceeded in the light of changing circumstances. As occasions demanded, the rules were either suggested by him or by others, but before they were enforced or held binding on the fraternity, they needed his formal approval. Thus behind them all was his personal authority; he was the source of the Law and the person to set the seal of supreme authority. The guiding principles were being enunciated and clearly held before his followers, and the ideals and standards of conduct were set up. The disciplinary rules were being viewed from the first only as a means to an end and not as ends in themselves. He had all along the dread of the mischief of the Law. So, in spite of the fact that a fairly large body of rules, conventions and forms of procedure grew up along with a *Pātimokkha* code with penal sections laid down in it, he did not forget to authorize his followers on the eve of his demise to dispense with all the minor and lesser rules of conduct, if they so desired or found expedient.

One distinctive feature of the organization launched forth by the Buddha was that it was designed to be an autonomous body guided by the principles and ideals, and the rules and conventions, in short, by the traditions of the Elect. Thus did he relinquish the right of nominating a successor chosen from among his followers.

Indeed, from the beginning to the end the position taken up by the Buddha with regard to the fraternity was at first sight anomalous and irreconcilable. As he expressly stated, his position in respect of his disciples and followers was no more than that of a *pubbaṅgama* or pioneer—an inciter to holy life, an inspirer, a pathfinder or leader.<sup>4</sup> He disclaimed either that he was the leader of the *Saṅgha* or that the *Saṅgha* waited for his leadership.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, he was all along alive to his responsibility for the well-being and welfare of his followers, inasmuch as they joined him under his inspiration and persuasion. But how far was this feeling or mental attitude, wishful thinking or expressed opinion consistent with the authority actually exercised in ushering the disciplinary rules and penal laws into existence? How could he make it consistently possible that he was at one and the same time

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 228 foll.

<sup>2</sup> The *Peta* and *Vimāna-vatthus*, the *Thera-Therīgāthā* and the *Apadāna* are full of allusions to these objects of worship.

<sup>3</sup> See Barua's *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, Vol. I, pp. 190f. for the history of the building of the Bodhi-gayā temple.

<sup>4</sup> *Majjhima*, I, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīgha*, II, p. 100.

both in and out of it? Was he to be counted as a member of the fraternity or was he like a benevolent despot who was above the Law? Whatever may be the views expressed by him, did he not function *ipso facto* as an overwhelming and all-engulfing human personality? Amongst hundreds and thousands of his earnest followers, how many of them had the chance of getting self-expression or figured as originators of new thoughts? Even if, in point of fact, the early Buddhist tradition was the fruitful result of a corporate body of brothers and sisters, was it not the outcome of his sole and supreme injunctions as their teacher and leader?

These are some of the most important questions that demand satisfactory answers.

The account in the Vinaya Mahāvagga goes to show that the Buddha adhered to his own method of ordaining his followers, namely, by his imperious call, *Ehi, Etha*, 'Come Ye', without having recourse to the formal method gradually introduced by him and enforced in the case of others. Thus the early band of his followers passed as *ehi-pabbajjakā bhikkhū*.<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence on record to indicate that he had subsequently made any deviation from his old practice. If the affair of initiation or ordination conducted by him were a question of baptism (*sināna*), it was sought to be effected as a process of the inner purification of human nature (*antara sināna*).<sup>2</sup>

It was enjoined on his followers that they should and must, as a rule, meet together on the fourteenth or the fifteenth day of the lunar half month to recite the *Pātimokkha* (better, *Pārimokkha*) rules and test their unity, integrity and moral purity in the light thereof, but the Pāli and other canonical texts keep us entirely in the dark as to whether he himself had ever taken part in these periodical ecclesiastical functions. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence to prove that he was vigilantly keeping watch over the affairs of his followers and their individual and collective interests and took the miscreants to task for their rectitude.

Nevertheless, the rôle assumed by the Buddha was that of a *maggadesaka*, i.e. of one to point out the way. Accordingly his constant exhortation to his followers was—*Tumhehi kiccā ātappaṃ, akkhātāro Tathāgatā*.

'The duty on your part is to make the effort, the Truth-finders just point out the way.'

As the attainment of salvation lay in one's own hands and did not depend on the favour of others, one of his dying instructions to his personal attendant Ānanda was:

*'Attadīpā viharatha, attasaraṇā, amaññasaraṇā.'*

'Dwell making yourselves your own island, making yourselves your own refuge, not making others your refuge.'

This was urged consistently with the truth previously expounded by him:

*Attā hi attano nātho, ko hi nātho paro siyā ? |*

*attanā hi sudantena nāthaṃ labhati dullabhaṃ ||*

*Attanā va kataṃ pāpaṃ, attajaṃ, attasambhavaṃ |*

*abhinanhati dummedhaṃ vajiraṃ v'asmamayam maṇiṃ ||*

'Self verily is the reliance of self, who else could be the reliance? Having trained oneself well indeed, one gets the reliance difficult otherwise to obtain. The sin committed by oneself, the sin that originates in or springs from oneself, that crushes the sinner of evil design as the diamond cuts a crystal gem.'

The way was shown by the Buddha, and his followers were to play well the part of the 'wayfarers'. This way [the *Magga*, *Upanisā* (*Upaniṣad*)] was the best conceivable way to Nirvāṇa but not to any worldly gain.

The total number of persons representing the male wayfarers in the Buddha's lifetime is not known. The Pāli Chronicles give the number of bhikkhus who were present at a conference shortly after the Buddha's demise as 700,000,<sup>3</sup> which, however exaggerated, cannot be regarded as the total number of bhikkhus of the time since all of them were not able to attend the conference (*samāgama*). The

<sup>1</sup> *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 3, verse 4—*sattasatasahasāni*.

<sup>3</sup> *Majjhima*, I, p. 39.

*Apadāna*,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, mentions 18,000 as the total number of *bhikkhunis* headed by Yasodharā, who waited upon the Buddha. But this, too, cannot be treated as the total number of *bhikkhunis* of the time. The same authority speaks of 10,000 *bhikkhunis* headed by Yasovati,<sup>2</sup> of 18,000 *bhikkhunis* from Khattiya families headed by Yasavati,<sup>3</sup> and of 84,000 *bhikkhunis* from Brahmin families.<sup>4</sup> The Buddha was generally accompanied by 500 bhikkhus when he wandered about in the country, and only in a solitary instance he is said to have a company of 1,250 bhikkhus.<sup>5</sup>

The traditional figure denoting the total number of bhikkhus who assembled at the conference held before the Second Buddhist Council is 90,000.<sup>6</sup> The Pāli Chronicles preserve a tradition according to which 60,000 bhikkhus belonging to the Theravāda sect resided in the Aśokārāma at Pāṭaliputra,<sup>7</sup> while at a congregation held at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka assembled 80 crores of bhikkhus, one hundred thousand of whom were Arahants, and 90 hundred thousand bhikkhunis, among whom one thousand were Arahants, all belonging to the Orthodox Church.<sup>8</sup> We may leave out of account the overwhelming number of new converts made by the Buddhist missionaries sent to different places in India in Aśoka's time. No census was evidently taken and the population suggested is incredible. Even assuming that a very large number of persons, men and women, became wayfarers (to use the term popularized by Mrs. Rhys Davids) in the Master's lifetime, the question arises—how many of them did truly attain Arahatsip, and how many among the Arhats themselves did come to self-expression or attain real distinction?

When the Buddha was found seated surrounded by his followers, he appeared to onlookers as the moon surrounded by a galaxy of stars (*tārāṇanaparivettḥito cando*). To his own disciples, he was the Lord of righteousness and the illuminator (*dharmarājā pabhaṅkaro*). If he were thus the true source of light like the sun, the rest of the luminaries were just the satellites. Such was indeed the view taken of the situation by a powerful section of later followers of the Buddha when they seriously doubted and challenged the infallibility of the Arahants.<sup>9</sup>

It is true that the disciples of the Buddha played the second fiddle or that they sought to merge their individuality in the overpowering personality of the Master. And yet it behoves us to inquire as to which part was actually played by them.

The *Etadaggavagga* of the *Anguttara Nikāya* offers us two lists, one of only 38 Theras and the other of only 13 Theris who were declared foremost by the Master himself in the rank of those noted for some special attainments.

Among the early Buddhist brothers and sisters, the pre-eminence of Añña-kondañña among the Theras and of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī among the Theris was historical. They were the first to recognize the intrinsic worth of the Good Faith and to display the moral courage of forsaking everything for it. With the conversion of one started the history of formation of the Buddhist brotherhood, just as with that of the other started the history of formation of the Buddhist sisterhood.

Sāriputta among the Theras and Khemā among the Theris attained pre-eminence as persons of great wisdom and understanding, with rare capacity to grasp and unveil the true significance of the Buddha's doctrine. But it would seem that Mahākaccāna surpassed them both in the power of elucidation and elaboration in prose of a point of the doctrine stated in brief, Vaṅgisa excelled all in the power of elucidation and elaboration in verse. Mahākotṭhita excelled others in grammatical analysis and logical way of understanding things. Puṇṇa Mantāniputta among the Theras and Dhammānā among the Theris attained pre-eminence by their ability to return satisfactory answers to the questions on any aspect of the doctrine. Kumāra Kassapa excelled others as a popular preacher. Ānanda's pre-eminence lay in his accurate information, and in his sharp memory and power of faithfully reproducing what he had heard or known.

<sup>1</sup> *Apadāna*, ii, p. 592:

*Aññārāsa-sahasāni bhikkhunī Sakyasambhava  
Yasodharī-pamukkhāni sambuddham upasāṅkamam.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 591.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 597.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 598.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīgha*, i, p. 47—*adāha-telasehi*.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. IV, v. 20—*navutisahasāni*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. V, v. 75.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. V, vv. 186-187.

<sup>9</sup> *Kathāvatthu*, I, 2.

Upāli among the Theras and Paṭācārā among the Therīs attained pre-eminence as repositories of the Vinaya tradition and specialists in the Vinaya lore.

Among the Theras, Mahākappina excelled in the art of instructing the brothers and Nandā in that of instructing the sisters, while Rādha's distinction consisted in making others speak. Rāhula became an example before the learners.

Kaṅkhā-Revatā among the Theras and Nandā among the Therīs ranked foremost as meditatives. Bāhiya Dārucirīya and Bhaddā Kaccānā were pre-eminent among those who excelled in quick perception of the truth. Anuruddha and Sakulā excelled in the possession of the divine eye, a psychical power to witness the rise and fall of beings according to their deeds and destinies. Sobhita and Bhaddā-kapilāni were singled out as the best of those gifted with the psychical power of re-collecting the past. Kolavisa Sona and Sonā surpassed others in their energetic efforts. Mahāmoggallāna and Uppalavannā occupied the foremost rank among those who excelled in supernormal faculties of a higher kind, while Devadatta, as we are told in the Vinaya Cullavagga, in those of a lower order. Sāgata gained perfect mastery over the element of heat.

Vakkali and Sigālamātā were the most profound in their faith, while Nanda stood first as an example of those who were able to keep their senses well under their control.

Uruvela-Kassapa's pre-eminence was due to his great personality and Bhaddiya's prominence was due to his social status.

Mahākassapa set the highest example of the ascetic mode of life, while Magharāja and Kisā-Gotami held the notable example of wearing a beggarly dress. Vakkula became prominent as the best living example of health and Upasena Vaṅgantaputta as that of charming nature. Kāludāyi came to represent the best type of a messenger. Pīlindavaccha's prominence was ascribable to his power of inspiring the householders to lead a pious and virtuous life entitling them to a happy and glorious life in heaven hereafter.

Sivali figured as the exceptionally lucky person. Dabba Mallaputta made his mark as the arranger of seats and accommodations. Kuṇḍadhāna's great aptitude consisted in the wisdom of living on rations.

Thus the first-place-holders among the early Buddhist brothers and sisters may be reduced to the following few types:

1. Those historically important as pioneers.
2. Those as personalities.
3. Those as men of intelligence and understanding.
4. Those as mystics, contemplatives and miracle-workers.
5. Those as preachers and instructors.
6. Those as chanters.
7. Those as learners and probationers.
8. Those as inspirers and missionaries.
9. Those as ascetics.
10. Those as believers.
11. Those as intuitionists.
12. Those as self-controlled ones.
13. Those as exponents.
14. Those as popularizers.
15. Those as versifiers.
16. Those as messengers.
17. Those as rationers.
18. Those as household-managers.

The Theras and Therīs may be shown to have played the following parts in the history of the formulation of Buddha's words, the development of the early Buddhist literary tradition and the textual settings in the Canon:

- (1) That of the most interested listeners, memorizers and transmitters.
- (2) That of the most interested interrogators or interlocutors.

- (3) That of the capable elaborators, elucidators, expositors, expounders, analyzers, crystallizers and upholders.
- (4) That of the formulators, codifiers, instructors, disseminators, propounders, propagators, and popularizers.
- (5) That of the versifiers, composers, compilers, chanters and inspirers.
- (6) That of the standard-bearers and testifiers.

The part played by them as interested listeners, memorizers and transmitters was of no mean importance at that period of Indian history and civilization when the system of writing could not be utilized for recording literature. The method of chanting according to the laws of rhythm and cadence had to be adopted and adhered to, and the phrases and idioms, nay, the entire style of composition had to be adapted to it. Those who were endowed with good memory had to be trained up as Bhāṇakas or chanters and reciters of texts. Devices and formulas had to be invented and utilized as aids to memory and transmission.<sup>1</sup>

The part played by them as interlocutors and interrogators is not, however, very praiseworthy. Although the ideal set before them was that of 'an eternal school where everyone is a teacher and everyone a learner and where all are to profit by mutual discussions',<sup>2</sup> there is not a single instance where things and problems were discussed in a true philosophic spirit. The questions put were just meant to get the answers to their hearts' liking without ever pressing any argument and counter-argument in order to arrive at the best possible solution of a problem. The *Kathāvatthu*, which tradition assigns to the reign of Aśoka, is undoubtedly a book of debates held between the different schools of Buddhist thought. But the underlying spirit of them is utterly unphilosophical. To refute anyhow the thesis put forward by the opponent is the sole aim. The import of the proposition advanced by the opponent is generally missed, misunderstood and misinterpreted. How difficult it is indeed to discuss matters with persons already committed to certain beliefs!

The remaining parts played by them were highly commendable beyond doubt. They were not, however, the originators of any new thought. The credit of originality for the vision and the first expression of thought was entirely due to the Buddha himself. He was the true seer of the truth, the bringer of the new light, and the awakener of the new conscience. While presenting the Master's doctrine to others and their own position as his beloved sons and daughters and no less as his disciples and ardent followers, many of the Theras and a few among the Theris expressed themselves in certain forms which became classical and guided the subsequent Buddhist thought.

The fundamental position of the Buddha's thought was represented by Assaji, who figured among the first five disciples, in the following couplet which went to serve as the universally accepted formula of the Buddhist creed of all times to come:

*Ye dhammā hetupphavā tesaṃ hetu Tathāgato āha |*  
*tesaṃ ca yo nirodho,—evaṃvādī Mahāsamaṇo'ti ||*

'The states that arise from cause, the Truth-finder has declared their cause, and the mode of their cessation as well,—thus said the great Recluse.'

As for the Buddhist conception of the self or biological entity as distinguished from the notion of soul, the Sister Vajirā is reported to have expressed her opinion in the following couplet which has guided and determined the structure of Buddhist philosophy through several centuries:

*Yathā hi aṅgasambhārā hoti saddo ratho itī |*  
*evaṃ khandhesu santesu hoti satto ti sammutī ||*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 110 foll.; Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, sub voce, *Bhāṇaka* (p. 8) and *Peṭaki* (p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> *Apadāna*, I, vv. 28-29, p. 3:

*Buddhā pi buddhe pucchanti viśayaṃ sabbaññūṃ ālayaṃ*  
*gambhīraṃ nipunaṃ jñānaṃ paññāya vinibuyyhare.*  
*Sāvakaṃ buddhe pucchanti buddhā pucchanti sāvake*  
*aññamaññaṃ ca pucchanti aññamaññaṃ byākaronā te.*

<sup>3</sup> *Samyutta*, I, p. 135; *Mūlinda-Paṇṇa* (Trenckner), p. 28.

'Just as the word "chariot" comes verily into use to denote a harmonious aggregate of parts, so does the conventional term "being" (individual), where an organic combination of constituent factors exists.'

Vaṅgisa or Vāgisa played well his part as an improviser of verses to put the utterances of the Buddha and others in attractive forms by way of expansion and elucidation. The *Vaṅgisa-Thera-Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* contains certain instances of such performances on the part of Vaṅgisa.

On a certain occasion the Master happened to make a statement in the following four clauses:

*Subhāsitaṃ uttamam āhu santo |*  
*Dhammaṃ bhaye nādhammaṃ, taṃ dutiyaṃ |*  
*Piyaṃ bhaye nāppiyaṃ, taṃ tatiyaṃ |*  
*Saccaṃ bhaye nālīkaṃ, taṃ catutthanti |*<sup>1</sup>

Vaṅgisa is said to have improvised a verse to expand each of these clauses, taking up the 2nd, 3rd and 4th clauses in order and the first clause as the last of all. The verses extemporized in the very presence of the Master ran as follows:

2. *Tam eva vācam bhāseyya yāyattānaṃ na tāpaye |*  
*pare ca na vihiṃseyya,—sā ve vācā subhāsītā |*
3. *Piyavācam va bhāseyya yā vācā paṭinandītā |*  
*yam anādāya pāpāni paresaṃ bhāsate piyaṃ |*
4. *Saccaṃ ve amatā vācā—esa dhammo sanantano |*  
*sacce atthe ca dhamme ca āhu santo paṭiṭṭhitā |*
1. *Yaṃ Buddho bhāsate vācam khemaṃ nibbānapattiyaṃ |*  
*dukkhassantakiriyāya sā ve vācānam uttamā'ti |*<sup>2</sup>

Here the credit of the formulation of ideas is due to the Buddha and that of putting the same in proper verses belongs to Vaṅgisa. It is not difficult, however, to understand that the utterances of the Buddha have a versical rhythm of their own.

From the instances given in the above *Saṃyutta*, one may be led to doubt if the stanzas or metrical discourses put in the mouth of the Master were at all his compositions.

Among the leading Theras of the time, Sāriputta's genius was more catechetical than exegetical.<sup>3</sup> The *Saṅgīti Suttanta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Sanskrit counterpart of which found its place among the six *Abhidharma-prakaraṇas* of the Sarvāstivāda sect, is nothing but a manual containing numerical groupings of Buddhist concepts. The *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives credit to Sāriputta for the exegetical definition of the terms employed in the *Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta* and the analytical method of exposition of the Discourse as a whole. But to give him any credit for this is to deprive the Buddha of the credit due to him, according to the *Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta* itself, for having delivered the Discourse along with the exegetical definition of all the terms. If Sāriputta had, on the other hand, just reproduced his Master's voice, he must have acted only as a living reproducer and not as a powerful exponent of the Buddha's words. Moggallāna asked Sāriputta regarding the 'undefiled' (their conversation forms the *Anaṅga Sutta*, M. i, 25ff.), and at the conclusion of the *Gulissāni Sutta*, enquired whether the states of consciousness mentioned in that Sutta were incumbent only on monks from the wilds or also on those from the villages.<sup>4</sup> Sāriputta questioned Upavāna about the *bojjhaṅgas*<sup>5</sup> and also enquired as to why some beings were set free in this very life while others were not.<sup>6</sup> Ānanda also questioned Sāriputta<sup>7</sup> on the speedy knowledge of aptness in things. In both these cases Sāriputta asked Ānanda to answer the questions himself, and at the end of his discourse praised him. The instances need not be multiplied. From the general career of Sāriputta as an

<sup>1</sup> *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, ii, pp. 1108 foll.

<sup>4</sup> *Majjhima N.*, i, 472f.

<sup>5</sup> *Saṃ.*, V, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> *Ang.*, iii, 167.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 201f.

interpreter of the Buddha's doctrine and as a catechizer, it is clear that his was a prosaic mind and not a poetical talent. In his case, too, it is to be doubted if the stanzas or metrical utterances attributed to Sāriputta were his own compositions. Luckily, however, Vaṅgisa has paid the following compliment to Sāriputta testifying to his power of improvisation and poetical gift:

*Gambhirapañño medhāvī maggāmaggassa kovido |  
Sāriputto mahāpañño dhammaṃ deseti bhikkhunaṃ |  
saṃkhittena pi deseti vitthārena pi bhāsati |  
sūlikāyiva nigghoso paṭibhānaṃ udārayi |  
tassa taṃ desayantassa suṇanti madhuraṃ giramaṃ |  
sarena rajānīyena savaṇīyena vaggunā |  
udaggacittā muditā sotaṃ odhenti bhikkhavo ti*<sup>1</sup>

Mahākaccāyana truly surpassed all the brothers in his power of elucidating anything stated tersely and concisely by the Master, as exemplified by the Bhaddekaratta<sup>2</sup> and other Suttas in which the Master himself referred his disciples to Mahākaccāyana for the elucidation of the meaning of what he had stated in a terse form. Indeed, he may be singled out as the most talented exponent on the model of whose exegesis developed such exegetical works in the Pāli Canon as the Mahānidessa, the Vibhaṅgas or Niddesas in the Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma, Piṭakas.

The *Thera* and *Therīgāthā*, *Apadāna* and *Kathāvatthu* are the four Pāli texts, the first two of which embody the religious experiences of Buddhist brothers and sisters, the third, the legends of their pious deeds, and the fourth, the different theological and philosophical views held by the early Buddhist sects and schools. The *Thera* and *Therīgāthā* together with the *Vaṅgisa* and *Bhikkhūṇā Saṃyuttas* constitute the most important documents recording religious experiences of many early brothers and sisters who acquired self-expression. Mrs. Rhys Davids ranks foremost among the modern scholars who have given more than passing considerations to the value of the wayfarers' words. Her last work, completed in three volumes, is a monumental contribution to the subject. Here I am concerned to consider the textual position of the various psalms ascribed to the Theras and Theris and to show in which respects their utterances bear the stamp of individuality and originality.

In the background of the psalms of the early brothers and sisters, were the Song of the Hermit (*Munigāthā*) included in Aśoka's list of seven select texts, the traditional utterances of the Paccekabuddhas in the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* and the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* and the entire teaching of the Buddha himself. The main interest of the study of these psalms lies in ascertaining how the Theras and Theris made the Buddha's teachings their own and crystallized them into their highest religious experiences. It is true that many of their utterances are impersonal and may therefore be left out of account. But those which are full of personal note, are of paramount interest. I need not raise here the vexed question as to whether the psalms attributed to different Theras and Theris were their own compositions, or they were composed for them by persons amongst them who had the poetical gift of Vaṅgisa. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that the psalms of the sisters, which appear in the form of ballads or animated dialogues in verse or in the form of legendary narrations, cannot be supposed to have been the actual compositions of the Theris to whom these are attributed. But whoever might be the actual composer or composers of the psalms of the sisters, their ways of expression are peculiarly womanly, and their interest and environments befit the lives of women.

The present text of the *Thera-Therīgāthā* is precisely that which was before the Pāli commentator Dhammapāla. But, as pointed out by Oldenberg and subsequently noted by Trenckner, the authoritative stanzas cited in the *Milinda-Pañho*, particularly those in the name of Sāriputta, are not traceable in the extant *Thera-Therīgāthā*. Putting together the stanzas cited in the *Milinda-Pañho* as remarkable utterances of Sāriputta, one can get a complete poem of the leading disciple of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Theragāthā*, vv. 1231-1233.

<sup>2</sup> *Majjhima*, III, pp. 187 foll.

Buddha which is different altogether in text from that contained in the *Theragāthā* or in any other work of the Canon.

The stanza of Vajirā is quoted in the same work evidently from the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* and not from the *Therīgāthā* collection in which this bhikkhunī has no place.

Among the bhikkhunīs who find place in the *Therīgāthā* the stanzas of one of them are cited in the *Milinda-Pañho*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Apadāna* may be supposed to have contained the legends of those Theras and Theris whose lives and utterances were important in history. But comparing the two works, we find that the number of the Theras whose legends are narrated in the *Apadāna* is far more than the number of those who figure in the *Theragāthā*, and that the number of the Theris in the *Apadāna* is far less than that of those in the *Therīgāthā*. The omission of Yasodharā's stanzas in the *Therīgāthā* is rather very strange. The gāthās of Sumedhā in the *Therīgāthā* deserve to be included in the *Apadāna*, while the gāthās of Yasodharā occurring in the *Apadāna* should be accorded a place in the *Therīgāthā*.

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## The Cave of the Shadow of the Buddha at Nagarahara.

(Identification of the locality.)

By E. CASPANI.

(Communicated by Dr. K. Nag.)

Amongst the Chinese pilgrims who visited the Buddhist shrines in India, Fa-hian in the year 402 A.D., Sung-yun and Hwei-Sang in the years 519-20 A.D. and Hiuen-Tsiang in 630 A.D., all saw near Nagarahara a cave where the shadow of the Buddha was known to appear.<sup>2</sup>

Nagarahara was in the neighbourhood of the locality where the Kabul river, coming out of the Daruntah defile, enters the plain of Jalalabad and has been rightly identified by M. Foucher as the zone now called Bagram of Jalalabad, south of the above-mentioned defile.

According to Fa-hian the cave was situated half 'yojana' south of Nagarahara.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Hiuen-Tsiang places it south-west of Nagarahara at a distance of nearly 20 li (about 4 miles).

<sup>1</sup> Trenckner's Ed., pp. 383, 387—*Gāthās of Cullasubhaddā* :

*Ekañ c'evāhaṃ vāsiyā taccheyya kupitamānasā,  
ekañ c'evāhaṃ gandhena ālīpeyya pamoditā,  
Amuṃṃ paṭigho n'atthi, rāgo asmiṃ na vijjati,  
paṭhavisamaciṭṭā te, tādīsā samānā mamā tī.*

*Lābhena unnato loko, alābhena ca oṇato ;  
lābhālābhena ekaṭṭhā, tādīsā samānā mamā tī.*

<sup>2</sup> S. Biel. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. London, 1906. Contains a translation from the Chinese of Hiuen-Tsiang's *Si-yu-ki* and of Fa-hian's and the other's accounts.

<sup>3</sup> A 'Yojana', a measurement which has varied through the ages, was at the time of Fa-hian about 7 miles (v. W. Vost: *The Lineal Measures of Fa-Hian and Yuan-chuang*. J.R.A.S., 1903).



Following the 1922 agreement between the French and the Afghan Governments, M. Foucher was allowed to tour some districts of Afghanistan as a preliminary to the future archaeological researches. Having identified Nagarahara as the Bagram of Jalalabad, he naturally looked for the Cave of the Shadow south-west of Bagram and this 'brought him to the Siah Sang ravine south of Chaharbagh village: the remains of several religious establishments exist undoubtedly there but no sign of a cave. However, it is a known fact that conglomerate cliffs are liable to collapse and disintegrate especially when, as at Siah Sang, they rest on a foundation of clay.'<sup>1</sup>

Grousset in his book 'Sur les traces du Bouddha' merely quotes Foucher's opinion.

Doctor Heras, who travelled in Afghanistan in 1934, visited with me the district of Jalalabad. He was struck by the precipice under the Guzara Stupa, on the left bank of the Kabul river, and by the large cave (called by the local people Fil-Khanah) which has been dug in the side of the cliff next to a Buddhist monastery also in caverns. He wondered whether this might be identified as the Cave of the Buddha, disregarding the data given by the Chinese pilgrims as to the distance and direction from Nagarahara.

On second thought I also decided to leave those data aside and to try and find instead in the detailed description left by Hiuen-Tsiang, such landmarks as might have remained comparatively unchanged through the ages.

Hiuen-Tsiang says that on a little stony ridge he found a deserted monastery, built of stone, with an assembly hall, a high tower of many storeys and a stupa in the middle of the monastery. To the south-west, in a deep ravine below, roared a torrent which *ran impetuously down from the hill between two almost perpendicular walls, forming several drops and waterfalls on the way*. In the eastern side there was a large and deep cave which had been in the past the dwelling of Naga Gopala. This was a shepherd who, having been ill-treated by his king whom he supplied with milk and cream, and thirsting for revenge, had prayed near the Dipankara stupa to be reborn as an evil Naga. *Having climbed the rocky side of the hill, he had thrown down into the precipice below*, had been transformed into a huge dragon and lived in that cave terrorizing the whole district.

However, Buddha had felt pity for the people tormented by the dragon in the very place where the prophecy of the Dipankara had been uttered in his favour, and had flown from India to their help. A stupa called 'the Stupa of the Flight' about 10 li south-west of the city (*consequently, half-way between the city and the cave*) had been erected to mark the place where Buddha had landed from his flight.

Buddha defeated the Naga, who submitted to his law and begged him to remain in his cave; the people joined their prayers to his, but the Buddha refused. 'Not now—said he—but after my death I shall send my shadow to dwell in this cave.'

The Cave of the Shadow, as Hiuen-Tsiang saw it, was dark, with a narrow entrance; the stream, having gathered momentum from the fall, penetrated into it and divided into several rivulets. *West of the cave, on a huge rock* the mark of the Buddha's cloak was still to be seen where he had spread it on the rock to dry.

I have italicized the data which in my opinion would give sufficient indications to identify the Cave of the Shadow, apart from distance and direction. I thought the cave was to be found in the zone of the stupas of the Katch-i-Laghaman, i.e., the plain between Daruntah and Balabagh at the foot of the precipitous Siah-Koh range which divides the valleys of the Surkhrud and Kabul rivers. In that zone Masson<sup>2</sup> had noticed, between the hills and the Ziarat-i-Hazrat Ilias or Khwaja-Ilias, a wide ravine: in the sides of the ravine several caves had been dug and some mounds and a stupa were to be seen above them. Towards the hills the ravine ended at a great rock, and from this a 'Kol' (glen) continued up the mountain

<sup>1</sup> Letter addressed at the beginning of 1940 by M. Foucher to M. Hackin, head of the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan. M. Hackin, after visiting the locality, agreed with my opinion concerning the location of the Cave and informed M. Foucher of it.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson—Ariana Antiqua, 1841.

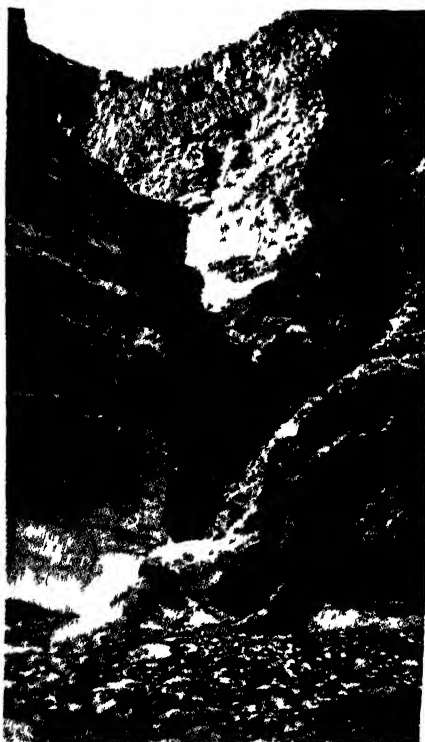
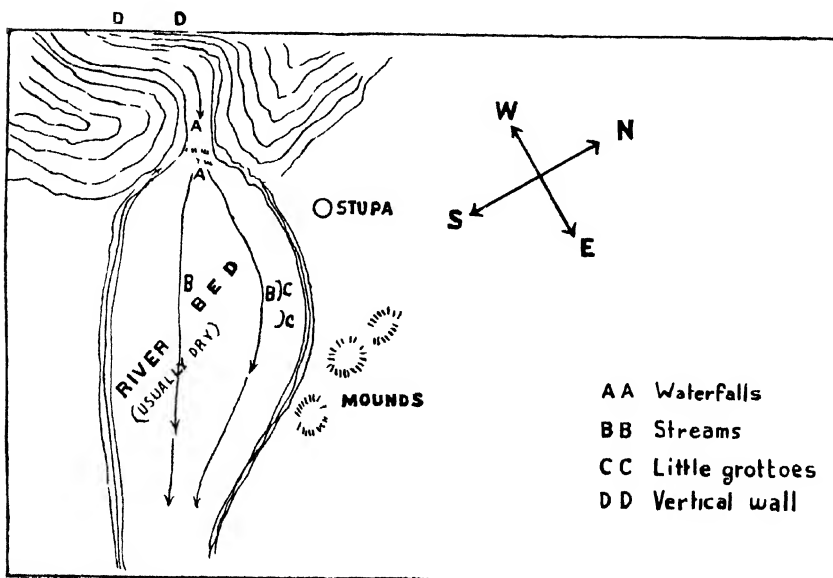
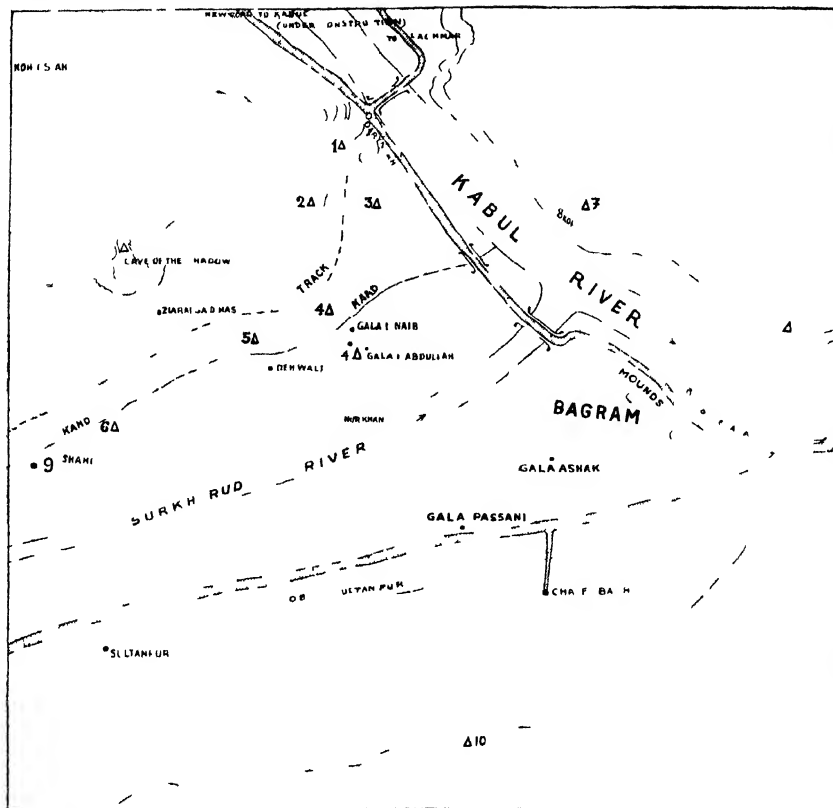


Fig. 1 Photo showing the drops of the stream (dry) and the perpendicular wall beyond them



Fig. 2 Photo taken from the river bed below the waterfalls showing the North Eastern bank of the river (A stupa, traces of collapse in the bank, little grottoes, two stream branches)



side. I thought this description had something in common with the description given by Hiuen-Tsiang.

Therefore I visited that zone and on the spot I was convinced that I was not mistaken.

From Jalalabad you may reach Daruntah either by car or by *gadi (tonga)*: thence you must proceed to the cave either on horseback or on foot. It is about 4 miles by an easy and interesting track along the foothills of the Koh-i-Siah range, passing near the beautiful Khaistah and Bemaran stupas. Those who know the district may take a short-cut by following from Nasrabad, immediately after the bridge on the Surkhrud, a track, which, passing through Qal'a-i-Naib and crossing a ravine (pushtu '*Kand*') leads near the Ziarat of Said Ilias 'Aliah (Hazrat Ilias or Khwaja-Ilias according to Masson, *v. supra*). In the vicinity of the Ziarat Masson noticed a cluster of '*palosah*' (*acacia modesta*) which exists to this day. The nearest village is Qal'a-i-Katchalah (or Chakalah) not far from a little garden of palm-trees. Near the Ziarat is a water-course which is normally dry. If you follow this up you will find yourself in a deep ravine cut through a ridge of conglomerate formation which begins in the Siah-Koh and terminates in an undulation of the plain.

Even from afar the sides of this ravine appear *like walls* on either side of the stream where it pours down from the hills on the '*dasht*' (desert-like plain) below, over *two consecutive drops* several meters high. This side (*i.e.*, downstream) of the drops, some mounds and remains of stupas and dwellings are to be seen on the banks. The stream has carved a way for itself in the rocky side of the hill, forming those waterfalls and flowing in a narrow bed *between steep hills* down towards the plain. At the foot of these hills is to be found the ridge of conglomerate formation I mentioned above.

The waterfalls have as a background a *high vertical wall* of dark rocks. The stream runs along the foot of this wall before entering the first drop.

I first climbed on to the ridge connecting the hills on the left side of the stream with the Siah-Koh range. There, on the rocks nearby, I found some remains of stone buildings. From the ridge I walked down to the river-bed which flows here rapidly down-hill with sharp bends between rocky spurs high and steep; there are some low drops, like steps. Several small caves are to be seen in the rocky side of the cliffs; one of these, half-way up above the waterfalls, attracted my attention at once, but I realized that it could not be the Cave of the Shadow, considering what follows:

The Cave of the Shadow was at water-level, and the water penetrated into it; it was close to the bottom of the waterfall, in the eastern (N. eastern) side of the ravine; several Buddhist establishments were on the top of the cliff above it. Well, to this day after a rain storm the water breaks against one or two little caves in the north-eastern side; above the caves a stupa, and south of it some mounds hiding other constructions, are to be seen. The rocky and steep hill facing it to the west answers perfectly to the description of the rock upon which the Buddha spread his cloak to dry. The precipice above the waterfalls might well be the one down which Gopala hurled himself to death. This, then, is the spot. But those tiny caverns cannot be the Cave of the Shadow. This must have collapsed and the debris have been carried away by the stream; the little grottoes might have been cavities in the back wall of the old cave. The eastern bank has now a concave shape and it is possible that in the days of Hiuen-Tsiang the cave covered this concavity. This bank still bears traces of collapse.

Let us now consider the distance and the direction. This Buddhist site is at about 4 miles from Daruntah, to the south-west. The city of Nagarahara (translated by the Chinese pilgrims as Na-kie-lo-ho) was probably built on the area of Bagram and Chaharbagh; the citadel (?) and the zone of monasteries and cemeteries might have been within the area limited either by the Surkhrud or the Kand, the Kabul river and the Siah-Koh. As a result of the invasion of the Ephtalites (about 465 A.D.) the inhabited part was probably confined to the citadel which answers perfectly to Hiuen-Tsiang's description of Na-kie-lo-ho: 'a region surrounded from all sides by precipices and natural barriers'.

I add hereunder a list of the most venerated stupas in Hiuen-Tsiang's time together with their identification on the basis of the location of the Cave of the Shadow which I consider most probable:

Name of the Stupa as given by Hiuen-Tsiang.	Position as given by H.T.	Probable identification.
(1) Stupa of 'Buddha's Tooth' and, near it, another stupa 'fullon from Heaven'.	'within the city'	Stupas of Omarkhel (Masson's stupas 1 and 2 of Delh Rahman).
(2) 'Wonderful' stupa of Dipankara.	'East of the city'	Stupa called Khaistah (pushtu beautiful, wonderful). To the north of Omarkhel, but to the north-east of the path connecting Daruntah with the Ziarat of Said Ilas.
(3) Stupa 'of the Flight' and near it the 'Stupa of the Flowers'.	'10 li from the city to the S.W.'	Stupas of Bemaran.
(4) Monastery of the Cave of the Shadow, and other buildings.	'20 li S.W. of the city'	Above the Ziarat of Said Ilas, as explained before.

Therefore the present track from Daruntah to the Ziarat of Said Ilas may be considered as coincident with the ancient pilgrim-road, and, from a psychological point of view, we may easily understand how one following this track may say 'south-west of the city' rather than 'south-west of a part of the city only'<sup>1</sup> which would have been more accurate. Besides, Hiuen-Tsiang, like many other travellers of all times, is guilty of many such inaccuracies, some even more remarkable and some almost impossible to account for.

Therefore I consider that the small discrepancies between the statements of the Chinese pilgrims concerning the orientation and my hypothesis do not fundamentally affect the latter's correctness as to the location of the Buddhist site near the Cave of the Shadow, based as it is on an objective examination of the topographic data.

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### Mun-mkhyen Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer and the origin of the Mongol alphabet.

By G. N. ROERICH.

The Tibetan and Mongol historical tradition ascribes the creation of the Mongol alphabet to two Sa-skya lamas—the Sa-skya Paṇḍita (Sa-skya Paṇ-ḥen > Sa-paṇ) Kun-dgaḥ rgyal-mtshan (1182–1251) and Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer. Towards the end of the first-half of the thirteenth century some Mongol tribes, headed by Prince Godan,<sup>2</sup> son of Ögödei and younger brother of Güyük, and Prince Dörda,<sup>3</sup> settled in Kansu (W. China) in the region of Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou. Having occupied grazing grounds in a country with a mixed population of Uighurs and Tangut Tibetans, the Mongols came into daily contact with the Lamaist form of Buddhism. The Mongols had, of course, contacted Buddhism long before that, but here, on the Tibetan borderland and within the boundaries of the former Mi-ñag Tangut (Hsi-hsia) kingdom, they found themselves for the first time among a predominantly Buddhist population. The results of this cultural contact soon began to tell on

<sup>1</sup> The city was then of small size and would disappear from sight when going in the direction of the Cave of the Shadow.

<sup>2</sup> Born in 1206 A.D., became Khan in 1234 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Dörda darqan of the tribe of the Oyimaṛud (Sarang Sehin, I. J. Schmidt: *Geschichte d. Ost-Mongolen*, pp. 110-111).

the Mongol tribesmen, and paved the way for the dominant influence of Buddhism in the reigns of the Emperor Khubilai and his successors. The Mongols rapidly came under the cultural influence of the Uighurs, who had settled in the ninth century A.D. in the region of Kan-chou. No doubt the spread of Uighur culture among the Mongols was greatly facilitated by the fact that the Mongol ruling classes had adopted the Uighur script in the early days of the Mongol Empire after the conquest of the Naiman tribal lands in 1204 A.D. The Uighur influence was considerable and probably even preceded that of Tibet. We know that Buddhist texts were translated into Mongol in the fourteenth century, and that some were recopied as late as the seventeenth century (1676 A.D.), using the Uighur script of the fourteenth century (W. L. Kotwicz: 'Quelques données nouvelles sur les relations entre les Mongols et les Ouigours'. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, II (1925), pp. 241ff.—fragments of Mongol translations of Buddhist texts were discovered by Professor S. Malov in Kansu in 1910). Having settled on the Tibetan borderland, the Mongols did not penetrate far into Tibet, but Tibetan chronicles more than once mention Mongol inroads into Central Tibet. Thus it is said that in 1239 A.D. (saphag, Earth-Hog year) some Mongol troops under Dörda, whom the Tibetan chronicles style Dor-rta nag-po, or the 'Black' Dörda, made a hostile incursion into Central Tibet (the provinces of dbUs and gTsañ), and that some damage was done to the great Rwa-sgreñ monastery and rGyal Lha-khañ (a famous temple in hPhan-yul, north of Lha-sa). According to the chronicles (the rGyal-rabs of the Fifth Dalai Lama,<sup>1</sup> fol. 53a; dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ of Sum-pa mkhan-po, Calcutta, 1908, p. 158) several hundred monks had been killed in both Rwa-sgreñ and rGyal Lha-khañ. The authors of our chronicles somewhat overcoloured the events, and the story probably refers to the Mongol Embassy under Prince Dörda which came with a large military escort to invite the Sa-skya Pañdita to visit the camp of Prince Godan near Liang-chou. The rGyal-rabs of the Fifth Dalai Lama (fol. 53a; also dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ, p. 158) says that the Mongols established their control over the whole of Central Tibet, from Koñ-pohi yul in the East as far as Nepāl (Bal-po) and the Himālayān Region (Lho-Mon) in the South, and brought the whole country under the Imperial Rule.<sup>2</sup> Prince Dörda then sent a report to the Imperial Palace (i.e. the residence of Prince Godan near Liang-chou in Kansu), saying that in Tibet the bKaḥ-gdams-pas had the most numerous clergy, that the sTag-luñ Ḥos-rje was cleverest in protecting charms (ño-sruñs), that sPyansña of hBri-khuñ was greatest in splendour, and that the Sa-skya Pañdita was the most learned in the Doctrine. On this mission Prince Dörda was accompanied by one named rGya-smān (the name is thus spelt in the rGyal-rabs of the Fifth Dalai Lama; the dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ, II, p. 158, writes rGyal-smān). On receipt of the Prince's command, rGya-smān proceeded to Sa-skyā to convey Godan's invitation to the Sa-skyā Pañdita. In 1244 A.D.<sup>3</sup> the Sa-skyā Pañdita Kun-dgaḥ rgyal-mtshan,<sup>4</sup> aged 63, accompanied by his two nephews hPhags-pa (bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan, the famous Imperial Preceptor of the Emperor Khubilai) and Phyag-na, left Sa-skyā dgon-ñhen, and journeyed northward on the invitation of Prince Godan. Accompanied by a large retinue they leisurely journeyed across the northern uplands of Tibet, and reached Liang-chou in 1245 A.D. (me-lug, Fire-sheep year). In recent works on the period one often finds stated that the Sa-skyā Pañdita had come to Lan-chou, but the Tibetan transcriptions Lan-ju~Lan-gru (pron. Lan-ḍhu)~Lyañ-ju stand for Liang-chou in Kansu, in the vicinity of which still stands the ruined monastery of sPrul-paḥi-sde, the former residence of the Sa-skyā Pañdita. This monastery is one of the 'Four

<sup>1</sup> The rGyal-rabs, contained in Vol. XIX (Dza) of the gSuñ-hbum, had been written by the Fifth Dalai Lama Nag-dbañ bLo-bzañ rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) at the request of Guñ Khan (1582-1654) of the Xoñod. The work has been translated into Mongol.

<sup>2</sup> This version certainly anticipates events. Actually the Mongols did not occupy Tibet and preferred to control the country through the Buddhist Church.

<sup>3</sup> Deb-ther sñon-po, Book IV (Ña), fol. 46; 1244 A.D. was a Wood-Male-Dragon year, śiñ-pho-hbrug.

<sup>4</sup> According to the rGyal-rabs of the Fifth Dalai Lama, fol. 55b, the Sa-skyā Pañdita had been ordained in the presence of the Kha-jheḥi Pañdita Śākyaśrībhadra.

Monasteries' or sDe-b'zhi, situated in the neighbourhood of Liang-chou, and which are visited annually by thousands of pilgrims from adjacent Amdo (the 'Four Monasteries' or sDe-b'zhi are: sPrul-pa'hi sde, Sa'hi dba'ng-gi sde [in the rGyal-rabs of the Fifth Dalai Lama, fol. 56a, the monastery to the South of Liang-chou is called dBa'ng-gi sde], Padma'hi sde and rGyal-mstho'hi sde. See Hor-ösho-hbyun, I, p. 264 [Tibetan text]; II, p. 416 [translation]. The temples have sustained some damage in a recent earthquake). The Sin-kun mkhar, frequently mentioned in the Deb-ther sñon-po and other chronicles, must have corresponded to the walled city of Liang-chou, for it is said to have been situated near the monastery of sPrul-pa'hi sde. It was to Liang-chou (Hsi-Liang) that Khubilai sent an envoy to ask Prince Godan to invite on his behalf the Sa-skya Paṇḍita.<sup>1</sup> At the time of the arrival of the Sa-skya Paṇḍita to Liang-chou, Prince Godan must have been away in Qaraqorum,<sup>2</sup> attending the great quriltai, which elected Prince Güyük emperor. The meeting between Prince Godan and the Sa-skya Paṇḍita took place early in 1247 A.D. on the return of the Prince from Mongolia, and the Prince 'imbibed faith', to use the expression of the Tibetan chronicles, in the Tibetan hierarchy. According to the rGyal-rabs of the Fifth Dalai Lama, fol. 56a, and Sarang Seč'in (I. J. Schmidt: *Geschichte d. Ost-Mongolen*, pp. 112-113)<sup>3</sup> the Sa-skya Paṇḍita cured Prince Godan of leprosy (sa-bdag-gi nad). The Sa-skya Paṇḍita is said by some of the Tibetan chronicles (the Thu-kwan grub-mtha'ḥ, composed in 1801 A.D. by Thu-kwan bLo-bzan Čhos-kyi ŋi-ma [1737-1802], Book on the 'Propagation of the Doctrine in Mongolia, Li-yul and Sambhala', fol. 3a; Hor-ösho-hbyun, ed. G. Huth, pp. 83ff. [Tibetan text]) to have created between 1247 and 1251 A.D. a new Mongol script (yi-ge gsar-pa). A similar account is found in the Mongol work Jirūken-u toltayin tayilburi (printed in the reign of the Emperor Yung-ch'eng, 1722-35. The text of the work is given in Professor A. Pozdneev's *Mongol Reader*, St. Petersburg, 1900, pp. 360-379. The story about the new script is found on p. 362. Tradition ascribes this work to Čhos-kyi hod-zer [Berthold Laufer: 'Skizze d. mongolischen Literatur, Keleti Szemle, 1907, VIII, pp. 185-6], but it seems to be a later compilation, based on Tibetan and Mongol chronicles). A collation of the three versions shows that the three go back to a common source, which we are as yet unable to determine. On the other hand, a number of important Tibetan and Mongol sources completely ignore the story. Thus the 'Blue Annals' or the Deb-ther sñon-po, written by hGos lo-tsāba g'Zon-nu dpal in 1476 A.D. (Me-spre, Fire-Ape year; Deb-ther sñon-po. Book IV (Na), fol. 4b), the rGyal-rabs of the Fifth Dalai Lama, fol. 56a, and Sarang Seč'in (Schmidt: *Geschichte d. Ost-Mongolen*, pp. 110-113) make no mention of the new script invented by the Sa-skya Paṇḍita. It seems that the rôle of the Sa-skya Paṇḍita was limited to the adoption of the existing Uighur script, currently used in Mongol chancelleries, to express the requirements of Mongol speech in the translation of Buddhist texts from Tibetan. The Sa-skya Paṇḍita must have attempted to translate from Tibetan into Mongol, and in doing so availed himself of the existing Uighur script.<sup>4</sup>

The Sa-skya Paṇḍita died in 1251 A.D. (Lōags-phag, Iron-Hog year)<sup>5</sup> at the sPrul-pa'hi sde monastery, situated east of Liang-chou, and the stūpa (sku-gduñ mēhod-rten) containing his mortal remains is still preserved in the semi-ruined monastery. Prince Godan is said to have died in the same year. This Mongol Prince was instrumental in fostering the bond between the Mongol Emperors and the Lamaist Church. Professor Pelliot (*ibid.*, p. 286) quotes a passage from the Fu-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai (completed between 1333 and 1344 A.D.) which relates that

<sup>1</sup> P. Pelliot: 'Les systèmes d'écriture en usage chez les anciens Mongols', *Asia Major*, II, 2 (1925), p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Originally Turkish Qarā-qūrām or 'Black pebbles', which corresponds to the Mongol Qara-sayir—a common place-name in Mongolia.

<sup>3</sup> A. Mostaert: 'Ordosica', *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking*, No. 9 (1934), p. 48, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> P. Pelliot, *Asia Major*, II, 2 (1925), p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> Thu-kwan grub-mtha'ḥ, Book on the 'Propagation of the Doctrine in Mongolia, etc.', fol. 3a.

'Prince Khubilai before his accession to the Imperial Throne, had heard about a virtuous monk Ch'o-li-schê-wa in the West, and desired to see him. He accordingly sent a messenger to Hsi-Liang (Liang-chou) to Prince Godan (K'uo-tan) with a request to invite the Priest. The Prince informed the messenger that the Master had entered Nirvāṇa, but that there was his nephew Fa-ssü-pa (hPhags-pa), aged sixteen . . .' This passage evidently refers to the Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and the Ch'o-li-schê-wa mentioned in the text represents the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan Čhos-rje-ba (pronounced Č'ŕje-wa or Č'ŕ-je-wa; Mongol: Corji)—a title of the Sa-skya Paṇḍita by which he is known to the Tibetan chronicles (in the modern language the form Čhos-rje-wa, as distinct from Čhos-rje or Dharmasvāmin, has assumed a somewhat derogatory character, but in the Mongol epoch it was commonly used as a form of address of high Church dignitaries).

The Sa-skya Paṇḍita was succeeded as court priest of the Mongol Emperor by his nephew the famous hPhags-pa bLa-ma bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1235/9-1280), the inventor of the so-called Mongol 'square' script or dūrbelfin üsüng (this script, long dead in Mongolia and China, is still being studied in Amdo).

Besides these two Church dignitaries, the Tibetan and Mongol chronicles of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries prominently mention the Sa-skya bLa-ma Čhos-kyi hod-zer (Mongol: Nom-un gerel) ~ Čhos-sku hod-zer, as the co-inventor of the Mongol script, and the continuator of the work left unfinished by the Sa-skya Paṇḍita. As in the case of the Sa-skya Paṇḍita most of the sources belonging to the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries mention the new Mongol script developed by Čhos-kyi hod-zer, whereas the earlier Tibetan sources make no mention of the script when speaking of Čhos-kyi hod-zer. The well-known eighteenth century compiler kLoṅ-rdol bLa-ma Nag-dbañ bLo-bzañ (wrote in 1777 A.D.) in his bŕTan-paḥi sbyinodag byuñ-tshul-gyi miñ-gi grañs, fol. 10b, included in his 'Collection of Works' or gSuñ-hbum (Sung-chu-ssü edition), tells that the Hor-hčhin-gi rgyal-po Khu-lugs (Kulug) invited the brahmacārin upāsaka, the All-knowing Čhos-sku hod-zer, the 'inventor of the first Mongol script' (Hor-hčhin-gi rgyal-po Khu-lugs-kyis Sog-yig thog-mar bčos-mkhan tshañs-spyod dge-bŕñen Kun-mkhyen Čhos-sku hod-zer gdan-drañs). In the Jürken-ü toltayin tayilburi (A. Pozdnev: Mongol Reader, St. P., 1900, p. 364; the same passage is quoted by Professor A. Pozdnev on pp. 193-4 of his Lekcii po istorii Mongol'skoi Literatury, St. Petersburg, 1896, vol. I) it is said that the Emperor Qayisan Külüg qarān had commissioned the Sa-skya bLa-ma Čhos-kyi hod-zer to translate Buddhist scriptures into Mongol, and that Čhos-kyi hod-zer, instead of availing himself of the Mongol Official Script or Hor-yig (dūrbelfin üsüng), made use of the script developed by the Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and added to it some final letters (segül-tü üsüng). He used this script in translating Buddhist scriptures into Mongol.

The 'History' of Sarang Sečün, composed in 1662 A.D., does not mention the new script and briefly states that the Emperor Külüg, son of Dharmabala (Dharmapāla), ascended the throne in 1308 A.D. (bečün jil, Ape year), and commissioned the monk (toyin) Čhos-kyi hod-zer (in Mongol: Nom-un gerel) to translate (into Mongol) the greater part of the Sūtras and Dhāraṇis (I. J. Schmidt: Geschichte d. Ost Mongolen, p. 120).

The above three texts place Čhos-kyi hod-zer in the reign of the Emperor Külüg (1307-11).

Most of the Tibetan historical compilations of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries make mention of Čhos-kyi hod-zer, but show a tendency to place him somewhat earlier, in the reign of Külüg's predecessor—Temür Öljeyitü (son of Činkim, b. 1265 A.D., d. 10th February, 1307 A.D.). Thus the Thun-kwan grub-mthaḥ in the Book on the 'Propagation of the Buddhist Doctrine in Mongolia, Li-yul (Khotan), and Šambhala', fol. 4b, briefly states:

'Ol-jeḥi rgyal-poḥi dus-su Sa-skya-pa Čhos-kyi hod-zer bya-ba byon-nas snar Sa-paṅ-gyis bzos-paḥi yi-ge-la yi-ge mJug-ma-čan mañ-po bŕnannas čhos-bgyur thub-pa mdzad (phyis-su Haḥi-san Khu-lug rgyal-poḥi dus gZuñs-gra-lña sog bKaḥ-bstan čhos Sog-skad-du bsgyur).'



'In the time of the Emperor Ol-jehi (Öljeyitü), one known as the Sa-skyapa Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer came, and having added many final letters (yi-ge mjug-ma-čan) to the script formerly invented by the Sa-pan (Sa-skyapa Pandita), made the translation of religious texts (into Mongol) possible. Later, in the time of the Emperor Hahi-san (Qayisan) Khu-lug (Külüg) texts from the bKaḥ-hgyur and bsTan-hgyur, such as the Pañcarakṣā (gZuñs-gra-lña) and others, were translated into Mongol.' The chronicle also adds that since religious texts could not be translated into Mongol with the help of the ḥKor-yig (~Hor-yig), the Mongols used the Uighur language when reciting religious texts (fol. 4b: ḥon-kyan ḥKor-yig-gis Sog-skad-du ḥos-bsgyur ma-thub-pas (Sog-po-rnams-kyis ḥos-ḥdon-paḥi tshe Yu-gur skad-kyis ḥdon-pa-la . . . . .). The Hor-ḥos-hbyuñ (ed. G. Huth, I (Tibetan text), pp. 102ff.; II (translation), pp. 160-4. Huth's translation of the passage needs revision) tells us that Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer has been the court priest (mḥod-gnas) of the Emperor Öljeyitü and later occupied the same office in the reign of the Emperor Külüg. In the reign of the Emperor Külüg, Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer developed a script of 98 signs based on the script invented by the Sa-skyapa Pandita. The text also gives some biographical data on Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, evidently based on the account found in the Deb-ther sñon-po.

Chinese texts also know Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, but assign a later date to him, and make no mention of the new script. Professor Pelliot (*ibid.*, p. 287) quotes the Yüan-ta-hua-shuo-chi, which under the year 1310 A.D. mentions a person named Ch'o-ssü-chi-yueh-chi-erh, i.e. Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer. Under the year 1321 A.D. the Yuan-shih (99, 7b) also makes mention of Ch'o-ssü-chi-wo-chieh-erh pa-ha-shih or Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer baḥši. Professor A. Pozdnev in his Lekcii po istorii Mongol'skoi Literatury, vol. I. p. 194, quotes a passage from the Yüan-shih where mention is made of a lama of the Western Countries named Ch'o-ssü-chi-wo-chieh-erh, i.e. Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, who in the third moon of 1313 A.D. received a grant of 10,000 ting of paper money.

We thus see that most of our sources, Tibetan, Mongol and Chinese, place Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer in the beginning of the fourteenth century. On the contrary earlier Tibetan sources place him in the thirteenth century, and consider him a contemporary of the famous ḥPhags-pa bLa-ma. Our chief source should have been the Life or rNam-thar of Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer written by his disciple Kun-spañs Žaṇ (Kun spañs Thugs-rje brtson-hgrus, b. in 1243 A.D. a Water-Female Hare year, ḥu-mo-yos [Debther sñon-po]. Studied the Kālacakra system with Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer), but unfortunately this work, which exists in manuscript form only, is extremely rare in Tibet itself, and unobtainable outside of the country. This rNam-thar was the main source for the short biographical note on Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, contained in the Deb-ther sñon-po ḥGos lo-tsā-ba. Bu-ston Rin-po-ḥe in his bDe-mḥog ḥos-hbyuñ (vol. V [Ča] of the Bu-ston bKaḥ-hbum) also refers his readers to this rNam-thar. According to ḥGos lo-tsā-ba (Deb-ther sñon-po, Book X [Tha], fol. 9aff.) the bLa-ma Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer or Čhos-sku ḥod-zer was born in the year Wood-Male-Dog (śiñ-pho-khyi—1214 A.D.), and the text adds that in the preceding Water-Female-Hen year (ḥu-mo-bya—1213 A.D.) the Kha-ḥe pañ-ḥen (Śākyaśrībhadrā, 1127-1225 A.D.) returned to Kāśmīra (Kha-ḥe pañ-ḥen ḥu-mo-byaḥi lo-la Kha-ḥer gēgs-paḥi phyi-lo śiñ-pho-khyiḥi lo-la ḥkhrus-pa dḥi rnam-par-thar-pa . . . . .). In the chapter on the Propagation of the Guhyasamāja Tantra in Book VIII (Na), fol. 10a-b, we are told that Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer was a natural son (sbas-paḥi sras) of the well-known religious teacher gSer-sdñs-pa gZon-nu ḥod and the nun Śes-rab rgyan, also known as the 'Nun from ḥGar' (ḥGar btsun-ma), a sister of gSer-sdñs-pa's disciple ḥGar Gragspa dbaṇ-phyug (Rev. dGe-ḥdun Čhos-hphel informs me that a detailed Biography or rNam-thar of gSer-sdñs-pa exists in manuscript form in Tibet). The father first hid his parentage, and even caused the expulsion of the nun from the monastery, and she went to live in another place. When a boy was born to her, he was called bDag-med rdo-rje. When the boy reached the age of five, his father ed that the time had come to reveal the secret (gsaṇ brtol-ba). He accordingly d tea to the monastic congregation, and admitted his transgression. He then

introduced his son to the Doctrine, and he took up ordination, and received the name of Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, which was later changed to that of Čhos-sku ḥod-zer by ḥGro-mgon ḥPhags-pa (in Tibetan chronicles he is known by the second name but in the Mongol texts he is usually named Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer or Nom-un gerel. In the encyclopaedia *Merged yarqu-yin oron* (mKhas-paḥi ḥbyuṅ-gnas), Section Pharpayin, fol. 13, it is said that Čhos-sku ḥod-zer was also called Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer). His father then sent him to ḥJam-dbyaṅs gsar-ma, a famous scholar and founder of the monastic college of sKyaṅ-ḥdur, who had visited the famous monastery of Ri-bo rtse-lña (Wu-t' aishan in Shanhsi, W. China).<sup>1</sup> Later Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer studied the Kālacakra system and the Vimalaprabhā under Se-mo-čhe-ba, a well-known scholar in the system of Kālacakra. Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, we are told, belonged to the spiritual lineage (brgyud-pa) of ḥBro lo-tsā-ba (Deb-ther sñon-po, Book X [Tha], fol. 3a). The Deb-ther sñon-po does not mention Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer's journey to Mongolia, nor the new Mongol script created by him. The rGyal-rabs of the Fifth Dalai Lama is also silent on this point. Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer must have visited Mongolia and China rather late in life, probably after 1270 A.D. The Deb-ther sñon-po does not give the year of his death, but Sum-pa mkhan-po's Reḥu-mig (JASB., 1889, p. 57) states that he died in 1292 A.D. If we are to accept the statements of the Tibetan and Mongol chronicles of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, we will have to admit that Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer must have lived to a very advanced age, and that in 1310 A.D. he must have been 96. But, if we are to retain the dates given in the Tibetan chronicles (Deb-ther sñon-po, Reḥu-mig), we will have to assume that Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer must have laboured at the court of Temür Öljeyitü prior to the latter's accession to the Imperial Throne in 1294 A.D. The fact that the Tibetan chronicles call Temür Öljeyitü emperor, should not disturb us, for even Prince Godan, who never sat on the Imperial Throne, is called emperor or Great Khan by the same chronicles. Our earliest sources make no mention of the new script invented by Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, and we will do well to assume with Professor V. Vladimircov and Pelliot that Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, like his predecessor the Sa-skya Paṇḍita, did not invent a new script, but simply availed himself of the existing Uighur script, instead of the official Mongol script or Hor-yig, created by the ḥPhags-pa bla-ma.<sup>2</sup> Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer must have done however a great deal of philological and grammatical work, which permitted him to translate Tibetan Buddhist texts into Mongol, and in this field his influence must have been considerable. We know that he has been active both as author and translator. For instance, we know that he had composed in Tibetan the *Burqan bayši-yin arban qoyar jokiyaṅyui*, which was later translated into Mongol by the translator Šes-rab sen-ge.<sup>3</sup> The *Jiruken-i tolta-yin tayilburi* (Pozdnev: *Mongol Reader*, p. 364), and the *Hor-čhos-ḥbyuṅ* (ed. Huth, I, p. 105) credit him with a translation into Mongol of the Pañcaraksā (gZuṅs-gra-lña), and the Mongol translation of the Pañcaraksā printed in Peking seems to be the work of Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer.<sup>4</sup> Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer also translated into Mongol the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva (the Mongol text of Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer edited by Professor V. J. Vladimircov, *Bibl. Buddhica*, vol. XXVIII, Leningrad, 1929). In his Introduction, p. III, Professor Vladimircov stresses the great importance of the pioneering work of Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer. In the colophon of Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer's Mongol text (p. 170) it is said that Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer had completed the translation of the text in the year of the Serpent (moyai jil-dur orušiylju dayuṣba). In his Introduction (p. II), Professor Vladimircov says that this year of the Serpent corresponds to 1305 A.D., but since the element of the year is not indicated in the text, it could also correspond to the year 1281 A.D. (an Iron-Serpent year. lĕags-sbrul), which would mean that the translation was completed by Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer some ten years before his death

<sup>1</sup> A short biographical notice on ḥJam-dbyaṅs-gsar-ma is found in the Deb-ther sñon-po, Book VI (cha), fol. 5a.

<sup>2</sup> V. Vladimircov: *Mongol'skij Sbornik rasskazob iz Pañcatantra*, 1921, p. 47, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> V. Vladimircov: *Sravnitel'naja Grammatika Mongol'skogo Pis'mennogo jazyka* Leningrad, 1929, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Vladimircov: *Mongol'skij Sbornik rasskazob iz Pañcatantra*, p. 44, note.

in 1292 A.D. The mention of a person named Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer in the Yüan-shih under the year 1321 A.D. is difficult to explain. It might be a simple mistake, or it might refer to another person of the same name. The Deb-ther sñon-po (Book VIII [Na], fol. 52b) mentions a Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer, abbot of the ḥTshur-phu monastery and brother of Rin-po-čhe Kun-dgaḥ blo-gros, who lived in the second-half of the fourteenth century. The abbots of ḥTshur-phu always maintained contact with the Imperial Court of China, and many of them were given honorific titles. Thus ḥJam-dhyaṅs don-grub ḥod-zer was given the title of Kuan-ting Ta-kuo-shih soon after 1407 A.D. It seems to us we have no reasons to reject the year of Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer's birth (1214 A.D.) as given by the Deb-ther sñon-po, which links this date to the well-established date of the Kha-čhe paṅ-čhen's departure to Kaśmīra. Further investigation will no doubt help to ascertain the date of Čhos-kyi ḥod-zer's death. For the present some of the important sources on the Mongol epoch, such as the Sa-skya čhos-ḥbyuṅ and the rGya-nag čhos-ḥbyuṅ of Guṅ mGon-po skyabs, remain inaccessible to us.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI. By 'ISHTIÁQ HUSAIN QURĒSHÍ, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.). 8½"×5½", pp. xvi+240+48. Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf, Kashmirí Bazár, Lahore, 1942.

Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf has been publishing for some time interesting and valuable books on subjects connected with the history of Muslim India. The book under review is one of them. In this charming book Dr. 'Ishtiáq Husain deals with the administration of the Sultanate of Delhi and its provinces, during the Muslim period. He has collected his material from a considerable mass of original as well as secondary sources, some of which still remain unpublished. Epigraphical and numismatic sources also have not been neglected. In using all these varied sources the author has shown broad outlook as well as critical acumen. He rightly lays stress on the unity of the general principles and the methods of administration followed in the different apparently disconnected Muslim States during the middle ages. He correctly advocates that such historical events as were due to the personal idiosyncrasies of individual Sultāns should not be mistaken for the general policy of the State. He stresses that the ideal of the Sultāns of Delhi in general was to serve impartially and devotedly the creatures of God Who entrusted them to their care.

Having given a brief survey of the period with which the author deals, and of some of the important sources which he utilized, he discusses the position of the Caliph, the relation of the Muslim monarchs, specially that of the Sultāns of Delhi, to him, and the idea of sovereignty according to Islam. He then proceeds to deal with the royal household, the ministers and their different classes, the financial system, the organization of the army, the administration of justice and its different branches, the religious affairs, education and public works, the provincial and local government, together with the various institutions and departments connected with them. He concludes his thesis with a chapter on the spirit of the government which he thinks was tolerant, impartial and benevolent. He has added a long and exhaustive bibliography at the end.

It appears that the author could not pay as much attention and care to the introductory and the concluding parts as they deserved. He has made no use of an important work on the political and religious philosophy of Islam by an Indian author of unanimously recognized merit and authority. It is the Hujjatul-Lahí'l-Báligha of Sháh Walí'ulláh of Delhi, which contains some very valuable remarks on the character of Muslim rule in India. Among the sources used by the author there are some unpublished anonymous manuscripts. Such works are generally of doubtful authority. They can be utilized only after their authenticity is proved. In his bibliography the author has included the Mulfuzát-i-Timúr also which has been

proved to be a forged book. There are also a few misprints in the transliteration of Arabic words.

The author, however, deserves credit for his hard work and research and for what he has achieved. The book fills in a great need. It is useful for the students of the subject and its perusal is sure to repay every reader.

M. Z. S.

**THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF SPIRITS.** By DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Lucknow). Second edition. Luzac & Co., London, 1936, xii+114.

This is another of those valuable contributions to Buddhist studies, for which Dr. B. C. Law is now sufficiently well-known. It consists of six chapters traversing almost the whole ground of Buddhist belief in spirits as reflected in the Pali literature. In the first chapter the author after noticing the verbal correspondence between the Vedic *pitaras* and the Pali *petas* points out their essential resemblances and differences. The second chapter deals with the resemblances between the five *mahāyājñas* of the Brāhmanas and the five *balis* of the Buddhists as well as those between the nine-fold division of beings after death according to the former with the nine abodes of beings according to the ideas of the latter. The author also shows how the religious beliefs and social practices associated with *preta*-belief are generally connected with the Brāhmanas in the early Buddhist tradition. In the same context he points out how the Buddhists promulgated afresh the doctrine of *karma* and that of heavens and hells. It would have been well if these two statements had been reconciled with each other. In the third chapter dealing with the *Petavatthu*, 'the Buddhist Book of the Dead', the author well explains how all the different trends of thought met with in other parts of the Pali canon are made to converge in this work. Amplifying this dictum, he points out how the main underlying motive of all the *preta* stories is to improve the expression of sorrow, to encourage piety, to establish the validity of the law of *karma* and, above all, to inculcate faith in the Buddhist Holy Triad. Chapter 4 culls from various stories of the *Petavatthu* interesting descriptions of the physical conditions of the *pretas*. Chapter 5 gives short summaries of forty-seven *preta* stories as told in Dhammapāla's commentary on the *Petavatthu*. The doctrinal bearings of these stories are told in the sixth and last chapter where we learn, among other things, that while the stories have no trace of spirit-worship or ancestor-worship, they are a call to lay devotees to perform meritorious deeds on earth, to save themselves from miseries hereafter.

A short but useful index brings this highly interesting monograph to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

**INDIA AS DESCRIBED IN EARLY TEXTS OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM.** By DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Lucknow). 315 pp. Luzac & Co., London.

The present volume, as the author says in his preface, was originally a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Literature of the Lucknow University. The book is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter the author tries to give a systematic geography of India with the help of materials available from the Pali texts and the Jaina Āgamas. In the next chapter the kings and peoples mentioned in those two literatures have been discussed. In Chap. III there is an account of the social life and economic conditions of the age in question. In the last two chapters the subjects of religion and education and learning have been treated.

As the title shows the author has taken as his bases the Buddhist and Jaina canonical literatures. The Buddhist literature has been studied from different angles of vision by many scholars including the author himself. But the Jaina sources still remain a virgin field. It was a happy choice of the author to take up

a study of this branch of the literature and to compare their data with the information available from the Pali texts. The traditions contained in the literatures of the two religions roughly belong to the same period of Indian history and they required to be studied together. While dealing with these two sources the author has not neglected the contemporary Brahmanical literature.

The author's treatment is thorough and comprehensive. He has displayed his habitual critical acumen in sifting the data. As such the book is a reliable piece of work which will be highly useful to all students of Indian history and culture. An additional chapter on the chronology of the Buddhist and Jaina texts would have much enhanced the value of the present work but, even as it is, it is sure to receive the recognition which it aptly deserves. We congratulate the author for this new and valuable contribution to our knowledge of Buddhist and Jaina sources.

P. C. BAGCHI.

GIT-MANJARI.—THE SADUL ORIENTAL SERIES, DEDICATORY VOLUME. Edited by the Editorial Board of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1944. Published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Bikaner, pp. xlii+94.

This is a small collection of Rajasthani Bardic songs, 42 in number, by way of dedication to the Royal House of Bikaner, and particularly, its present illustrious representative, through whose benefaction and patronage the series, of which the present volume is the first, is due to come into being. There are two interesting introductions, one in English by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja of Madras and the other in Hindi by Professor Narottam Das Swami of Bikaner. The latter leads one to hope that the Professor would, in the near future, draw upon his deep learning and publish a systematic and adequate introduction to the subject which is of great importance to whoever is interested in Indian literature, and the 'trumpet notes' of war and chivalry the world around. Bikaner has a place all to herself. The bouncing beauty of her intonation of the martial language favoured by her bards cannot be reproduced on paper. The proper chanting of Rajasthani songs is a most difficult art: it is fast becoming one of the lost arts of India. While a few, all too rare, Charans of the old school are still alive, every up-to-date device might be adopted to preserve accurate records of the manner of utterance which quickened the pulse of an entire people and which was not quite the same in any two States, even in Rajasthan. The gramophone may catch what the printing press must miss.

Every song in this small collection has the beauty of virile rhythm and balanced composition. Some reveal a fairly high degree of inspiration. But the volume is frankly dedicatory. Nobody in Bikaner or outside need grudge such a start. The little book should be doubly welcome, for its own sake and for its promise to be 'the precursor of a useful and popular series which will not only show to the world the rare beauties of ancient Rajasthani literature, but will be an inspiration and encouragement to the literary workers in Hindi and its dialects'.

K. P. KHAITAN.

MADRAS GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MSS. SERIES: No. 5—RATNEŚVARA-PRAŚĀDANA, a Sanskrit drama. By GURURĀMA KAVI: Printed and published by the Sri Balamanorama Press, Mylapore, Madras, 1939, pp. 108. Price Re.1-2-0. No. 11—DAMARUKAM, a Sanskrit farce. By Papdita GHANAŚYĀMA. Printed at the Sri Vani Vilasa Press and published by the Sri Śankara-gurukulam, Srirangam, 1940, pp. 33+2. Price As.8. Both edited by VIDYĀŚĀRA VIDYĀVĀCASPATI P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, B.A. (Oxon), M.A. (Madras), Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras and Curator of the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.

Sanskrit literature, ever since classical Sanskrit became established as the culture language of Hindu India during the middle of the first millennium B.C., has

continued to our day as a living tradition, and throughout the entire course of some 2,500 years there has never been any break or weakening in this tradition, when we think of India as a whole. As in all things human, there were vicissitudes in the history of Sanskrit culture in different parts of the country, but the output of Sanskrit literature even in post-classical times, i.e. after the conquest of North India by the Turks and the establishment of Muslim States over the greater part of the country, is astonishing in both extent and quality. And there were times when with the revival of Hindu political power in parts of the country there was a corresponding revival of literary endeavour in Sanskrit, as a result of which poets, philosophers and other writers came into being whose contributions rival those of the best productions of the classical ages. In South India, under the auspices of the Vijayanagara emperors (1336-1565), Sanskrit learning underwent a great revival, but after the disastrous battle of Talikota, which destroyed this great bulwark of Hinduism, it seemed Hindu life and culture including the writing of works in Sanskrit would receive a great check in South India. The South, however, survived the shock, and in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under the Telugu Nayaks and the Maratha rulers at Madura and Tanjore and elsewhere, Brahman and other scholars once again came forward and by their compositions shed new lustre to the Sanskrit scholarship of India. Appaya-dikshita, Śrinivāsa-dikshita, Tātāchārya, Nilakantha-dikshita, Rājachūdāmani-dikshita, Bhaṭṭojī-dikshita, Rāma-kavi or Gururāma-kavi, Ācā-dikshita and others were eminent Sanskrit writers of the seventeenth century followed by others equally eminent in the eighteenth. A full history of Sanskrit literature of these late medieval and early modern times in South India would be quite an extensive work, and we can form some idea of it from Professor Krishnamacharya's well-known History of Sanskrit Literature. It must be admitted, however, that a great deal of this literature is derivative or imitative, and the works usually do not evince any freshness or originality; but the scholarship and ingenuity of the writers cannot be doubted, and connoisseurs of Sanskrit literature cannot fail to be struck frequently by the easy flow of their lines and by many a striking sentiment and idea. The works of these worthies should not remain for ever buried in MSS. in the different collections in India, but should be printed and given out to the world to enable us to form an appraisal of Indian culture as reflected in the minds and susceptibilities of her intellectual elite, viz. her Sanskrit scholars. Already a good few of these Sanskrit writers of South India are in print. Some names, such as those of Appaya-dikshita, Bhaṭṭojī-dikshita, Nilakantha-dikshita, and the great Jagannātha-paṇḍita who settled in North India, have obtained all-India celebrity, and are held in honour wherever Sanskrit is studied. But the other worthies should also come to their own, through the publication of their works. We have received for review two of such works, ably edited by one of the most distinguished Sanskrit scholars of South India at the present day, Professor P. P. S. Sastri, well known, among other things, for his very valuable and very handy edition of the Southern recension of the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Ratnēśvara-prasādana* was written by Rāma-kavi, or Gururāma-kavi, probably early in the seventeenth century. Five dramas by this author are known. The drama is in the usual classical style, in both Sanskrit and Prakrit, and hinges round a love story of the usual courtly type. Yet it has got literary merits of a high order. To quote our editor: 'The easy flow of style, the graceful delineation of the characters and the delightful imitation of the words, phrases and moods of standard authors like Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, which sometimes make us wonder whether the imitator or the imitated is the greater poet—all these combine to make Gururāma a poet and dramatist of the first magnitude.' The work has been edited from four MSS., and a modern commentary by Krishna-sūri, prepared at the instance of Professor Sastri, is printed at the end. It is a well-edited and well-printed book, and will delight all lovers of Sanskrit literature.

The *Damarukam* is a *prahasana* or farce by Paṇḍita Ghaṇaśyāma, who flourished in the court of Tukoji of Tanjore during the first half of the eighteenth century. The author says a good deal about himself and his attainments and indeed he was held in high esteem for his proficiency in the language of the Gods. The work is in ten

*alankāras*, and is more a collection of *subhāṣitas* by the author on various topics than a real dramatic farce. The work is edited from a single MS., but a commentary on it by Chandraśekhara, printed at the end, gives some better readings which are duly noted.

We hope many more of such works will be made available to the public, which will feel grateful to the editors and the publishers for their disinterested services to the literature and culture of India.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

THE CALCUTTA SANSKRIT SERIES, No. XXVIII: THE GṚHYA-SŪTRAS OF GOBHILA: Vol. II. English translation, with copious notes, introduction and indices, by VANAMĀLI VEDĀNTATĪRTHA, M.A. Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House, Ltd., Calcutta, 90 Lower Circular Road, 1940-1941, pp. xiv+170.

The Calcutta Sanskrit Series is already well known to interested scholars for the excellent and erudite editions of a variety of important Sanskrit texts published in it, and the present work, though in English, is quite in keeping with the high quality of the edition of the texts which have so far appeared. The *Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra*, an important work on domestic rites, rituals and ceremonies of the Aryans of the late Vedic age, forms the basis of the Vedic rites in use among the Brahmans in Bengal belonging to the Kauthumi branch of the Sāmaveda. The original text has been printed several times—in 1871-1880 from the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by MM. Chandrakānta Tarkālāṅkāra with a commentary of his own, republished in 1908; in 1884 by F. Krauer from Dorpat and Leipzig; in 1886 from Calcutta by Satyavrata Sāmaśrami with his own gloss and a Bengali translation; and again from Calcutta in the *Calcutta Oriental Series* (as No. 17), with a Sanskrit commentary by Bhatta-Nārāyana, edited (with an introduction by Vanamāli Vedāntatīrtha) by Pandit Chintāmaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya; besides an incomplete edition with a Sanskrit gloss and a Bengali translation by Dayālakṛiṣṇa Tarkatīrtha, Sylhet, 1931. There is an English translation of the *Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra* by H. Oldenberg in the *Sacred Books of the East* series (Oxford), published in 1892. Prof. Vedāntatīrtha thus explains the reason for bringing out the present version: 'The present English translation is primarily meant for people educated in Indian universities, be their interest religious, social or anthropological.' His endeavour has been 'to make the reader fully understand the language and enter into the spirit of the old ṛsis, and their medieval and modern commentators'.

The translation appears to have been made with very great care, and one is filled with admiration for the translator for his common-sense and objective approach to the study of an old text, not wholly divorced from a spirit of reverence and sympathy without which we cannot properly understand and appreciate a document of human life and culture. He generally takes the original by itself, but he does not neglect traditional explanations when these appear to be reasonable and sensible, and to preserve the spirit or purport of the original. This attitude has a great deal to be said in favour of it, particularly when in the spirit of an over-zealous objectivity the ancillary help of tradition is apt to be ignored by Western scholars who have no living touch with this tradition. Professor Chakravarti has appended plentiful footnotes elucidating the translation, and these form a valuable commentary to the text, materially aiding us in its understanding and appreciation. The *Gṛhya-sūtra* gives a very detailed picture of the daily life of an Aryan householder of the first millennium B.C., with all religious rites and ceremonies which he has to perform at important social functions, and by itself a work of this type has an important documentary value. A most well-written introduction, a detailed and analytical list of contents, and two indexes in English and in Sanskrit giving titles of all topics discussed and all matters treated, add to the value of this edition. Indeed, Professor Vedāntatīrtha has been fully alive to the importance of the *Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra* for students of religion, sociology and anthropology, and we can congratulate him on giving out to the scholarly world such a useful work.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

**PŪṢAN IN THE RIGVEDA.** By SAMUEL D. ATKINS. Being a dissertation accepted (January 1941) by the University of Princeton, U.S.A., for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Published by the author in 1941 from 28 Edwards Place, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., pp. xiii+102. Price One Dollar Fifty Cents.

This is quite a useful contribution to our study of Vedic religion in one of its aspects, done in the best possible style. The author has made a specialized study of one of the comparatively minor deities in the Rigveda, and he has considered all the passages in the Rigveda referring to Pūṣan (which he has appended to his 'Interpretation' of Pūṣan, with translation and full philological and other exegesis). Dr. Atkins has discussed the various explanations of Pūṣan by previous workers in Vedic religion and the Veda, and he has considered Pūṣan as a Solar God, as a Pastoral God, as a God of Paths, and a God of Wealth and Benevolence, and has dealt with the relationship with the other deities in the Vedic pantheon, and finally he has given his own conclusion. He is not satisfied with the Indo-European derivations proposed for the name *Pūṣan*—one would be tempted to accept the connection with the Greek *Pān* (Arcadian *Páōn* < \**Pāusōn*: cf. Vedic *Uṣas* = Greek *Aōs* < \**Āūsōs*) as proposed by several scholars, considering certain agreements in the conception of these two deities, *Pūṣan* and *Pān* in India and Greece—and he accepts the traditional derivation that *Pūṣan* is an agent noun based on *puṣyati* 'cause to thrive, make prosper', plus the rather rare suffix *-an*. This, as the author says, is essentially the view also of a number of other scholars, among whom are Grassmann, Uhlenbeck, Macdonell and Bloomfield. Dr. Atkins thinks that the word is a symbolic name meaning 'Prosperer, Bestower of Prosperity', possibly symbolizing the bountiful nature of the Sun, and regards *Pūṣan* as having originally started as the solar deity of a pastoral people, consequently as a deity with pastoral characteristics and functions and the functions of a god of paths, all inherent in his nature and developing more or less contemporaneously. Other secondary characteristics and functions gradually came to be connected with him. He is associated with Indra, Soma, etc. mostly because his worshippers desired to dignify him in the eyes of others. The rôle of *Pūṣan* in the other Vedas and the Brāhmanas has not yet been properly enquired into.

It is a simple objective study of a Vedic deity, and the problem is difficult of solution historically. It would appear that there is not much to be said on *Pūṣan* after this work. Dr. Atkins has added to the value of his little book by giving an index of epithets applied to *Pūṣan* and a list of problematic words occurring in the Rigveda verses connected with *Pūṣan*.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

**A SHĪ'ITE CREED.** By ASAF A. A. FYZEE. Islamic Research Association Series No. 9, pp. xiii+144. Oxford University Press, 1942.

This is a valuable addition to the Series published by the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, and students of the religion of Islam have reason to be grateful to Dr. Fyzee for bringing out an excellent English translation of the Arabic *Risālat-u'l I'tiqā'at-i Imāmiyya* of the well-known Shī'ite doctor, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Bābawayhi al-Qummi, better known as Shaykh Ṣadūq, who, as stated by the translator, 'was the author of the "Four books" and is universally regarded among the Ithnā 'Ashari Shī'a as a great authority'.

While admitting that within recent years considerable advance has been made in our knowledge of Islam in general, Dr. Fyzee regrets that 'not very appreciable advance has been made in our knowledge of Shī'ite history, philosophy and law'. He adds:

'The creed of Islam cannot be understood by the study of the "Sunnite" element only; to this must be added the inquiry into the Shī'ite counterpart. The uses of such a study are many, but their different aspects may here be stressed. Such a study would clarify many historical questions; it would give us an insight into the logical controversies—for, these are not always barren,



fanatical and personal, but indications of general trends of thought; and finally, it would tend to the solution of the problem of legal distinctions that puzzle some of the foremost jurists.'

Few will have reason to disagree with Dr. Fyzee. No history of the development of Shi'ism can be written unless the vast material available is edited, published and translated. Dr. Fyzee has undertaken the task and has placed before us an English translation of a very important work on the Shi'ite creed. In the Introduction he has discussed the importance of the work and given a critical account of the life of the author and also enumerated the many works which he composed, including a number of those whose copies do not seem to be extant.

The original work is divided into 45 chapters and treats of such subjects as the Unity of Allāh (Chap. 1), the attributes (Chap. 2), Allāh's Intention and Will (Chap. 6), Destiny and Decree (Chap. 7), Human Capacity (Chap. 9), Souls and Spirits (Chap. 15), Allāh's Justice (Chap. 24), the Reckoning and the Scales (Chap. 28), 'Alids (Chap. 41), etc. The translator adds useful explanatory notes on almost every page.

The book ends with very valuable indices of: (a) Quranic verses, (b) Subjects discussed, (c) Names and Titles, and (d) Technical terms.

M. M. HAQ.

**THE VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY OR BRAHMA SŪTRA.** By SRIDHAR MAJUMDAR, M.A., with a Foreword by Prof. Kokileswar Sastri. Second Edition, Calcutta, 1938.

In this work, the author gives in simple clear English an exposition of the Brahma Sūtra of Bādarāyana from the standpoint of Nimbārka explained in his 'Vedānta-Pārijāta-Saurabha', without however attempting an exact literal translation of that work.

As is well known Śaṅkara's views, while exerting the most profound influence on Indian philosophical thought, led to a strong reaction against his extreme Advaitism from more theistically minded or devotional thinkers during the nineteenth centuries, of which the system of Nimbārka is one of the most well-known. He was a Tailaṅga or Andhra Brahmin and very little seems to be known of his exact parentage and birth-place.

Nimbārka's philosophical ideas were elaborated in his well-known commentary of the Brahma Sūtras known as Vedānta-Pārijāta-Saurabha and in the Vedānta-Kaustubha of his immediate follower Śrīnivāsa.

Nimbārka's doctrine is known as Svābhāvika-Bhedābheda-vāda and according to him both Brahman and Jiva-Jagat are real and while the latter can lay no claim to a separate existence from the former, yet as the effect is different from the cause, in the same sense is the Many different from the One and their difference is as fundamental as their non-difference. Without departing from the fold of the Vedantic thought, Nimbārka seeks to find a place for the devotional mind by the destruction of narrow egoity, but not by the annihilation of the individual soul.

The author, who is a follower of Nimbārka and appears to be a member of the Vaiṣṇava sect, attempts to explain the main tenets of Nimbārka's doctrine for the benefit of the English-knowing public without adequate knowledge of Sanskrit. It is done in simple unostentatious language and I have no doubt it will help in the propagation of Nimbārka's thoughts.

ROMA CHAUDHURI.

**INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN TEXTUAL CRITICISM.** By S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Professor of Indo-European Philology, Deccan College, Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, Editor, *New Indian Antiquary*. Demy 8vo, pp. 1-148. Price Rs.3-8-0. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay.

This is an interesting little book on a subject which has not so far attracted the attention it deserves at the hands of Indologists. It is a painful truth that though numerous Sanskrit texts have been published, in very few of them strict

scientific principles have been followed in dealing with the manuscripts on which the editions are based. Haphazard reference to a number of variant readings from several manuscripts that have easily come to hands is generally considered to be the essential requirement of a scholarly edition of a text. It is rather curious that even learned institutions do not insist on any principles to be observed and works published by them not infrequently suffer from the defect referred to. It is true there are honourable exceptions and some of the editions—though the number is small—are quite ideal in every respect. In these latter we have examples of the practical application of the general principles to which reference is made in the introductions. But there is no independent work dealing with the principles as such and the work under review removes that keenly felt want.

In eight chapters it discusses the main factors on which the attention of the scholars should be fixed in properly using materials for a critical edition of a particular work. It begins with a rather sketchy account of manuscripts—the materials on which they were written and the manner of their copying. It is somewhat strange that while all the other chapters are well-documented this introductory chapter does not in many cases refer to the sources of particular pieces of information. Mention has been made of 'the story of a Benares Paṇḍit going to Nadia in the middle ages and bringing back the entire text of a famous classic of the Navyanyāya School in his colossal memory' (p. 14). In the absence of any indication of the source of information it is difficult to verify the authenticity of the statement; but a story current in Bengal refers to a Bengal Paṇḍit, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, going to Mithilā and coming back with the same achievement to his credit.<sup>1</sup> Of authors trying to get copies of their compositions prepared during their lifetime, no one has been mentioned by name (p. 16). Reference may be made to a recent author (nineteenth century) who, it is reported, offered five rupees to any one who would make a copy of his commentary on the *Mṛgābhodha* (composed in 1836 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

Of copying undertaken as a religious duty (to which no reference has been made in the book) for presentation to temples and to saints and scholars there are numerous instances as evident from what are called post-colophon statements or *prastāsis*<sup>3</sup> in manuscripts. Mercenary copyists also were not unknown and many manuscripts record the prices for which they were sold.

Topics dealt with in other chapters of the work are: kinds of texts, some fundamental aspects of textual criticism, problem of critical recension, causes of corruption in a transmitted text, emendation, some canons of textual criticism, and practical hints on the editing of texts. There are quite a good number of works in European languages which have made detailed study of these problems. Dr. Katre has made use of many of them<sup>4</sup> and tried to adapt the principles evolved by them to conditions peculiar to Indian texts, in the light of the work done by Indologists.

There are three appendices. Appendix I gives a glossary of important terms (mainly European) used in textual criticism. Though a number of Sanskrit terms have been included one would miss many like the following: *Kākapada*<sup>5</sup> (caret), *puṣpikā* (colophon), *grantha* or *śloka* (used to indicate a unit of 32 syllables) and *tripāṭha* (sometimes used to refer to that form of writing in which a bigger margin is left in the middle portion of a page generally containing the text as distinguished from the commentary which has a smaller margin).

Appendix II, the most important of the three, contains a chronological list of catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts compiled in and outside India between 1800

<sup>1</sup> S. C. Vidyabhushan—*History of Indian Logic*, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> B. N. Banerji—*Saṁvādpātre Śākāle Kathā*, Vol. II, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Many of these are quoted in the *Prastāsisamgraha* (Ahmedabad, 1930). For a different interpretation of the term *prastāsi*, vide p. 94 of the work under review.

<sup>4</sup> One of these works, that of F. W. Hall, has been referred under two slightly different titles in two different places of the work (p. 30 n. and p. 139). One important work which is not mentioned by Dr. Katre is Clarke's *Descent of Manuscripts*.

<sup>5</sup> The term is given as *kākapāda* on p. 11 of the work. It may be noted that the omitted portions are generally given in the margin prefixing or affixing to them the number of the line (counting either from the top or from the bottom according as the omitted portions are given at the top or the bottom) in which the omission occurs.

and 1941. This is a valuable contribution to the study of manuscripts, made by Mr. P. K. Gode, one of the few living specialists in the subject.<sup>1</sup> In spite of a few errors and omissions, here and there, this gives a broad outline of the history of the study of manuscripts. It is regrettable that none of the big manuscript libraries in India is equipped with anything like a complete collection of all printed catalogues making it difficult to prepare an exhaustive bibliography.

Appendix III gives an account of fifteen important manuscripts and collections of manuscripts as also eleven critical editions of manuscripts. Evidently the list is only illustrative and not exhaustive.

The labours of the learned author will be fruitful if the work succeeds in awakening an interest in the subject among all scholars engaged in the work of editing old texts. The universities may do much in the matter by prescribing the book in post-graduate studies in Indian languages, especially in Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

DOCTRINE OF SAKTI IN INDIAN LITERATURE. By DR. PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Asutosh Professor of Sanskrit, Calcutta University. General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 119 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs.5.

'Doctrine of Sakti in Indian Literature' by Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Asutosh Professor of Sanskrit, Calcutta University, has a melancholy interest. The author did not live to complete the book. He died at the early age of 45. He had planned to write a comprehensive history of Indian culture in all branches and the present book was meant as a mere collection of materials to be worked up into a system gradually. But it was not to be.

Dr. Prabhat was born in a family of hereditary *Gurus*, whose privilege it was to initiate people into Tantric *Sakti* worship, which is a living faith in Bengal. A book on 'Sakti' from the pen of such a man and scholar is very welcome. It is a sign of the time that Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna's *Sakti-bhāṣya* on the *Brahma Sūtras* has also been published almost simultaneously. Lovers of Indian wisdom will find much to set them thinking in these volumes.

The headlines of the different chapters will show how the author had proposed to follow the theory of Sakti in its development from Vedic to later Tantric literature. The Sanskrit quotations and their English renderings will be useful to those who want to study the subject in original.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA.

GLORIES OF MARWAR AND THE GLORIOUS RATHORS. By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU; with a Foreword by Bada Maharaj-Kumar Shri Hanwant Singhji Sahib, Heir-Apparent of Jodhpur. Published under orders of the Jodhpur Darbar (1943), pages lxiv+273, with photographs of His Highness the Maharaja Shih Bahadur of Jodhpur and of five letters and two Sanads. First Edition. Price Rs.3-4-0 only.

The foreword probably best describes the book in these words: 'This volume . . . . . in addition to a brief history of Marwar contains a number of his articles, based on original researches, which the author has read at various historical conferences from time to time.'

The historical portion, as a narrative of the glories of Marwar, is disappointing. It is contained in 64 pages (i to lxiv) and is hardly anything more than a list of

<sup>1</sup> A list of notes and papers, scattered over various journals, giving detailed accounts of manuscripts is still a desideratum. Mr. Gode will be doing a real service to scholarship by compiling that list and making his bibliography complete in every respect.

the Rathor kings with a mention of some of the most important events of their respective reigns. The other portion of the publication consists of miscellaneous notes and documents and is to be found in the four appendices. The original documents which have been published include Sanads relating to Raisina or New-Delhi and a letter of Maharaja Ranjitsingh of the Punjab, addressed to Maharaja Mansingh of Marwar, which, apart from their historical value, are documents of striking interest to lay readers. The other documents are likely to be of interest mainly to historians. The articles and comments of the learned writer interspersed throughout the book make no secret of the profound loyalty of the writer to the ruling house of Marwar, and he has boldly thrown out challenges in many directions which may lead to controversies among the supporters of rival ruling families of Rajputana and beyond. Yet one misses prominent or even passing mention of the glories of Marwar other than the chivalry of the Rajputs. Members of the other castes also covered themselves with glory in the history of Marwar. The arts, literature, monuments of architecture, manners and customs, and the rugged beauty of the land itself and its famous lakes also are amongst the glories of Marwar and deserved suitable mention. In passing, the writer of this review, cannot resist the temptation of making a reference to a beautiful hymn in the Sam Veda which hints at the resplendent peacocks and horses, the hunts, and the mazes of the sand-hills of the desert country. (Sam Veda, Uttarachika, 19th chapter.)

So much have the old controversies subsided amongst the rank and file of Rajasthanis that outside Rajasthan the word 'Marwari' has been adopted as a convenient way of referring to all who have come from Rajasthan, whether from Marwar or not. Comparatively, few 'Marwaris' are of 'Marwar': and if 'Marwaris' have any achievements to their credit, they do not mind the glories being added to the 'Glories of Marwar'.

K. P. K.

FOLK TALES OF MAHAKOSHAL. By Verrier Elwin. Pages i-xxv+1-523. Oxford University Press. Rs.15.

FOLK SONGS OF THE MAIKAL HILLS. By VERRIER ELWIN and SHAMBAO HIVALE. Pages i-xxix+1-410. Oxford University Press. Rs.15.

These two volumes are 'the first of several which will assemble and preserve for English-speaking readers specimens of the oral literature of Middle India'. They thus represent a very significant and important contribution to the literature on Aboriginal India.

The first volume presents tales collected from certain districts in the Central Provinces and from Indian States, such as Rewa and Bastar. They have been collected directly from members of aboriginal tribes and are truly oral specimens which could not have been derived from printed sources. In the introduction Dr. Elwin surveys the chief collections of Indian folk tales hitherto recorded and points out many serious faults, particularly the habit of Bowdlerization. In a few cases tales had been copied directly from literary texts. He points out that the translations of true folk tales are often 'so literal as to be almost unreadable or so written up and elaborated' as to bear no relation to the original. The author has decided 'to treat all the stories as if I were translating poetry; . . . no extra words, no fresh images, no alien ideas'.

The folk tales are classified under 26 different heads although, of course, there is much overlapping and some of the stories could easily fit into many differing classifications. Each chapter has a brief introduction and usually closes with a series of notes which throw a flood of light upon certain difficult allusions or customs. Frequently parallels in other folk literature are pointed out, but there is always something new added. It has been estimated that until now only some 3,000 stories from India and adjacent countries were available in print to Western readers. There are 150 tales in this collection alone. Each story here has a notation to link it to a definite tribe and place. Dr. Elwin's superb English style has enhanced the value and appeal of the book.

The second volume contains some 619 songs of varying lengths. The introduction, as in the previous volume, makes a valuable contribution to primitive life and its interpretation. There is a discussion of conditions prevailing today which work against the perpetuation of the folk songs of primitive peoples. W. G. Archer, in his valuable book 'The Blue Grove—the poetry of the Uraons', set an entirely new standard of work from the point of view of the translation and appreciation of primitive poetry. Dr. Elwin has profited by this and has himself gone several steps further in bringing into the picture many new and important considerations. Dr. Elwin says, 'This collection is offered as a collection of songs rather than of poems'. The songs are first classified according to type (Karma, Rina, Sua, Saila, Dadaria) and examples of each are given. Then follows an arrangement according to motif: love songs, marriage and its songs, cradle songs, songs of married life, songs of craft and labour, social and political songs, festival songs, and the like. It is pointed out that verse is wedded to the dance and in most of the songs depends on it. As wide a sampling as possible has been made and the whole cycle from birth to death is covered, not to speak of the concomitant activities.

The songs, more than the tales, bear upon everyday life. The tales are laid in the imagination and are unreliable sources of tribal custom. Aboriginal life is much stricter than the tales would probably lead one to think. But in the songs one senses something more true to life. Some are rich in meaning and symbolism and others are difficult to make anything of and their inclusion would hardly seem worth while. But primitive people do not see things as we do. Dr. Elwin interprets many of the songs and makes it easier for one not used to primitive thought to get a hint of the idea behind the words. However, there is the temptation and danger to look for hidden meanings where none exist.

Taken together, these two books throw a flood of light upon primitive peoples. We see something of the dream lands in which they reveal with their murder, trickery and lust. But rarely does this break out into everyday life. We also are led to appreciate something of the complexity of their culture commonly called 'primitive'. In the poems their hearts are opened to us, and we can get a glimpse into what they value most and how their life is lived. It is to be hoped that these exciting books will get the hearing they deserve and will create in the minds of many a new appreciation and respect for Aboriginal India.

W. G. GRIFFITHS.

## NOTICE

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## The Maukharis and the Later Guptas.

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

There are reasons to believe that the early members of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty<sup>1</sup> were rulers of East Malwa and the adjoining regions, while their Maukhari contemporaries reigned over parts of Bihār and U.P. Some Later Gupta kings are represented in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* as *mālavarāja*, i.e. King of the Mālava country. The name Mālava, unqualified with words like *pūrva* and *apara*, is known to be explained as *pūrva-Mālava*, i.e. East Malwa, in the commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, 6.5.24. West Malwa, moreover, appears to have been under the Aulikara kings of Mandasor at least up to the middle of the sixth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Both the Later Guptas and the Maukharis were at first feudatories of the Imperial Guptas and the two dynasties were originally friendly towards each other. There is some evidence to show that the two families contracted several matrimonial relations.<sup>3</sup> About the middle of the sixth century the dynasty of the Imperial Guptas, in whose cause the Maukharis had been fighting with the Gaṇḍas,<sup>4</sup> totally collapsed and left the Maukharis in practical

<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence of this dynasty having been an offshoot of the Imperial Gupta family. This royal family is never known to have been called a 'Gupta' dynasty. A prominent member of the family has the name Ādityasena which does not end in in the word *gupta*. The name 'Later Gupta' applied to this dynasty therefore appears to be a misnomer.

<sup>2</sup> Hsuen Tsang's Mo-la-po may have represented the old kingdom of the Aulikara family to which Yaśodharman belonged.

<sup>3</sup> Harṣaguptā and Upaguptā, grandmother and mother of Maukhari Iśānavarman, are supposed by scholars to have been Later Gupta princesses, the former possibly being a sister of Harṣagupta.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Haraha inscription, v. 12 (*ET*, XIV, pp. 115ff.): कृत्वा चायतिमोचितस्त्रलभुषो गौडान् समुद्राश्रयान्. Dr. H. Sastri prefers मोचित० and translates, 'after causing the Gaṇḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm'; but Dr. R. G. Basak has, '[Iśānavarman] made the Gaṇḍa people take shelter towards the seashore, after causing their land territories to be deprived of their future prospects'. The defect of these interpretations is that the Gaṇḍas never lived on the seashore (cf. the *Bhavasya P.* and Hsuen Tsang indicating the home of the Gaṇḍas about the Murshidābād Dist.) and that the sea can hardly be the shelter of a people living on the shore. The correct interpretation of the exaggerated claim, as I have pointed out elsewhere, is that Iśānavarman drove out the Gauda people 'for the future' (for all ages to come - permanently) from the dry land and compelled them to take shelter into the waters of the sea. The Gaṇḍas are known to have been a seafaring people (cf. the case of *mahānavika* Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛtikā in Gauda in a record of the Malay Peninsula; Chatterjee and Chakravarti, *India and Java*, II, p. 7) and the Maukhari court-poet cleverly related one of their national characteristics to his own patron. This is a quite well-known practice in Indian literature; cf. *Rāj. Tar.*, IV, 179-8, for Turuṣka and Dravidian practices related to Lalitāditya:

बन्धमुद्राभिधानाय पश्चाद्वाङ्गं तदाज्ञया ।

तुषष्का दधते व्यक्तं मूर्धनिच्छार्दसुष्ठितम् ॥

चित्तिभट्टदक्षिणात्याषां निर्यक्त्वज्ञापनाय सः ।

पुष्कं मदीतलस्यसि चक्रे कौपीनवाससि ॥

Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*IC*, XI, pp. 123f.) has recently characterized the passage चायतिमोचित in चायतिमोचितस्त्रलभुष as a 'very unusual expression' and would read it differently as अप्रतिमोचित. The passage is, however, not unusual at all; it is

possession of large parts of Bihār and U.P.<sup>1</sup> The Later Guptas now became jealous of the position of their old friends and declared war against them.

Kumāragupta (c. 550 A.D.) of the Later Gupta dynasty defeated the Maukhari king Isānavarman (c. 545-60 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> and extended his influence as far as Prayāga (Allahābād)<sup>3</sup> in the north-east. After the death of Kumāragupta, however, the same Isānavarman<sup>4</sup> defeated and killed Dāmodaragupta,<sup>5</sup> son and successor of Kumāragupta. The success of the

easily explained by the rules of Sanskrit grammar: आद्यतिमोचितस्त्वलभुवः = भाविता-  
त्याजितस्त्वलदेशान् । स्त्वलभुः भूः स्त्वलभुः । मोचिता त्याजिता । मोचिता स्त्वलभुः यैः तान्  
मोचितस्त्वलभुवः । आद्यतये मोचितं । आद्यतिमोचितस्त्वलभुवः ( चतुर्थीति योगविभागात् समासः ) ।  
Isānavarman was the first independent ruler of the family. His exploits are described in both the Haraha and Jaunpur inscriptions. The victories referred to in the Jaunpur record are usually but wrongly ascribed to Isvaravarman, father of Isānavarman.

<sup>1</sup> The latest Imperial Gupta record is the fifth Dāmodarpur grant dated in A.D. 543. The Jain *Harivamśa* by Jinasena, which (Ch. 60) says गुप्तानाञ्च शतद्वयेकविंशच्च वर्षाणि । कालविद्विषदाहृतम्, etc., apparently assigns the collapse of Imperial Gupta power 231 years after the foundation of the Gupta era in 320 A.D., i.e. to A.D. 551. See Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist.*, pp. 531ff. The decline of the Imperial Guptas in Bihār and Bengal was mainly due to the rise of the Gaudas under mighty rulers like Gopacandra. See my notes in *IHQ*, XIX, pp. 272-81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aphsād inscription, v. 8 (*CII*, III, pp. 202ff.):

उत्सर्पद्वातकेलाचलितकदलिकावोचिमास्त्रावितानः  
प्रोद्यद्भूलोचलौघधनितगुर्वमजामतमात्रश्रेष्ठः ।  
भौमः त्रीशानवर्गं क्षितिपतिश्रेष्ठिनः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिन्धुर्  
लक्ष्मीसंप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरीभूय येन ॥

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, v. 9:

शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो धने ।  
अश्वसौव करीषामौ मग्नः स पुष्पपूजितः ॥

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, v. 11:

यो भोक्त्रेः समितिवृद्धतर्कणसैन्या वज्रादृष्टया विषट्ठयन्तु वारसानाम् ।  
संयुच्छित्तः सुरवधूर्वरयन् ममेति तत्पाणिपङ्कजसुखस्यार्मादिवृद्धः ॥

Apparently Isānavarman, who is mentioned by name in v. 8 above, has here been naturally referred to by his dynastic appellation. There is no reason to believe that Sarvavarman is here indicated. At least the suggestion does not appear to be quite in keeping with the spirit of the language of the record. The Maukharis possibly fought with the Huns as feudatories of Bālāditya of the Imperial Gupta family.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the verse quoted in foot-note 4. The reference to the *suravadhū*, celestial damsels, in the passage सुरवधूर्वरयन् ममेति appears to suggest that Dāmodaragupta died a hero's death on the battlefield. According to the ancient Indian military convention, a hero dying in action inevitably goes to heaven and enjoys divine girls. The above passage seems to be an echo of *Mbh.*, XII, 98, 44-47: आहवे तु हतं शूरं न शोचेत कश्चन । अशोचो हि हतः शूरः स्वर्गलोके महीयते । . . . वरासरासश्चापि शूरमायोधने हतम् । त्वरमाणानि धावन्ति मम भर्ता भवेदिति । etc. Note especially the last line. Cf. also *Rāj. Tar.*, VII, 1436, 1479; VIII, 197, 453, 472, etc. Mr. K. C. Chattōpādhyāya's suggestion that Dāmodaragupta simply fell into a swoon (संयुच्छित्तं) but awoke (विबुद्ध) soon after, cannot explain satisfactorily the *suravadhū-varaṇa*, which seems to have been possible only when the king reached heaven after death. The court-poet admits that the Later Gupta king entered the abode of the heavenly damsels after having been संयुच्छित्तः. The poet possibly suggests that the king awoke in heaven in the embrace of the *suravadhūs*; cf. *Rāj. Tar.*, VIII, 453:

विदग्धो स तु तद्योधिर्चतैश्च परिचखने ।  
अदिवैर्मेदिनो दिव्यैर्देवैस्त्वप्सरसां गणः ॥

Maukharis against the Later Guptas about this time is further indicated by the fact that Śarvavarman (c. 560-75 A.D.), son of Īśānavarman, is known to have held sway over Bundelkhand in Central India.<sup>1</sup> Mahāsenagupta, who was the son and successor of Dāmodaragupta and who allied himself with the Puṣyabhūti of Thansewar, led successful expeditions in eastern India in the land between the Karatoyā and Lauhitya (Brahmaputra).<sup>2</sup> Soon, however, the Later Gupta throne was usurped by Devagupta<sup>3</sup> and Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, two sons of Mahāsenagupta, had to take shelter with their Puṣyabhūti relatives. Devagupta in conjunction with the Gauda king Śaśāṅka (c. 600-25 A.D.) defeated and killed in c. 605-06 A.D. the Maukhari king Grahavarman (c. 590-605 A.D.) and the main branch of the Maukhari dynasty became extinct. The Puṣyabhūti relations of Grahavarman then took the field on behalf of the Maukharis and Harṣa (606-46 A.D.) of the Puṣyabhūti family came not only to be in possession of the Maukhari dominions, but was eventually able to subdue both the rulers of East Malwa and of Gauda. The sons of Mahāsenagupta appear to have acted as viceroys under Harṣa. We do not know whether Kumāragupta was stationed in East Malwa, but Mādhavagupta seems to have been put in charge of parts of Magadha (originally, South Bihār) after it had been annexed to Harṣa's empire. This is suggested by the fact that soon after Harṣa's death, Ādityasena

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barah grant of Bhoja I Pratihāra; *EI*, XIX, pp. 17f.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāsenaguptā, mother of Prabhākaravardhana, is supposed to have been the sister of Mahāsenagupta. For Mahāsenagupta's exploits, cf. Apsad inscription, v. 14:

श्रीमत्सुस्तितवर्षयुद्धविजयस्त्राषापदाङ्गं सुद्धर यस्याद्यापि विवृद्धकुन्दकुसुदक्ष्णश्चकारस्मितम् ।

छोदित्यस्य तटेषु शौतल्लतलेष्वुल्लगागङ्गुम-च्छायासुप्रविबुद्धसिद्धिमिथुनैः स्त्रीतं यशो गीयते ॥

Susthitarvarman was no doubt the king of Kāmarūpa, who was the elder brother of the celebrated Bhāskaravarman and ruled about the end of the sixth century.

The fact that Bhāskaravarman courted Harṣa's friendship immediately after the latter stepped into the shoes of the Maukhari rulers of the Madhyadeśa shows, as I have elsewhere suggested, that the Kāmarūpa kings had probably been in league with the Maukharis against the common enemy, the kings of the intervening realm of Gauda. A natural result of this alliance seems to be a like friendship of the kings of Gauda with the Later Guptas of East Malwa who were now enemies of the Maukharis. It seems probable that Gauda and East Malwa were allied even before the time of Śaśāṅka and Devagupta. Śaśāṅka's Rohtasgarh seal probably suggests that, like the Imperial Guptas in the earlier epoch, their Maukhari successors were ousted from Bihar chiefly by the Gaudas and that Śaśāṅka was ruling originally over parts of Magadha as a viceroy of a king of Gauda who may have been his immediate predecessor on the throne of Kāmarūpa. The decline of Maukhari power in Bihār due to the success of the Gaudas must have enabled their friend Mahāsenagupta to lead an expedition to the banks of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) against the king of Kāmarūpa without having encountered Maukhari opposition. Probably the Later Gupta king was substantially helped by his Gauda ally in his Lauhitya expedition, as his successor Devagupta, probably a brother of Mahāsenagupta (cf. the *Harṣacarita* suggesting that the '18 year old' Kumāragupta at the Thansewar court was the eldest son of Mahāsenagupta who probably died early), afterwards received help from Śaśāṅka against the Maukharis now cornered in U.P. The Puṣyabhūti king Prabhākaravardhana, sister's son of Mahāsenagupta and the supporter of the pretenders Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, became an enemy of the East Mālava king (*māvalakṣmi-latā-parasu*) and made friends with the Maukharis by offering his daughter to Grahavarman only after the usurpation of Mahāsenagupta's throne by Devagupta, which drove the sons of Mahāsenagupta to Thansewar.

<sup>3</sup> The identification of the *mālavarāja*, who defeated Grahavarman but was himself defeated by the Puṣyabhūti king Rājyavardhana according to the *Harṣacarita*, with Devagupta, who was the most important amongst the rulers defeated by Rājyavardhana according to the inscriptions of Harṣa, has been usually accepted by scholars. The name ending in the word *gupta* seems to connect Devagupta with the family of Mahāsenagupta.

(c. 660–80 A.D.), son of Mādhavagupta, is found in undisputed possession of Magadha. He is not only called the lord of Magadha in an inscription of his relatives, the Licchavis of Nepāl, but his own inscriptions as well as those of his descendants have all been found in Magadha (modern South Bihār).<sup>1</sup>

Some scholars believe that the Later Guptas, and *not* the Maukharis, succeeded the Imperial Guptas in the rule of Bihār. But their arguments in explaining away the epithet *mālavarāja* applied to some early Later Gupta monarchs in the *Harṣacarita* are hardly convincing. Maukhari occupation of at least parts of Bihār in the sixth century A.D. is definitely proved by the Deo-Baraṇār<sup>2</sup> inscription of Jivitagupta II of the Later Gupta dynasty. This epigraph records the grant of a village by Jivitagupta II, but refers incidentally to the fact that the village originally formed a part of the dominions of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, no doubt the Maukhari rulers of those names. It has been generally accepted by scholars that the village granted is no other than Vāruṇikā, modern Deo-Baraṇār, 25 miles south-west of Arrah, chief town of the Shahābād District in Bihār, where the record was discovered and where apparently stood the temple of the god Varuṇavāsin in whose favour the grant was made. The evidence of the Deo-Baraṇār inscription is supported by the discovery of some earlier records of the Maukharis in the Gaya District, as well as by an epigraph of the Pāṇḍuvamśi kings of South Kośala referring to Sūryavarman, rightly identified with Īśānavarman's son of the same name, as a ruler born in the Varman family that held sway over Magadha.<sup>3</sup> Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, has recently pointed out that Fleet while editing the Deo-Baraṇār grant was in doubt as to whether the village granted was Vāruṇikā or Kīśoravātaka which is supposed to be the name of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Katmandu inscription of Jayadeva Paracakra-kūma; also the Shāhpur (Patna Dist.), Aṣṣaḍ (Gaya Dist.), Mandar Hill (Bhagalpur Dist.) and Deo-Baraṇār (Shahābād Dist.) inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1402, also 1393, 1552–54). An inscription of Viṣṇugupta, a grandson of Ādityasena, is known to have been recently discovered at Mangraon in the Shahābād District (*Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 320n.).

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 215ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Śirpur (Lakṣmana temple) inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna (*Mahā-kośala Hist. Soc. Pap.*, II, p. 19), v. 16:

निष्पद्यते सगधाधिपत्यमन्तां जातः कुले वर्मणां पुण्यभिः कृतिभिः कृतो कृतमनःकम्यः सुधाभोजिनाम् ।  
यामासाद्य सुतां विमाचल हव औसूर्यवर्मा हवः प्राप प्राक् परमेश्वरश्चरुतागर्वानिखवं पदम् ॥

Cf. *IHQ*, XIX, p. 277, n. 11. Mr. A. Ghosh rejects the identification on the following grounds (*ET*, XXV, p. 268): (1) It is by no means certain that the Maukhari Sūryavarman ever came to the throne. [But the word *ṛpṛa* of the Śirpur inscription is found to be applied often to governors, petty chiefs, crown-princes and feudatories. Maukhari Sūryavarman seems to have been the *ṛpṛa* or ruler of the district round Haraha under his father.] (2) Sūryavarman of the Śirpur inscription is called king of Magadha. [This is wrong. The record simply refers to the *ṛpṛa* or ruler Sūryavarman who is assigned to the Varman family that held sway over Magadha. Excepting the Maukharis, no Varman lords of Magadha are known.] (3) The Maukharis of Harivarman's line were never a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their headquarters being at Kanauj. [Kanauj may (or may not) have become the capital of the later Maukharis only after the success the Gaudas achieved against them in Bihār. It is unlikely that the line of Harivarman was unrelated to the Maukharis of Gayā which had a Maukhari settlement from pre-Christian times up to at least the fifth century A.D. There is absolutely no proof that Īśānavarman, father and overlord of Sūryavarman, had his capital in U.P. and not in Bihār.] Sūryavarman's daughter was married to Harṣagupta, son of Candragupta who was a brother of Tivara. This Tivara was a contemporary of Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavavarman I (c. 535–85 A.D.) and must have ruled in the sixth century as a contemporary of Maukhari Īśānavarman. For c. 565–80 A.D. as the tentative date of Tivara, see *IHQ*, XIX, p. 144. There seems to be no palaeographical difficulty about the above dates.

another village mentioned in the same inscription.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Majumdar believes that the Deo-Baranārk inscription 'has gained an undue importance by being used as the principal argument in favour of the theory that the Maukhari kings Śārvavarman and Avantivarman ruled over Magadha', and remarks, 'Now, supposing that the village granted was Kiśoravātaka, we have no means to determine its locality, not even whether it was in Magadha. For all we know, it might have been in the neighbourhood of Gomatikottaka [where stood] the royal camp from which the grant was issued. Fleet has suggested that this place "must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gomati, the modern Gomati or Gumti, which flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghazipur, and about 85 miles to the west of Deo-Baranārk". It is not impossible that this village was in U.P. . . .'. In Dr. Majumdar's opinion therefore the Deo-Baranārk inscription does not prove the possession of Magadha or any part of it by the Maukhari kings Śārvavarman and Avantivarman (c. 575-90 A.D.). It will, however, be seen that Dr. Majumdar has relied entirely on Fleet's reading and interpretation of a passage of the fragmentary record. In this connection I would like to point out that, while re-editing the inscription for my *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II (in the press), I have shown the unsoundness of both the above reading and interpretation. Fleet's tentative reading as well as the corrected and restored text of lines 8-12 of the Deo-Baranārk inscription is quoted below for easy reference.

*Fleet's text:—*

- L. 8. ....तक-राजपुत्र-राजामल्ल(मात्र)-महा...क्षतिक-महादण्डनायक-  
महाप्रतीहार-महासा-
- L. 9. ....प्र (?)मातसा...कुमारामात्र-राजस्थानीयोपरिक...धिक-चौरोद्ध-  
रणिक-दाण्डिक-द (दा?) ण्ड-
- L. 10. [पाण्डिक?].....क.....र्षिवलव्यायत-किशो(?)रवा(?)ट(?)क(?)  
[ग्रा]म-हृ...द त...यणिक ग...पतिकर्म (?)
- L. 11. ....रसक...ताम्रतुपादप्रसादोपजीविनश्च प्रतिवासिनश्च ब्राह्मणो-  
त्तरा(न\*) महत्तरक(कु?)क्षि(?)पुग्-
- L. 12. ....विज्ञापित श्रीवरुणवासिभट्टारकप्रतिबद्धभोजकसूर्यमित्रेण उपरि-  
लिखि-

*Corrected and restored text —*

- L. 8. ...[समुपागतान् सर्वानेव\*] [राजराजा]नक-राजपुत्र-राजामल्ल (मात्र)-  
महा[कार्त्ता\*] क्षतिक-महादण्डनायक-महाप्रतीहार-महासा-
- L. 9. [मन्त-महादोःसाधसाधनिक\*] प्रमाट-सर[भङ्ग\*]-कुमारामात्रराजस्था-  
नीयोपरिक × × × × × [दाशापरा\*]धिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-  
दाण्डिक-द[ा\*]ण्ड-
- L. 10. [पाण्डिक\*] × × × × × [तदायुक्तक-विनियुक्त\*]क-[हृष्ययो]-  
द्धबलव्यापृत[क\*]-किशोरवडवागोमहि[ष्य][धिक्षत\*]-दूत[प्रेष\*]णिक-  
ग[मा\*]गमिक-अ-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, XI, p. 124.

- L. 11. [भित्तरमान][विषय\*]पति[चाटभट\*]-सेवका[दीनन्याश्चाकौर्त्ति]ता[न\*]-  
स्मत्पाद-प्रसादोपजीविनश्च प्रतिवासिनश्च ब्राह्मणोत्तरा[न्\*] महत्तर-  
कुटुम्बपुरो-
- L. 12. [गान् मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवतां\*] विज्ञापितं  
श्रीवत्सवासीभट्टारकप्रतिबद्धभोजकश्रीसूर्यमित्रेण उपरिलिखि-

There is absolutely no doubt that Fleet's किशोरवाटकग्राम (read with no less than 4 queries), on which Dr. Majumdar relies, is merely the wrong and partial reading of the well-known epigraphic designation किशोरवडवागोमहिष्यघिकृत (sometimes •गोमहिष्यजाविकाध्यक्ष, etc.) found in a large number of early medieval documents. Anybody who will care to compare the above section of the record with the corresponding part of the early Pāla records, e.g. the Monghyr and Nalanda grants of Deva-pāla,<sup>1</sup> will at once realize the hollowness of Fleet's reading. There is certainly no question of the name of any village in ll. 8-11 which contain the customary list of officials. There is thus no doubt that Vāruṇikā is the village granted by Jivitagupta; it originally formed a part of the realm of Maukharī Śarvavarman and Avantivarman and has to be identified with Deo-Baraṇārka in the Shahābād District in Bihār. Dr. Majumdar's suggestion that the village granted was Kiśoravātaka, situated somewhere in the U.P., therefore seems to be unwarranted.

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, XVIII, pp. 304ff.; XVII, pp. 318ff.

### **The Cult of Vana-Durgā, a tree-deity.**

By N. M. CHAUDHURI.

The great Durgā, as she appears in the Epics, is a syncretic deity who has absorbed in her composite conception numbers of independent, minor deities. In the Śākta Puranas the process of absorption gives way to the process of affiliation and numerous local and folk deities of diverse origin come to be affiliated to her by the simple method of extension of her name to them. Thus we have Nava-Durgā, Pāda-Durgā, Gupta-Durgā, Kanaka-Durgā, etc. The name Vana-Durgā or sylvan Durgā does not appear in the Puranas. In different parts of Bengal there prevail a number of allied cults affiliated to the goddess Vana-Durgā having in common two important features, namely, association with the sheora tree (*Trophis aspera*) and protection and welfare of children as their object. It is proposed in the present paper to examine these cults and the position of Vana-Durgā in relation to them.

Describing a cult known as Buḍir Pūjā prevailing in parts of North Bengal, Hunter writes, 'Tree worship is common among the Hindu Koch villages in Bogra, particularly in the ceremony known as the Buḍir Pūjā in which offerings of sugar and milk are made to the sheora tree'.<sup>1</sup> Hunter adds that Moslems also used to take part in this worship. A tree deity represented by or having her abode in the sheora tree is worshipped at Salap in the district of Pabna in North Bengal. The worship which is falling out of practice used to be performed some years back with some pomp. A little away from the village there was a miniature forest consisting of different species of trees, tangled bushes of cane plants, etc. and in the middle of this small forest there stood a cluster of sombre-looking sheora trees. The biggest among them was the favourite abode of or represented the deity. She was worshipped once in the year during the Durgā Pūjā by ladies belonging to the village. They carried the articles of worship in wicker baskets accompanied by a party of professional musicians. A Brahmin priest officiated and food cooked on the spot by Brahmin ladies was offered to her. Fish and meat were excluded and rice boiled in milk was the principal item of food offered. The worship was offered for the general welfare of the families represented, particularly the children of these families. One peculiar feature in this worship was that women, generally those young mothers whose children had died shortly after birth and expectant mothers, used to tie small pieces of new cloth dyed in turmeric to the branches of the tree after pūjā was offered by the priest. With what object this was done was not clearly understood but it was suggested by some of the older devotees that the auspicious offering of a new piece of cloth dyed in turmeric was made to ensure the long life of children. This tree deity was called Vana-Durgā.<sup>2</sup>

In the district of Mymensingh in East Bengal we find a cult called the cult of Rupasī or Rupeśwari. We give below an account of the worship of Rupasī as it is performed at Astagram in Mymensingh. 'The goddess Rupasī is worshipped under a sheora tree outside the village or at some solitary place. If no tree is locally available a branch of the tree is brought from the place where it is to be found, planted in the earth and the worship is done at its foot. The worship is performed for the welfare of their children by women on such special occasions as the post-natal ceremony of a child



on the prescribed date, the sacred thread ceremony, marriage, etc. At first Śaṣṭhi is worshipped at home. Next, a party of women including the lady, the welfare of whose child it is desired to ensure, march to the place where worship is to be performed, carrying a winnowing fan with duck's eggs, lampblack, a piece of cloth dyed in yellow, oil, vermilion, etc. singing songs with instrumental music. The lady embraces the tree as a friend. Eggs are broken and offered at the foot of the tree. A portion of the articles offered to the deity is brought back and placed at the foot of the main post of the main room'.<sup>3</sup>

Rupasī or Rupeśwarī is worshipped also in the neighbouring district of Sylhet in Assam. 'The females generally take a vow to Rupeśwarī *alias* Rupasī if the child lives after a safe delivery. Rupeśwarī is also called Vana-Durgā as her worship is performed in or nearby a wood.' The same writer adds, 'There are trees in almost all the Hindu villages which are said to be the abodes of the goddess Rupasī or Rupeśwarī. Nobody would cut these trees for fear of a dreadful calamity'. It is reported that Rupasī is also called Vana-Durgā.<sup>4</sup>

In parts of Dacca district there prevails a worship of particular trees held to be of special sanctity, and known as *Caṇḍī gāca* and in some places as *Kālī gāca*. It is forbidden to cut these trees or their branches. Generally the sacred tree is a sheora tree. It is reported from Sologhar, Dacca, that the sacred tree which stands in a field outside the village is worshipped by women, particularly by married women who are mothers, who proceed there in a party for offering worship. Eggs are broken and offered to the tree and live pigeons are also offered and let off afterwards.<sup>5</sup> The resemblance in several respects to the worship of Rupasī would indicate that it is perhaps the same tree deity.

In some parts of the district of Birbhum there prevails the cult of *Guṇḍī Thākuraṇī* or the goddess of the tree-trunk. This goddess is definitely known to be associated with the sheora tree in the Trisasthigarh area between the Ajoy to the north and the Damodar to the south. The goddess is generally worshipped by the Hinduized tribes without the help of a Brahmin priest and cock, pigeon and swine are sacrificed. Eggs of duck, hen and pigeon, smeared with vermilion and placed on plantain leaves, are offered her. Sometimes goats and pigeons which are offered are not killed but kept tied near the place of worship and let off after being symbolically offered. A special worship is offered on the new moon day in Bhadra when fried rice, powdered rice mixed with water and made into balls, plantains and eggs of pigeon and hen are offered. The goddess is worshipped on all auspicious occasions in the life of a child from the post-natal ceremony to marriage. Picnics form a part of the worship of Guṇḍī Thākuraṇī, only females taking part in them. These picnics are held on the first Saturday and the last day of every month, all womenfolk of the village including widows and unmarried girls taking part in them. Guṇḍī Thākuraṇī is also called Vana-Durgā in these parts as Rupasī is so called in Sylhet.

In the same locality there also prevails the worship of Vana-Durgā in image, but the association of the goddess with the sheora tree is maintained at the same time. Near a big tank known as Ichai Ghose's *dighi* in this part of the country there is a dilapidated temple and by its side a mud house which enshrines the image of a goddess which is called Vana-Durgā. This image is like the ten-armed image of Durgā. She is worshipped by the Hinduized tribal inhabitants of this jungle country without the help of a priest and cocks are sacrificed to her. On the second day of Durgā Pūjā the service of a Brahmin priest is requisitioned and worship is offered

in the orthodox style. She is meditated on as a goddess with protruding teeth, terrible-looking, with three eyes, armed with discus, etc. and invoked as Durgā residing in the *sakhot*, that is, the sheora tree, and again, as Durgā residing in the Vindhya with Pañcānana by her side.<sup>6</sup> But the worship of this image is not compulsory, nor is she offered daily worship. Near the mud shrine and the *dighi* there are a number of sheora trees. The roots of these trees are smeared with vermilion and earthen pots similarly smeared (*ghatas*) are placed under the trees. This place is called *Ādya mātālā*, that is, the original seat of worship. Lamps are offered at this place every evening. Worship is offered to the trees with the mantras, 'to the goddess residing in the sakhot', 'to the goddess decked with wild flowers', 'save my son',<sup>7</sup> etc. Women worshipping the deity invoke her as 'Durgā residing in the sakhot' and recite the following mantra:

*Putā rakṣā putā karaga Thākuruṇa*  
*Māthera dhāna kṣeter hāla*  
*Karuṇa śatek guṇa*  
*Noma, noma, gāchera guṇḍi Thākuruṇa.*

(Save sons and give sons, o goddess; make the paddy in the field and the plough for tilling hundredfold; obeisance to thee o goddess of the tree-trunk.)<sup>8</sup>

It would appear from the above account that the occurrence of the image in the worship of Guṇḍi Thākuraṇī *alias* Vana-Durgā is an accretion. In fact, it is stated, 'The original goddess and the original seat of her worship are where the sheora trees stand. It is possible that one of the images which lay scattered after the destruction of the garh of Śyāmarūpa Devī worshipped by Ichai Ghose was picked up later and installed in the mud house and she came to receive worship as Vana-Durgā.'<sup>9</sup>

It is stated in a report received by us that in Comilla in East Bengal Vana-Durgā is worshipped under a *kāmīnī* tree while in some parts of Birbhum district in West Bengal she is worshipped under *sal* and *palāśa* trees, in Bankura under *palāśa* tree and in Manbhum (now included in Bihār) she is worshipped under the *āśvattha* tree. We have not been able to obtain details about the worship of Vana-Durgā under these trees. According to one account worship is offered to Vana-Durgā under a *kula* tree.

It appears that the deity called Vana-Durgā in this report is worshipped for curing itches and boils. She is thus identical with Basanvari, Vitakumārī and Ghentu whose cults have been noticed by us elsewhere<sup>10</sup> and different from Vana-Durgā associated with the sheora.

Analyzing the elements of the cults of the Budī, Rupasī or Rupeśwari, Guṇḍi Thākuraṇī and Vana-Durgā—we may dismiss the report of the worship of Vana-Durgā as a cure deity—we get the following facts for consideration:

- (1) The tree-goddess represented by or having her abode in the sheora tree is worshipped outside the village, preferably in a wood or at a solitary place.
- (2) The object of her worship in all the cases in which fuller reports have been received, is protection and welfare of children.
- (3) The form of worship and sacrifices are sometimes unorthodox in character.
- (4) Women are her special devotees.
- (5) In one instance the custom prevails of tying rags to the sheora tree worshipped as Vana-Durgā.

Barring the report regarding prevalence of the cult of Vana-Durgā in association with the *sal*, *palāśa* and *āśvattha* trees in some of the West

Bengal districts and with the *kāminī* in Comilla in East Bengal we find that it is the sheora tree which represents or enshrines the Buḍī, Rupaśī, Gundi Thākuraṇī and Vana-Durgā. The sheora is described as an ill-looking, scraggy, crooked, small tree. The Sanskrit name of the tree is *sākhota* or *piśāca druma*, i.e. ghost tree. It is well known in the folklore of Bengal as the favourite haunt of female ghosts or *pretinīs*. How this particular tree came to be regarded as the abode of female ghosts cannot be said. Probably its ugly look and growth in low, marshy lands have something to do with this particular treatment of it. The *bel* is sacred to Siva, the *nīma* to Vishnu and the sun and the *āśvattha* to the ancestors. These three trees are also regarded as abodes of ghosts. The *nīma* is, again, a powerful prophylactic against evil spirits and twigs of the tree are hung at the door of the lying-in-room when a child is born in many parts of the country. It has also medicinal virtues. The sheora has no sacred association, old and new; its only association is with the spirits of the dead unredeemed, an association derived probably from folklore. It is possible that this demoniacal association of the sheora tree at the present time is a survival of earlier demonolatry, probably of tribal origin. This view is suggested by the fact that the sheora is unknown to sacred literature, old and new, and confirmed by the circumstance that though particular sheora trees receive worship the species itself is not held to be sacred as the *bel*, *nīma* and *āśvattha* are held, while the demoniacal association seems to be common to the species. It is confirmed further by the circumstance that the sheora tree representing or enshrining the above-mentioned female deities always stands in a jungle or at a solitary place outside the village. We have an analogy of this custom of offering worship to a deity obviously of malign influence, away from habitations, in the old, sacred literature, e.g. in the case of Rudra.<sup>10a</sup> The underlying idea seems to be to prevent the malign influence of the deity from spreading to the village.

Now, the question arises as to why this tree of demoniacal association should come to be worshipped by women for the welfare of their children. It has been stated that in the orthodox worship offered to Vana-Durgā on the second day of Durgā Pūjā at Trisasthigarh the goddess is meditated on as having protruding teeth, a terrible face, etc. This conception of Vana-Durgā is almost identical with the conception of Nistāriṇī Vana-Durgā whose worship is prescribed in the priest's manual as follows: A bull made out of plantains is to be placed near an altar made of earth and a pitcher of water with a twig of the mango tree at the top with vermilion marks on it is to be placed on the altar on which a *mandala* is to be drawn. After the other preliminaries of worship are gone through the goddess Nistāriṇī Vana-Durgā is to be meditated on thus: 'Goddess, mother of the *dānavas*, with rolling eyes, fearful teeth, matted long hair, adorned with a wreath of snakes and a waistband of snakes, armed with a bow and arrows, awe-inspiring'.<sup>11</sup> She is to be worshipped along with twelve *dānavas* such as Kṛṣṇakumāra, Rupakumāra, etc. and Ranayakṣiṇī.<sup>12</sup> It is not stated in the manual why she is to be worshipped, but her association with twelve *dānavas*, the fact that she is regarded as the mother of demons and her terrible form prove beyond doubt that she is none other than the baby-killing demoness (*śiśuhārini*) *Jātāpahāriṇī*. *Jātāpahāriṇī* is worshipped with twelve *dānavas* for the protection of new-born infants and she is also worshipped when Śaṣṭhī the birth-goddess is worshipped after childbirth.<sup>13</sup> Vana-Durgā worshipped in image in Trisasthigarh area by women for protection or welfare of their children and identical in conception with Nistāriṇī Vana-Durgā is a demoness allied, as her terrible form and her conception as the mother of *dānavas* would prove, to the type of baby-killing

demoness like Jātāpahārīnī and closely related to early representatives of the same type such as Hārītī, Jarā, Yakṣiṇī Kuṇḍalā, etc. who were changed into protectresses of children. The transformation of these demonesses from baby-killers into protectresses of children will be discussed in a future paper. Rākṣasī Jarā whose account appears in the *Mahābhārata* was originally a demoness feeding her 500 children on the children of the people of Magadha and she was turned later into a beneficent gṛhadevī. Besides these demonesses who were transformed from destroyers into protectresses of children the *Mahābhārata* mentions quite a number of demons and demonesses whose business was to destroy embryos and children. One of them was the well-known Śīta Pūtānā. The mothers of the Nāgas and Gandharvas were also destructive of embryos and infants and so were also the Mātrikās such as Vinatā, Diti, Aditi, Kadru, etc.<sup>14</sup> The kumārās and kumārīs who sprang from Skanda belonged to the same class of evil spirits.<sup>15</sup> So we find that the custom of worshipping a demoness for protection of children goes back to and is based on epic tradition. Rites and formulas are prescribed in the sūtras for driving away demons and goblins from the child. (Cp. *Pāraskara Gṛhya S.*, 1.16.23; *Hiranyakeśin Gr. S.*, 11.3.7, etc.) It has been observed that the treatment of the ten-armed image of Durgā as a demoness connects her with the Jātāpahārīnī type of baby-killing demoness. Her conception as residing in the sakhot tree connects her with Guṇḍī Thākuraṇī *alias* Vana-Durgā, who is wholly a tree deity, the only demoniacal element in her being the association with the sheora tree known as piśāca vṛkṣa and as the favourite haunt of female ghosts.

The conception of Śaṣṭhī, the beneficent goddess of childbirth, differs from the conception of the baby-killing demoness of the type of Nistārīnī Vana-Durgā as well as the type of tree deity of the class of Guṇḍī Thākuraṇī, Rupasī, etc. who are represented by a tree associated with unredeemed spirits of the dead and concerned with the welfare and protection of children. The latter group of tree deities are distinct in origin from Śaṣṭhī being only protectress and not giver of children and distinct in origin from the former type of destructive demonesses. Before discussing the origin of this type of benevolent tree deities it may be observed that the cults of this type of benevolent tree deities are fairly widely spread. For instance, we may refer to the cult of Aranya Śaṣṭhī and the cult of Ran Satvai. These cults are noticed in our paper '*Śaṣṭhī the goddess of childbirth*', and here we would draw attention to the important features of these cults.

The cult of Aranya Śaṣṭhī prevails in Bengal, parts of Rajputana, the United Provinces, etc. In Bengal the cult of Aranya Śaṣṭhī is classed as a *vrata* observed in the month of Jaiṣṭhya by women on the sixth day of the bright moon. The devotees repair to a wood near the village with the articles of worship and worship the deity there. The object of worship is to ensure the long life and prosperity of children.<sup>16</sup> It is to be noted that there is no mention of the sheora tree though the worship is performed, as in the case of Rupasī in Sylhet and Vana-Durgā in North Bengal, outside the village in a wood or forest. The goddess is worshipped under the same name and for the same purpose in Rajputana by women who 'walk in the wood to gather and eat certain herbs'.<sup>17</sup> In the cult of Ran Satvai prevailing in the Maratha country the deity has to be worshipped in a jungle by women after childbirth. These deities are regarded as folk forms of the goddess Śaṣṭhī and originally they were probably vegetation or tree spirits. The use of the name of Śaṣṭhī is a clear indication of the attempt to affiliate them to the Puranika birth goddess. It should be noted

that the benevolent tree deities represented by Rupasī, Guṇḍi Thākuraṇī, etc. appear to be distinct from the deities regarded as folk forms of Śaṣṭhī who are not associated with any particular tree and also distinct from the demoniacal Vana-Durgā; but with the former they have it in common that they are worshipped outside the village in a jungle or solitary place and with the latter they have in common the association with the sheora tree which is of demoniacal association. We shall consider the implications of it presently.

The circumstance that women are the special devotees of these tree deities calls for no comment, because the object, namely, protection of children, is of particular concern to them. The next point to be noted is that worship is offered in both orthodox and folk forms. In Trisasthigarh area the orthodox worship is offered to the image of Durgā and not to Guṇḍi Thākuraṇī represented by the sheora tree. In the North Bengal villages where orthodox worship is offered to Vana-Durgā represented by the sheora tree the explanation probably is that members of the higher castes predominate among the devotees.

The worship of Vana-Durgā in an image which, it is reported, is not compulsory and is not known to prevail at any other place outside the area noted above, is clearly illustrative of the process of promotion of the tree deity represented by the sheora. Guṇḍi Thākuraṇī or the Venerable Lady of the Tree-trunk who is invoked as Durgā residing in the sakhot tree is lifted on to a higher plane when she is affiliated to Durgā living in the wood. The uplifting process is carried further when she is conceived of as residing in the Vindhya and with Pañcānana at her side. Thus the Venerable Lady of the Trunk is first Durgā living in the sakhot, next Durga living in the woods and finally Durgā living in the Vindhya, that is, Durgā who is recognized as the Great Mother and consort of Śiva. It may be noted that in the cult of the Būdī or Old Lady prevailing in Rungpur in North Bengal and discussed by us elsewhere<sup>18</sup> the Old Lady who is a tribal clan deity of the Rajvansis, Kaivarttas, etc. is affiliated in the same way to the Devī as the nurse of the universe (*jagatām dhātṛī*), consort of Rudra (*Rudrakāntā*), etc.

The last feature to which attention may be drawn is the practice of tying pieces of new cloth dyed in turmeric to the branches of the sheora tree observed in one place only. Rag-offering with the idea of transference of evil is an old and world-wide custom which we have discussed elsewhere.<sup>19</sup> In the present instance the custom is probably based on desire for the long life of children.

The above analysis of the allied cults of the Būdī, Rupasī, etc. or the cult of Vana-Durgā shows that it is a mixed cult with elements of an old demonolatrous practice and a tree cult. This kind of mixed cult is of old origin. The association of spirits with trees goes back to an early age. Among Indus Valley finds there are specimens which prove belief in the existence of tree spirits and contain anthropomorphic representations of these tree spirits.<sup>20</sup> In the Atharva Veda the *āsvattha* and *nyāgrodha* are stated to be inhabited by the *gandharvas* and *apsaras*.<sup>21</sup> The association of demons or evil spirits with trees goes back, as we have seen, to the Mahābhārata. The *vrkṣa mātṛkās* or tree mothers known as *Vṛddhikās* were evil spirits residing in trees and devourers of human flesh. They were propitiated by people.<sup>22</sup> The trees were one of the residing places of Skanda's *mātṛkās* who were injurious to children.<sup>23</sup> We have seen that in the cult of Vana-Durgā, as it obtains in Trisasthigarh, Vana-Durgā is conceived of as a mother of *dānavas*, terrible in form and as Durgā residing in the sakhot tree. The tradition of evil spirits residing in trees is thus

of old origin. It is not indicated in the references in the Mahābhārata that any particular species of tree was selected as their favourite haunt by the evil spirits. In the cult of Vana-Durgā in the above-mentioned area and in the other allied cults the sheora tree associated popularly with mischievous, unredeemed spirits of the dead is selected as the abode of the deities or spirits worshipped. This association of the sheora tree may be derived from tribal demonolatry in Eastern India as its Sanskrit name *piśāca vrkṣa* and its worship by the Hinduized tribes in some of the above-mentioned areas would suggest. At any rate, the choice of this particular tree indicates the accretion of a new element to the old tradition.

The next point to be noticed is the association of children with the cult based on the old tradition of malignant spirits residing in trees. In the Mahābhārata the trees were one of the abodes of the Mātṛkās injurious to embryos and infants. The Vṛddhikās were demoniacal tree spirits fond of human flesh without any partiality for infants. In the cults under notice the welfare of children is the common object. This common connection with children may be regarded as another new element added to the old tradition.

We have seen that in the cults under notice the demoniacal element is absent in all cases except in the worship of Vana-Durgā in image in Trisasthigarh. If it is held that the cults under notice are derived from or based on the old tradition how should we account for the suppression or absence of demoniacal features in these cults? We have referred to the Buddhist and epic tradition of baby-killing demonesses transformed into protectresses of children. But the Buḍī, Rupasī, Guṇḍī Thākuraṇī and Vana-Durgā represented by or enshrined in the sheora tree are all benevolent deities without any other demoniacal feature in their cults except the association with the ghostly sheora tree. They are worshipped for welfare and protection of children. The protection sought is protection from the malign influence of the evil spirit residing in the tree to which its malignity seems to be transferred. The absence or suppression of demoniacal elements in the cults under notice is probably accounted for by the absorption of the in-dwelling evil spirit by the tree itself. There is another consideration which might have been responsible for it and we are coming to it.

We find that protection and welfare of children are the main concern of these cults. We hold that this characteristic of the cults under notice should be traced not to the old epic tradition of demonesses residing in trees and harmful to children who have to be propitiated for not injuring children but to the aspect of old tree worship based on the idea of connection between tree spirits and fertility among men.

The association of the fig tree with fertility from prehistoric times has been discussed in detail elsewhere.<sup>24</sup> In the Atharva Veda the *aśvattha* is connected with fertility.<sup>25</sup> The Taittiriya Saṁhitā prescribes animal sacrifice to plants in order to remove obstruction to the attainment of offspring.<sup>26</sup> The worship of the *udumbara* is prescribed in the Sūtras by newly married couples for the sake of offspring.<sup>27</sup> The bridal car was adorned with *kiṁśuka* flowers probably for the same purpose.<sup>28</sup> According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the *bilva* is the symbol of fertility.<sup>29</sup> The Mahābhārata says that persons desirous of offspring should make obeisance to the *karanja* tree when they see it. The *kudamba* tree is worshipped as the abode of Skanda's nurse Lohitayoni.<sup>30</sup> According to the Kālikā Purāṇa the mother of Viśvāmitra and the mother of Jamadagni were asked by Bhṛgu to embrace the *aśvattha* and *udumbara* after their menstrual period for obtaining male child.<sup>31</sup> According to the same authority the

tamarind and *aparājītā* are sacred to the Devī and associated with fertility and long life.

Belief in the fertility-giving powers of trees is illustrated by the prominent place given to different trees in the marriage ceremony among Hindus and Hinduized tribes in different parts of India. We have shown elsewhere how the bamboo post used in the marriage ceremony in Bengal, Bihar and Assam is distantly connected with fertility cults.<sup>32</sup> The mango, *mahuā*, plantain tree, etc. used in the marriage ceremony among Hindus, Hinduized tribes and tribal peoples appear to have the same significance, e.g. attainment of offspring. The mango and *mahuā* occupy an important place in the marriage ceremony among certain tribes who first marry boys and girls to the tree before they are married to each other. The *sidh* is also treated in the same way.<sup>33</sup> The rites gone through in such marriage suggest removal of evil influence and fertility rites for the sake of offspring.<sup>34</sup> Offerings are made to the *aonla* tree in the Punjab for offspring.<sup>35</sup> The banyan is worshipped by the bride and bridegroom in Kathiawad with the same object.<sup>36</sup> The pipal is worshipped by women in Rajputana for the same purpose.<sup>37</sup> Many instances are known of trees being worshipped by women to cure barrenness and mention may be made of the famous *keli kadamba* tree near the temple of Barga Bhima in Midnapore in Bengal. Among the Garatias in Gujerat the tamarind is worshipped at the time of marriage.<sup>38</sup> Newly married girls offer flowers and sandal paste to the *asopallav* (*Polyalthia longifolia*) and lay a cotton thread on its trunk on Monday in the first Śrāvaṇa after marriage. The *bel* tree is similarly worshipped in the month of Bhādra.<sup>39</sup> Women, particularly barren women, worship the *daro* on the bright eighth of Bhādra with water, flowers and red powder and rice is offered. The *kadamba* is worshipped by women to gain their desires in Kārtika. Among the Mathur Kāyasthas on the marriage day the bride and bridegroom strike each other with an oleander twig. The plantain tree is worshipped in the month of Śrāvaṇa by barren women. The *khakaro* (*Butea frondosa*) is worshipped by the Rajputs after marriage.<sup>40</sup> In Tanjore married women walk round *arasu* (pipal) and *margosa* for children.<sup>41</sup> Among certain Hinduized tribes in Tanjore and Trichinopoly girls are married to a plantain tree before their actual marriage takes place.<sup>42</sup> In Trichinopoly among some non-Brahmin castes on the first day of marriage a branch of some *milky tree* is planted near the marriage booth as a favourable pole (*muhurtakkal*).<sup>43</sup> Trees with milk-like sap are associated with fertility ideas. In Madura among the Parivarams the bridal procession is headed by a man carrying a bamboo pole to which is tied in a saffron coloured cloth nine kinds of grains and bamboo poles are planted at the marriage booth.<sup>44</sup> In Malabar on the 6th or 10th day of marriage the couple go to a jack tree under which some rice, curds and ghee are placed on some *kūśa* grass and offering is made of flowers and sandalwood paste.<sup>45</sup> *Areca palm* posts and jasmine branch associated with fertility ideas feature in the *Talikettu kulyanam* ceremony in Malabar.<sup>46</sup> Among Paraiyans in South Arcot a pole of the *Odina wodier* tree is planted at the place appointed for the marriage ceremony.<sup>47</sup> Among Moslems in the same part of the country a pole called *muhurt kamba* round which is twisted a piece of silk and to the top of which is tied a bunch of mango leaves is planted at the marriage booth.<sup>48</sup> In Bellary the *tangeda* bush is worshipped after marriage among the Holeyas.<sup>49</sup> In the same district among Śūdras a branch of the Indian coral tree (*Erythrina indica*) is planted at the marriage booth. It is decorated with saffron, chunam and green leaves and is called *halukamba* or milk pole.<sup>50</sup> In Nellore among the Nayadus a pole with a few branches of the *margosa* is erected at the marriage

booth.<sup>51</sup> It has been observed that the fig is associated with fertility in Assam, South India, Africa, Italy and other countries.<sup>52</sup> The association of the plantain tree with fertility is also early and widespread.<sup>53</sup> The association of tree or vegetation spirit with fertility is well known in many religions outside India.<sup>54</sup>

There is no known instance of the sheora tree being worshipped for the attainment of offspring or its association with marriage or fertility rite; still, it is consistently worshipped in different parts of Bengal for the welfare of their children by mothers. From what has been stated above we are led to the inference that the worship of the sheora by women combines two conceptions, namely, the conception of the fertility-giving powers of trees and the conception of malignant spirits harmful to children residing in the sheora tree who have to be propitiated. The former conception seems to be non-applicable to the sheora tree while the latter conception is particularly applicable to it. We have, however, epic tradition of trees known as abodes of malignant female spirits being worshipped by men desirous of offspring. In the widespread epic cult of *caitya vrkṣu* the dreaded tree round which devotees circumambulated and under which lamps were offered<sup>55</sup> was generally the *āsvattha* tree which was, as we have seen, also connected with fertility. In the cults under notice we have an instance of the fertility conception of the old tree worship being superimposed on an old tradition of demonolatry probably of tribal origin. The former conception appears to have transformed the latter conception with the result that a tree recognized as the abode of malign spirits has been transformed into the abode of the protecting spirit of children called Vana-Durgā, Buḍi, Rupasi, Guṇḍi Thākuraṇi, etc. in different parts in the same fashion as baby-killing demonesses were transformed into protectresses of children. The worship of Vana-Durgā in connection with *kāminī*, *sāl*, *palāśa*, etc. probably illustrates a phase of the same tree worship dissociated from affinities with tribal demonolatry. The process which has operated in bringing about the transformation has gone further and resulted in affiliating the tree deities to the great Devī under the name of Vana-Durgā.

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- <sup>4</sup> P. Bhattacharya, *Folk Custom in Sylhet, Man in India*, vol. X, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 135.
- <sup>5</sup> Reported by Miss P. Ghose, Sologhar, Dacca.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ugradamstrām karālāśyām . . digvastrāmbhāyam . . sakhotvāsiniṁ durgāṁ sarvatra śubhakārim . . cakrasaṅkhavarābhayāni . . dhyāyedvindhyavāsiniṁ śaimukhi pārevasathā pancānamam, etc.*
- <sup>7</sup> *Nama Vana-Durgā valīpeta, Vanamālābībhūṣitā, sheoranivāsiniḍevī putā rak-ā kuruṣva me, etc.*
- <sup>8</sup> These mantras as well as the account given above have been collected from an article entitled 'Banglar Math o Mandir' published in *Dainik Basumati*, Calcutta, of 14th Sravana, 1346 B.S.
- <sup>9</sup> Ichai Ghose was a famous hero of the mediaeval Bengali poetry. He was the king of Dhekur on the Ajoy and a devout worshipper of Śakti. He was defeated and killed by Lausena. Hunter gives an account of Ichai Ghose in his *Annals of Rural Bengal*.
- <sup>10</sup> The account is summarized from an article entitled 'Van-Durgā pūjār gāthā' published in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* of 9-8-42.
- <sup>11</sup> For cure deities, see N. M. Chaudhuri, *Some Cure Deities, Indian Culture*, vol. VII, No. 4, 1941.
- <sup>12a</sup> See *Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.5.16.



- <sup>11</sup> *Om devīm dānavamātaram . . damastrābhīmamukhīm jatālibīlusanmaulīm kapā-lasrajām . . Bande lokubhayamkarīm . . nāgendrahārojjvalam śarpabadhvanitumbā-bipulām . . vānān dhanumhratīm*, etc. *Kṛiyākāṇḍavāridhī*, vol. I, p. 392.
- <sup>12</sup> The twelve demons are Kṛṣṇakumāra, Puṣpakumāra, Rūpakumāra, Haripugala, Rūpamāliṇa, Gābhūdadālana, Morārasmiṇa, Nisacaura, Sucumukha, Mahānalika, Bahubhadra. Rāṇyaksini is a fearful demoness. *Kṛiyākāṇḍavāridhī* (Basumatī publication), vol. I, pp. 392, 393, 394.
- <sup>13</sup> *Kṛiyākāṇḍavāridhī*, vol. I, p. 300.
- <sup>14</sup> *Mahābhārata* (Bangavasi Ed.), Vana Parva, ch. 227.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 229.
- <sup>16</sup> *Kṛiyākāṇḍavāridhī*, vol. I, p. 480.
- <sup>17</sup> Tod, *Annals*, vol. I, p. 496.
- <sup>18</sup> N. M. Chaudhuri, *Cult of the Old Lady*, *J.R.A.S.*, vol. IV, 1939, No. 3.
- <sup>19</sup> N. M. Chaudhuri, *A Curious Cult in North Bengal*, *Indian Culture*, vol. II, No. 3.
- <sup>20</sup> Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, vol. I, Plate XII—18, Pl. XIII—13, 14, 10, etc.
- <sup>21</sup> *Atharva Veda*, IV, 37.1.
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- <sup>26</sup> *Tait. Samhitā*, II, 1.5.
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- <sup>28</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 156.
- <sup>29</sup> *At. Brāhmaṇa*, II, 1.1.
- <sup>30</sup> *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, ch. 229.
- <sup>31</sup> *Kālikā Purāṇa* (Bangavasi Ed.), ch. 82.
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- <sup>33</sup> W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes in North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. II, p. 78.
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- <sup>44</sup> W. Francis, *Madura Dist. Gaz.*, vol. I, p. 102.
- <sup>45</sup> C. A. Innes, *Malabar Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 159–163.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- <sup>47</sup> W. Francis, *South Arcot Dist. Gaz.*, vol. I, p. 105.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- <sup>49</sup> *Bellary Dist. Gaz.*, p. 73.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- <sup>51</sup> *Nellore Dist. Gaz.*, p. 233.
- <sup>52</sup> J. H. Hutton, *Census Report of India*, vol. I, part 1, p. 397.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.
- <sup>54</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Abridged Ed. Instances of tree worship for offspring, pp. 115ff.
- <sup>55</sup> *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Parva, chs. 162, 98.
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- For the demoniacal association of the caitya vrkṣa, see *Arthaśāstra*, translation by Shamsastri, p. 264.

## **The Elative case in Bhadarwāhī.**

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

The occurrence of the Elative case in Bhadarwāhī was communicated by me through one of the private circulars (No. 2, dated the 14th April, 1928) of the Linguistic Society of India. I collected further data on the subject during my later Himalayan linguistic expedition.

The Elative case occurs both in Bhadarwāhī and Bhalesī. These dialects vary as regards its terminations in the following manner :—

### **(1) *Badarwāhī.***

(a) Used both in singular and plural :—

Terminations :—māzērā, mārā

e.g. 'ghare-māzērā or gharemārā 'out of the house'.  
gharnmāzērā or gharnmārā 'out of the houses'.

(b) Terminations singular—ērā ; plural—ārā

'gharērā 'out of the house'.

'gharārā 'out of the houses'.

### **(2) *Bhalesī.***

Terminations 'maza or 'antra used both in singular and plural, e.g.

'ghare-'maza } 'out of the house'.

'ghare-'antra }  
gharən-maza } 'out of the houses'.

gharən-'antra }

'juttie 'maza } 'out of the shoe'.

juttie 'antra }

juttien maza } 'out of the shoes'.

juttien antra }

But in order to realize the distinctive significance of the Elative case, the various uses of the Bhadarwāhī Ablative ought to be noticed. For in these dialects the Ablative and the Elative often overlap.

## **THE ABLATIVE.**

### *Terminations.*

### **(1) *Bhadarwāhī.***

—kērā both in singular and plural.

e.g. ghare-kērā 'from the house'.  
gharn-kērā 'from the houses'.

(2) *Bhal*.

- (a) —a (singular).  
 —an (plural).  
     'ghara 'from the house'.  
     'gharan 'from the houses'.  
 (b) —bīṛiā both in singular and plural.  
     'ghare-'bīṛiā 'from the house'.  
     'gharn-'bīṛiā 'from the houses'.  
 (c) —kēri, used for indicating comparison.  
     'use gho'ṛa-kēri 'rullo 'better than that horse'.

Note the following uses of the Ablative in Bhadarwāhī :—

(1) *Distance*.

m dui gharnkērā batt dyr ε : 'this road is far from both these villages'. The Elative plural forms 'ghrāñā, gharn-māzērā, etc. will not be allowed here. But in singular the Elative form 'gharērā 'out of the house' can also be the Ablative form, signifying 'from the house'; the other Ablative form being ghare-kērā. -ērā of the Ablative singular may possibly be a reduction of—kērā, while the Elative -ērā may be a reduction of māzērā.

(2) *Relief*.

mī huni tape-kērā a'ra'm ε : 'I now feel relief from fever'. The Elative 'taperā, etc. will not be used.

(3) *Release*.

mī is-bēlai-kērā bega'th : 'release me from this misfortune'. Here, however, the Elative bēlāērā may also be used, but bēlai-kērā, according to my informant, would be preferable.

(4) *Avoidance*.

m gharn-kērā 'baḥa : 'avoid these houses'. The Elative 'gharāṇa, according to my informant 'will be clumsy' here.

(5) *Separation*.

āū 'hunṇā ṭes-kērū φro ēī : 'I have just come from him'. 'ṭesērā, which is also the Elative form, will be erroneous here.

(6) *Supplication*.

pər'me'fre-kērū 'magga : 'Beg of God'. The Elative pər'me'frērā will not be used here.

(7) *Fear*.

āū ghoṛe-kērū ḍartā : 'I am afraid of the horse'. The Elative 'ghoṛērā will be wrong here.

(8) *Deprivation.*

'ə're rame-kêrã sâb kich thi'əho'ru : 'the thief seized everything from Râma'. 'ra'mêrã 'will not sound well', according to the informant.

(9) *Comparison.*

tê mī epnī 'jaṇikêrã bi t̥laro ε : 'he is dearer to me than life'. Here the Elative 'jaṇi-êrã will be wrong, but the plural 'pra'ṇanã, being an Elative form, may be used—why so, is difficult to explain.

- (10) 'meri kui 'tuffe 'd̥h̥l̥ae-kêrã'n̥ik̥ri ε : 'my daughter is younger than your brother.' Hence the Elative d̥h̥l̥ae-rã will be wrong.

But when selective comparison with many persons is meant, the Elative may be used, e.g.

'sita ep̥p̥nī s̥eb̥ṇ b̥en̥on-mârã chel-herni : 'Sita is the most beautiful of her sisters.'

We, see then, that in most of the above senses, the Ablative, and not the Elative, is used.

The proper use of the Elative may now be considered :—

- (1) 'from inside out'. is 'gharêrã 'nissã : 'get out of this house'.

Here the Ablative 'ghare-kêrã will not be used. But if the sentence is intended to imply, 'Get out by passing along this house', then the Ablative 'ghare-kêrã may be used.

Similarly the Elative plural will be used in the sense of 'inside out', as in 'mã gharãṇã : 'out of these houses.'

is-'baṇêrã 'buri muʃk ece : 'an offensive smell is coming from this forest'. The Ablative baṇe-kêrã will not be used. iṣh 'baṇêrã 'kreṅko 'the bear howled from the forest'. The Ablative with -kêrã will not be used here.

təsere 'gharêrã 'ə'rei s̥eb̥ kich n̥iu : 'the thieves took away everything from his house'. The informant remarked emphatically that the Ablative 'ghare-kêrã 'will never be used here'.

(2) *Birth.*

tə'se'ru zarm 'baṇe kule-mârã ε : 'he is born of a high family'.

is 'gh̥əṇêrã dui bi'chere zarme : 'this mare has delivered two foals'.

Here the Ablative 'gh̥əṇe-kêrã will not be used.

(3) *Partitive sense.* This use is quite frequent and occurs in various situations :—

in ə'ren-mârã pêlo ə'r̥ ɟat̥ t̥l̥ej̥j̥ɟi ɟə'u : 'the first of these thieves was arrested immediately'. The Ablative -kêrã will not be used here.

m matṭhen-mârū 'keñci i'nam mēllu ? 'which of these boys got the prize ?'

mēlai dūddērā nīṣe : 'Cream comes from milk'.

'sonnu pe'ha'rānā 'niste : 'gold comes from mountains'.

m'matṭhu 'ēpni je'ma'ti-māzērā ābbel 'nissu : 'this boy stood first in his class'.

'bu'ṭāpā meo 'biṣhēṭe : 'fruits fall from trees'.

'āmbreṛe 'ta'rāpā lo 'lagorīe 'ējje : 'Light is beginning to come from the stars'.

m-ghaṭmāṛū tusen kō'nzēru ghar pērsind ε : 'which of these houses do you like best ?'.

#### (4) *Transference.*

tēseri 'badli keṣ'mi'rērū bhīḍlāeṣo bhu'o'ri ε : 'He has been transferred from Kashmir to Bhadarwah'. The Ablative kaṣ'mi're-kērū, according to the informant, 'would be quite wrong' here.

te kal'kattērū 'dillījo 'naḷṣo : 'He fled from Calcutta to Delhi'. The Ablative—kērū will not be used here.

te keṣ'mi'rērū 'ēlīpeu : 'he started from Kashmir'. The Ablative -kērū will not be used here. There seems to be a mysterious psychology in this aversion to the Ablative. For, according to the speaker, the Ablative -kērū may be used if it is intended to imply that the man started from a *house*, e.g. te 'ghare-kērū 'ēlīpeu : 'he started from the house'. Perhaps the Elative keṣ'mi'rērū is preferred because the man's point of departure is still in Kashmir. Though he has started from Kashmir, the initial stage of his journey is still within Kashmir. Similarly :—  
mī 'tusenjo keṣ'mi'rērū 'ēṭṭhi l'r'kho'ri thi : 'I had written a letter to you from Kashmir'. The Ablative -kērū 'will never be used here', according to the Informant.

is 'mulkherū ānn ber gāte : 'Grain is exported from this country'. The Ablative \*mulkhe—kērū will not be used here.

#### (5) *Removal.*

is 'grarērū phēsad 'miṭo : 'conflict was removed from this home'. The Ablative (—kērū) will not be permitted here.

te 'za'tērū khīn'dao : 'he was expelled from (his) caste'. The Ablative is similarly not used here.

#### CONCLUSION.

The above data show the actual occurrence of the Elative as a distinct case in Bhadarwāhī. The sense of this case is no doubt commonly present in several languages. Thus Hindi mā se, Panjābī 'viccō, as in ghar'mēse, ghar'viccō 'out of the house' often occur as postpositions to indicate this sense. But Bhadarwāhī Elative is a distinct grammatical case. For while

Hindī and Panjābī idioms optionally allow the Ablative postposition *se*, *thō* or *sō* respectively to indicate the elative sense, Bhadarwāhī idiom strictly requires the Elative terminations when expulsion, removal or transference is meant. Moreover, some of the Bhadarwāhī Elative terminations are, as they stand at present, not postpositions. Thus the Elative pl. in *-āṇā* seems to be a preservation of PIA *-ānām*, while *-ērū* seems to be a reduction of *māzērū*.

The Elative case, then, seems to be an innovation in the evolution of Bhadarwāhī, both linguistically and psychologically.

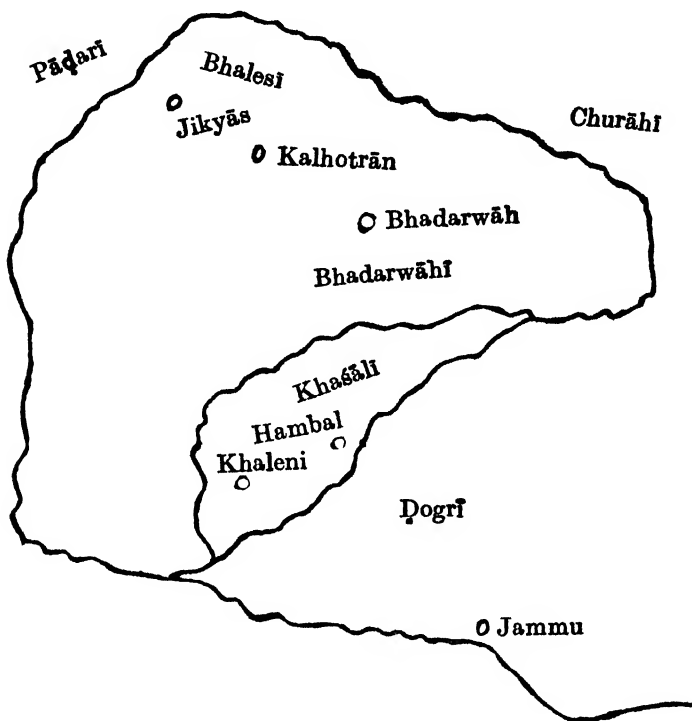


## Indian dialects in phonetic transcription.

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

### II. BHADARWĀHĪ, BHĀLEŚĪ AND KHAŚĀLĪ.

Bhadarwāhī, Bhāleśī and Khaśāli, spoken in the territories of Jammu and Kashmir, are neighbouring dialects. The following rough map will illustrate their relative position :—



### STORY OF THE NORTH WIND AND THE SUN.

#### (1) *Bhadarwāhī*.

ut'treṅgero (or 'uttrēro) bat te dī'hārō  
northern wind and sun

bat te dī'hārō is 'gallipūr 'lārne 'lagore thie ki asen duiēn maz  
wind and sun this thing-on disputing were that of-us two among  
kaun zore-balo āe 'etremaz u'ṇa'lu ko't 'leitā akk betōṛu u'lhorā  
who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a traveller thither  
au. ɛn 'duiēi ɛ gall 'rakhi ki ze 'Agri betōṛeru ko't  
came by-them this thing was-fixed that who first traveller's coat



khôlêlo, tē 'zore'balo bholo. tēspuṛ bat 'zore-seī 'bhone 'lago,  
will-remove he powerful will-be this-on wind force-with to-blow began  
tā tē betôṛu 'appṇu koṭ 'zore-seī appṇi jani-seī 'bheṛne  
then that traveller his coat force-with his body-with to-wrap  
'lago. bat 'phiri 'heṭi jau. 'phiri dī'ha'ro 'tezi-seī 'nisso, 'phiri  
began wind then drew-back then sun force-with came-out then  
'tēni betôṛe 'appṇu koṭ 'lyfi khôli 'śhaḍḍu. o'here-lei 'bate  
by-that traveller his coat quickly was cast-off this-owing-to wind  
'manṇu peṭu ki asen duiēn-maz dī'ha'ro jade 'zore-balo âe.  
to-admit had-to that us two among sun more powerful is

(2) *Bhalesī.*

'uttreṇ bat te dī'ha'ro  
northern wind and sun

'uttreṇ bat te dī'ha'ro 'īsi 'galle-puṛ laṛte thie, ki asen  
northern wind and sun this thing-on quarrelling were that us  
duienmaz 'kaṇu 'zore-balo âe. 'etrumaz niḡgu koṭ lei ək  
two-among who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a  
mu'ja'ṛir u'dho'ria au. 'mē duiēn maz i gall kherēi ki  
traveller from-thither came them two-between this thing was-fixed that  
'zekh<sup>u</sup> aḡri mu'ja'ṛereu koṭ u'kholel<sup>u</sup> 'te'he zore-balu 'bhol<sup>u</sup>.  
whoever first traveller's coat will-remove he-alone powerful will be  
tēspuṛ bat zore-seī 'bhone lago, par 'ziū—ziū bat zore-seī  
this-on wind force-with to blow began but as—as wind force-with  
'bhone lago, 'tātā tē mu'ja'ṛir 'appṇu koṭ zore-seī 'appṇi  
blow-to began so-so that traveller his coat force-with his  
jani-puṛ 'ṣekkṇe lago 'phiri bat 'mukkigeṇ. 'phiri dī'ha'ro tezi-seī  
body-on press-to began then wind finished was then sun force-with  
nisso, 'phiri 'tēni mu'japhre 'apṇu koṭ u'kholi śhaṛu. ṛi'e-lei  
came-out then by-that traveller his coat put-off was this-owing-to  
'bate 'manṇu peṭu ki asen du hi'ne maz dī'ha'ro: jade  
by-the-wind to-admit was that of-us both between sun-only more  
zore-balo âe.  
powerful is

(3) *Khasāli.*

'uttrara bat te dī'ha'ra  
north-of wind and sun

bat te dī'ha'ra âa 'galla-tir 'laṛne laḡure thie ki ā duiō  
wind and sun this thing-on to-dispute beginning were that us both  
mā kanḡera 'zora wala eṣe. 'etremā u'ṇa'la koṭ 'lāida ək  
between who powerful is meanwhile warm coat wearing a  
'battmergu utōṇā a. enā duiō-mā i jart thēri  
traveller on-that-side came these-two-between this condition was-fixed  
ki ze 'aḡri batt'merguara koṭ khôlla, tē tē 'zorawala 'bhola  
that who first traveller's coat will-remove then he powerful will-be

tê-tir bat zora-seī calne laga; par zā-zā bat zora-seī 'calne  
 this-on wind force-with to-blow began but as-as wind force-with blow-to  
 laga, tātā te batt'mergu ṁṇa koṭ 'ṁṇi jmda-seī bheṛne laga.  
 began, so-so that traveller his coat his body-with to-press began  
 bat phiri 'haṭi gea. 'phiri dr'ha'ra 'teza-seī nissa; 'phiri 'ṭeni  
 wind then left-off then sun force-with rose then by-that  
 batt'merguṣ ṁṇa koṭ taola khôli-sara. 'eṭṭatta 'bata 'manṇu  
 traveller his coat soon was put-off this—on by-wind to-admit  
 peṭṭ ki ā duiṣ mā dr'ha'ra 'zorawala ese.  
 had that us both between sun powerful is

## NOTES

(1) *Phonetics.*

(a) Bhadarwāli [ʌ], as in 'laṛne 'disputing', gall 'thing' is much more back than the standard Hindustani [ʌ]. It resembles Southern English [ʌ].

(b) Bhalesi [ɪ] at the end of words, as in janɪ-, is a remarkable feature of the dialect, being very lax and resembling the final vowel of the English word 'baby'.

(c) Bhal. [ʊ] at the end of words is another striking feature of this dialect. This [ʊ] is very delicate, sometimes extremely difficult to hear, as in the words bhol<sup>ʊ</sup> 'will be' 'ze kh<sup>ʊ</sup> 'whoever'. This feature of the dialect resembles the well-known phenomenon of delicate final vowels in Kashmiri.

(d) Bhad. [ɸ], as in hetḥṛu 'traveller' is more lax than the corresponding French sound.

(e) Bhad. [y] as in 'lyji 'quickly' is more lax than the corresponding French sound.

(f) Bhal. [ɸ], as in mu'ʃaḥṛ, verges more on the bi-labial fricative, but it has a little occlusion.

(2) *Phonology (in the older, philological sense.)*

(a) Khas [ʊ] in unstressed syllables appears to be a later stage, which the vowel [o] has undergone, a preceding stage appearing in Bhad., wherein the corresponding vowel is [ɔ], being more back. Cf. the following words in the text:—

	<i>Khas.</i>		<i>Bhad.</i>
	'lagure	'(were) beginning'	'lagore
Also cf.	'zarmura	'had born'	'zarmoro
	'zitura	'had won'	'zitoro

(b) The initial [ʊ] in Bhal. u'kholḍu 'will remove' goes back to PIA ava- down, as in Hindi utarnā 'to descend'.

(c) The mutation of vowels, as appearing in Bhad. 'hetijau 'drew back'—the [ʌ] of 'haṭnu 'to draw back' being changed to ε in 'heṭi, under

the influence of the final [i]—is a very prominent feature of both Bhad. and Bhal. cf. in the texts above :—

<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>
'laīda	lētā	lei 'having put on'.

Here the [a] of the verb ['la'pu] 'to put on' remains unchanged in Khaś. 'lūida, but is changed to [ē] in Bhad. and Bhal. Also cf. the following :—

<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>
'bhoitā	'bhōitā 'having become'.
'dhoitā	'dhōitā 'having washed'.
'puzzitā	'pyztā 'having reached'.

Nevertheless, even in Khaś. there are some tendencies for this vocalic mutation cf.

Khaś	mōli 'mother' pl. mēli
	'maḥli 'fish' pl. 'meḥli

(d) Khaśāli syncopation by elision of the vowel between two l's may be noticed in the following Khaś. as against the Bhad. words in the texts :—

<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>
khōlla	khōlēlo 'will remove'.
cf. 'ella	'ēlēlo 'went'.

Cf. Konkāni (Marāṭhi) gello 'went' but Ratnagiri (Marāṭhi) gēlēlō 'went'. L.S.I. Vol. VII, p. 408.

(e) The elision of suffical [r] is characteristic of Bhalesi, as appearing in Bhal. 'uttrēu 'northern' as against Bhad. 'uttrero cf.

<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
ki'o	ki'o're	gr'u're 'they have or had been done'.
'ghoṛēu	'ghoṛero	'ghoṛera 'of the horse'.

(f) In Khaś. the intervocalic [s] of pronouns is changed into the high-falling tone. Cf.

<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
is	'isi	ēa 'this' (oblique).
as	as	â 'we'.

Cf. my 'Dialects of the Khaśāli group' (1939), p. 4.

(g) Bhad. and Bhal. have intervocalic [b] as against [w] of Khaś. in

<i>Khaś.</i>	<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>
'zorewala	'zorebalo	'zorebalo 'powerful'.

(h) Khaś. has [s] for ṣh of Bhad. and Bhal. in :—

<i>Bhad.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>Khaś.</i>
'ṣhaḍḍu	'ṣhaṛu	'saṛa 'gave up', auxiliary in the sense of 'off'.

(i) Corresponding to Bhad. u'lhorū 'from that side', Bhal. has u'dho'ria, cf. Hindustani udharko 'to that side'. If [lh] in the Bhad.

word phonologically corresponds to [dh] in the Bhal. correspondent, it is an interesting change, but it awaits confirmation by more examples.

(3) *Grammar.*

(a) The gender of *bat* 'wind' in all the three dialects is masculine, exactly corresponding to the gender of Sanskrit *vātaḥ*. On the contrary. Panjābī [va] and Dogrī [ba] 'wind' are feminine.

The gender of *kəṭ* in Bhad. and Bhal. is neuter, as the adjectives *u'ṇa'lu* and *nṭgu* 'warm' show, but in Khaś., indicated by the adjective *u'ṇa'la*, it is masculine. In all the three dialects we have naturally a double neuter gender in *'manṇu peṭ* 'had to admit', corresponding to Hindi *mānna parā*, because the (impersonal) infinitive in these dialects is formed with the neuter termination [u].

(b) Though Khaś. is essentially a Pahārī dialect, as are Bhad. and Bhal., yet Khaś. nouns corresponding to PIA nouns in -aka end in [-a], while Bhad. and Bhal. nouns of this type end in [-o], cf. Khaś. *dri'ha'ra* 'the sun', but Bhad., Bhal. *dri'ha'ro*. As a cursory glance through the above map will show, Khaś. is geographically nearer to Dogrī than are Bhad. and Bhal., and so the influence of Dogrī on the Khaśāli nouns of this type may be suspected.

(c) The first [a] of Khaś. *'uttrara* 'of the north' is characteristic of the dialect, as distinct from [e] of Bhad. *'uttrero* 'of the north'. For as has been pointed out in my treatise 'Dialects of the Khaśāli group' (p. 9), in Khaś. the oblique of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the ending -a before the final suffix -ra. This [-a] also occurs in Khaś. *'gall-r-tir* 'on this thing', for some feminine words of this type like *gall*, *zib*, also form their oblique with the ending [-a]. Also cf. Khaś. *'zora-sei* 'with force' but Bhad. Bhal. *'zore-seī*.

(d) The locative ending in both Bhal. and Bhad. is -puṛ, as in Bhad. *'galli-puṛ*, Bhal. *'galle-puṛ* 'on (this) thing', possibly corresponding to PIA *pr̥stha-*, cf. Kashmirī *pjaṭh* 'on', but the Khaś. ending -tir as in *'gallatir* 'on (this) thing' possibly goes back to PIA *tala-*.

(4) *Vocabulary.*

The following words in the above texts may be of special interest:—

Bhad. *'uttreṇero* 'northern' reminds one of PIA *uttarāyana-*, but the occurrence of [n] instead of [ṇ] stands in the way of accepting any such correspondence.

For Bhad. *betḥru* 'a traveller', cf. Panj. *vāḍi* 'a traveller', so that in the Bhad. word we have possibly a conglomerate of the word *batt* 'a path' + *vah* + the suffix [-ḍ].

In Khaś. *'battmergu* 'traveller' lit. 'path-seeker', the second element seems to be a semi-tatsama word, corresponding to PIA *√mārg-* 'to seek'. In Bhal. *'zekh* 'whoever', fem. *ze'kh'*, we have the indefinitive suffix *kh'*,

kh', , cf. Hindi jokoi 'whoever', which however, has no phonological correspondence with it.

In Bhal. 'mukkigəu 'withdrew' lit. 'was finished', we have an unusual idiomatic use of 'muknu 'to be finished'.

In Khas. jmd 'body', Bhal. Bhad. jan, we have the words for the human body. These words are sometimes used, secondarily in this sense in Panj. as well, though here 'pɪɳɖa is the more current word for the 'body', the former words being used more in the sense of 'life' or 'physical condition'.

The sense of Bhad. u'ɳa'lu 'warm' used for cloth would sound curious to a Lahnda speaker, to whom hu'na'la, the corresponding form, means only the Summer Season.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN, URDU AND ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: VOLUME I, PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS; FASCICULUS I: HISTORY; pp. ii, 130; by DR. S. M. 'ABDULLĀH, M.A., D.Litt., with a Preface by Professor Muḥammad Shafī, Lahore, 1942.

The Punjab University has a good collection of Islamic manuscripts; it comprised about 2,500 volumes at the end of 1941—the number of Persian Mss. totalling 1,658. Dr. 'Abdullāh's *Catalogue* contains descriptive notices of 188 Persian historical works. Among the works noticed none can be said to be unique, but there are some which, no doubt, are rare. A copy of the very rare history and genealogy of the Ṣafawī Kings of Īrān (No. 62), composed during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān Ṣafawī, deserves a closer examination. Among the works dealing with Indian history are (i) a valuable copy of the Persian version of the *Memoirs* of Babur (No. 102) transcribed during the life-time of its translator, 'Abdur Raḥīm, Khān-i-Khānān, in 1021/1612; (ii) a contemporary copy of the *Memoirs* of Jahāngīr (up to the 12th year of his reign), copied by the well-known calligraphist Mullā Muḥammad; and (iii) a copy of Muḥammad Ma'sūm's *Tārīkh-i-Sind* (No. 156) transcribed in 1017/1608, or within a year or two of the author's death, which took place soon after 1015/1606-7.

The notices are usually brief, but the more valuable manuscripts have been described at some length as for instance Mss. Nos. 4 and 62. We have some suggestions to offer for increasing the usefulness of the *Catalogue* to readers. In the first instance, an attempt should be made to give the approximate date of transcription in the case of undated Mss.; secondly, the dates, names and other particulars contained in the seals and the '*Arḍā'idās*' should be quoted in full—the omission of these details from Nos. 4 and 115 is to be regretted; thirdly, the colophons of the Mss., which contain particulars about the copyist, the date of transcription, etc. should invariably be quoted; and fourthly, the additional information which has come to light after the publication of the *Catalogues* of Rieu, Ethé, 'Abdul Muqtadir and Ivanow should be incorporated in the *Catalogue*, as Dr. 'Abdullāh has done in the case of Ms. No. 96. It may be pointed out that the learned Cataloguer has omitted to mention that an edition of *Tārīkh-i-Sind* (Ms. No. 156) by Dr. Dā'ūdpoṭā was published by the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, in 1938; that extracts from the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (No. 48) and the *Mir'at-ul 'Ālam* (No. 10), relating to the calligraphists, etc. have been published by Professor Muḥammad Shafī' in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, May, 1934 (Serial No. 37), pp. 150-170 and August, 1934 (Serial No. 38), pp. 31-65, respectively; and that an English translation of the notices of Persian painters contained in the former work was published by the late Sir Thomas Arnold in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 5, 1928-30, pp. 671-74.

There are some minor slips: for instance, Jharumī for Jahrumī (p. 44a) and رور for رور.

Dr. 'Abdullāh has done his work with care, precision and accuracy, and provided us with a highly useful *Catalogue*.

M. M. HAQ.

**HOLY PLACES OF INDIA.** By BIMALA CHURN LAW. Calcutta Geographical Society, publication No. 3. Calcutta 1940. 57 pp., 3 maps and 8 plates.

Dr. B. C. Law is well-known to Indologists for his numerous and valuable publications bearing on Buddhism and on the ancient Ethnology and Geography of India. In the present monograph the author has turned his inexhaustible pen to another useful subject, namely, the study of the holy places of Modern India. His work containing short notices of the leading sacred places of Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas, arranged according to localities, and illustrated with excellent maps and some fine plates, brings together in a handy form a mass of information lying scattered elsewhere. A good Index adds to the usefulness of this work which needs only a section on the holy places of Islam to make it complete.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

**GAUTAM BUDDHA** (in Bengali). By Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW, 128 pages, Royal Octavo, published by Gurudas Chattopadhyaya and Sons, Price Rs.1-8.

The author who is a renowned scholar of Buddhism has thought it fit to bring out a popular account of the life and predication of Buddha with suitable and attractive illustrations selected out of the valuable pieces of antique sculptures. Although the account is a popular presentation of the subject, it is no less authoritative. Unlike his predecessors in this field he has judiciously selected such accounts of Buddha from the available Pali and Sanskrit texts as may be of use in giving a fairly reliable account of the founder of the Buddhist religion. He has rejected the fairy tales and stories of the supernatural activities of Buddha and pieced together those accounts which speak of him as a great religious teacher endowed with the highest spiritual qualities. The author has tried to give a connected picture of the life of Buddha, as far as possible, from his birth up to his demise. He has also added two chapters on the Buddhist community and the Buddhist religion and philosophy. His style is simple and lucid and his presentation highly commendable. It is a nice little book which will be of great use to the Bengali readers.

P. C. BAGCHI.

**THE RISE OF THE FATIMIDS.** By W. IVANOW. 8½ in. × 5½ in., pp. xxii + 313+113. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 10. Oxford University Press, 1942.

Mr. Ivanow is already well-known to the students of Fatimid history and of Ismá'ílí literature by his edition of some important Ismá'ílí texts and by his interesting and instructive researches connected with the subject. In the book under review he gives the results of his researches on some of the important problems connected with the rise of the Ismá'ílí movement, and publishes extracts from five important Ismá'ílí texts together with the English translation of some of these texts as well as that of some other texts published by him earlier.

In discussing some of the important and knotty problems connected with the rise of the Fatimids, e.g. the genealogy of 'Ubaydulláh-al-Mahdí, the founder of Fatimid dynasty of Africa and Egypt, and what he calls

'the myth of 'Abdullāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh, the great organizer of the Fatimid movement, the author shows his thorough familiarity not only with the rich European literature on the subject, but also with the original Arabic Ismā'īlī and non-Ismā'īlī sources. And it is on the latter that he has mainly relied for his researches and conclusions. But in editing the texts he does not appear to have been very careful. For grammatical mistakes in them are not uncommon. The English translations of these texts also are not always exact.

The author's criticism of the accepted views with regard to the genealogy of ab-Mahdī is thorough as well as deep. And his discussion of the story of 'Abdullāh b. Maymūn is forceful and scholarly. But his main argument is of negative character. The early Ismā'īlī literature make no mention of the story al-Qaddāh, therefore what has been described by the later Ismā'īlī writers, must have been based on the forgery of the anti-Fatimids. This argument may not appear to be quite logical. But its force cannot be denied. And in the absence of any strong proof in favour of the generally accepted theory, the cautious conclusion arrived at by Ivanow must be accepted. He says 'there is very little probability that Ibn al-Qaddāh played any prominent part in the launching of the Ismā'īlī doctrine, and there obviously is no foundation whatever to regard him as the progenitor of the Fatimids'.

'The Rise of the Fatimids,' however, is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

M. Z. S.

**FORTUNES OF PRIMITIVE TRIBES.** By D. N. MAJUMDAR, Universal Publishers, Ltd., Lucknow, 1944. pp. xix+234. Price Rs.12.

This book is said to be the first of a series of four volumes on the tribal cultures of the United Provinces. This volume is in a sense an introductory one and contains a general description of the life of three representative tribes, and a chapter on a fourth class, 'the wandering, vagrant and criminal tribes'. The book is interestingly written and on the whole the photographic reproductions are excellent.

The introduction sketches the theories concerning the racial history of India and discusses some of the main characteristics and distribution of primitive groups. The origin and plan of the series beginning with this volume is set forth and shows the interest of the United Provinces Government, the Central Government and Lucknow University in anthropological studies.

The three tribes whose life and fortunes are delineated belong to different parts of the United Provinces and are distinguished one from the other in important ways giving a cross section of the field. The Korwas live in the Mirzapore District of southern United Provinces and represent the pre-Dravidian Australoid stock. Dr. Majumdar has recorded significant studies in the blood grouping of this tribe, which is a small one and numbers not more than 400 persons. It is confined to the Dudhi Tahsil of Mirzapore. The author sketches their customs and outlooks. Much needs yet to be done by way of supplementary work. The account is interesting and the author has collected many significant facts.

The Tharus come next. 'While the Korwas represent the most primitive element in the population of the United Provinces and a culture that is facing disintegration, the Tharus on the other hand, represent the most interesting of the tribes' (p. 65). They exhibit a vitality which is enabling



them to adapt themselves to a changed and changing economic environment. The 1931 Census reported 77,021 Tharus of which some 30,000 belong to the Naini Tal District in the United Provinces. The Tharus of Naini Tal District claim to be related to the Rajputs of northern India. Other primitive tribes make this same claim. Without doubt they are a mixed people and have included varying elements in their culture. The author believes that much of the evidence leads to the conclusion that they are a Mongoloid people who have assimilated non-Mongolian features. The chapter contains an interesting, if not systematic, description of their customs and a sympathetic evaluation of their life.

The Khasas or the Khasiyas represent the high caste polyandrous people of the cis-Himalayan region and are found largely in the hill parganah of Jaunsar-Bawar in the Dehra Dun district. The author states that there is ample evidence of racial similarity with the inhabitants of Kashmir, and should thus be considered an Indo-Aryan tribe. They are mainly agriculturists. This particular study discusses many of the common features of beliefs and customs prevalent in this area. There is a blending of Hindu and tribal rites throughout and the result is interesting.

The two closing chapters give us a brief description of the so-called criminal tribes of the United Provinces and also set forth the tribal economy and social vigilance of the above and other groups. A further discussion along this line is to follow in a later publication.

This book is recommended to all persons interested in the fortunes of the primitive tribes. What the work lacks in systematic presentation is made up in human interest. Wide fields have been left unsurveyed and the author would, no doubt, agree that what is recorded here is but an introduction to a vast store of human interest. There are some mistakes in spelling and the book would be more readable if there were headings to indicate the general topic under discussion.

W. G. GRIFFITHS.

ANUPASAMHA GUṆĀVATĀRA. By VIṬṬHALA KRṢṢṆA. Edited by C. Kunhan Raja. Ganga Oriental Series, Dedicatory Volume. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1942.

The present work is the first and the dedicatory volume of the Ganga Oriental Series, started under the auspices of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner with the patronage of His Highness Maharaja Sri Ganga Singhji for publishing the rare and valuable works in the Library. Maharaja Anup Singhji Bahadur (1669-1698) was an enlightened prince of the Bikaner family. Himself a distinguished scholar and poet he was also a munificent patron of scholars and poets of his age. It was he who collected the rare and valuable manuscripts, which form the nucleus and main feature of the Library named after him, and it is in the fitness of things that the dedicatory volume of the series should be a work which extols the virtues of the illustrious founder of the Library.

The present work consists of 103 verses divided into ten *avatāras* or sections, the first of which contains verses invoking blessings on the prince, whose great merits and virtues are extolled in the remaining sections. The editor has added a translation to each verse, except in cases where the text is defective or does not afford clear sense. The purely eulogistic character of the verses are evident, but one cannot but be attracted by the sweet and sonorous style, beautiful in diction and rich in imagery. Some of the verses are elegant examples of classical Sanskrit poetry and

there are somewhere parallelisms with similar verses of earlier poets can easily be recognized.

An introduction, supplying information about the author, the materials upon which the edition is based and other related matters, would have much enhanced the value of the publication, and the absence of such information is to be regretted. There are several lacunae in some of the verses, possibly due to a lack of adequate manuscript material for a proper editing of the work.

The Anup Sanskrit Library and the Bikaner Durbar are to be congratulated for initiating the series, which is expected to make useful contributions in the field of oriental studies.

S. K. SARASWATI.

THE D. R. BHANDARKAR VOLUME. Edited by DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW.  
Published by the Indian Research Institute.

The volume, *prima facie*, possesses the merit of bearing the name of a great scholar, an eminent professor and an extremely genial man. Again, it is edited by a selfless Pandit known in Europe and Asia for his brilliant and diligent work in Buddhist lore, and famous in our country for his patronage of literary men and institutions. Behind these two savants stands an indefatigable and efficient worker in the field of Indology—Seal—of the Indian Research Institute—a familiar figure to the intellectual society of Calcutta.

Regarding the volume itself, it contains 50 articles and covers 382 pages. The choice of authors and subjects has been particularly happy. The whole range of Indian history has been surveyed though necessarily only some of its particular aspects and from certain specialized angles. Thus we find a discussion by Roy of 'the racial affinity between the Brahuīs and the Dravidians', and also asked by Jha 'if the Aryan invasion of India was a myth'. Light is thrown by Chatterjee on 'a historical character of the reign of Asoka Maurya', by Barua on the 'interpretation of' 'the edicts of Asoka', by Chhabra on 'the office of Uparika', by Lüders on 'the era of Mahārāja and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja'. We also find valuable dissertations on 'Guhilot origins' and 'the early life of Rāṇā Saṅga', 'the struggle between Delhi and Mewar in the 13th century', and the 'imperialism of Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat'—all themes of Mediaeval History. Again chapters of Modern Indian History have also been commented upon, e.g. by Abdul Ali in the paper entitled 'The failure of Tipu Sultan' and 'Some Home Department Records'. Majumdar with the main object of writing something useful on Ancient India, has admirably succeeded in illuminating the extremely dark topic of Bengal river-beds. His masterly pen, as usual, has brought out the essential points out of a mass of verbiage-points which are indispensable to every worker on the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries of the history of our country. Social, cultural, religious and philosophical evolution of Indians through the ages has also not been ignored.

In a capable and scholarly style, Chakravarti has written on 'A Tantra Work on the Cult of Pañcānana', and Keith on 'The Greek kingdoms and Indian literature'; Horner on '*Cetovimutti*' and a changing Piṭakan value', and Strauss on 'Jīva and Paramātman'; Gode on 'The chronology of the works of Khaṇḍadeva', and De on Pālakāpya's '*Hastyaśurveda*'; Saletore on 'Vaiṣṇavism in Vijayanagara', and Aiyangar on 'Vasu uparichara

and animal sacrifice'; Adhikari on 'Indian Aesthetics', and Acharya on 'Architecture'. Scholars—Indian and European—have succeeded in giving us invaluable information on aspects of Indian life, the study of which have engaged their life-long attention. The volume is welcome in all libraries and will continue to serve as a work of reference to the students of history, politics, philosophy and literature. The arrangement of the articles either according to subject or chronology is however desirable, and we are sure that this will be effected in the next edition.

JATIS DE.

- (1) THE NEW OFFICIAL CHINESE LATIN SCRIPT—GWOYEU ROMATZYH—TABLES, RULES, ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES. By W. SIMON, Ph.D., Reader in Chinese in the University of London. Arthur Probsthain, London, 1942. Paper, pp. 63.
- (2) CHINESE SENTENCE SERIES—FIRST FIFTY LESSONS. By W. SIMON, Ph.D., and C. H. LU, Ph.D. Part I—Text in Gwoyeu Romatzyh with Translation. Arthur Probsthain, London, 1942, pp. 230. Cloth, 8s. 6d.

The Chinese script is a unique product of Chinese civilization, and being largely pictographic and ideographic in origin and application, with but a very limited phonetic or phonographic scope, it has been able to serve a literary language which is intended more to be read with the eye than heard with the ear. From an original single ancient Chinese speech which was confined to a part of North China some 2,500 years ago, with a single type of pronunciation, written in a script in which the representation of sounds was but a secondary thing, we have now as the result of normal development a number of modern Chinese dialects (or languages), with widely different pronunciations and in many cases with new structural modifications as a result of phonetic change. China has thus no common or uniform modern speech: her scholars have been using until very recently the old literary language, pronounced differently in the different areas, but understood everywhere when seen with the eye, although not followed everywhere when read with one type of local pronunciation. It is well-nigh impossible to make a single language out of the many that really obtain in China at the present day, by bringing in a system of writing like the Roman which indicates only sounds. How to devise a spelling based on a phonetic script like the Roman which will serve three forms of modern Chinese in which the same two pictogrammic and ideogrammic characters are pronounced so diversely as *Yuan Chuang*, *Hsüan Chwang* and *Hsien Ts'ang*, or two forms of modern Chinese in which the same three characters are pronounced as *Wu Lien-teh* and *Ngoe Lim-tock*? There are other complications—as Chinese words must be pronounced with proper tones, and in the Roman writing indicating sounds the tones also must be shown: there are four tones in Pekinese, and eight in Cantonese, and these often do not agree.

Obviously, the unification of the whole of China, i.e. of all the various forms of modern Chinese, by means of a phonetic alphabet like the Roman, excluding the old Chinese characters, is a thing which is not to be: and scholars of China, and following them the bulk of the Chinese people, appear to have accepted the inevitable—they have followed the

old Sanskrit adage, *sarvanāśe samutpannē ardham tyajati paṇḍitaḥ* 'a wise man abandons half when the loss of all is imminent'. Of the 18 dialects of Chinese (or modern Chinese languages), it is found that one major dialect with its numerous sub-dialects is current over  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths, if not  $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of China. This major dialect or speech belongs to the North, the Centre and the West and the South-West, and it was known usually as *Kuan Hua*, or 'Mandarin Speech', as it was the colloquial employed by the officials in the old regime. A modified form of this *Kuan Hua*, based to some extent on the colloquial of Peking, and seeking to unify all the various sub-dialects which come under it, has now been adopted by Nationalistic China as the National Language of Modern China, and has been glorified with the name of *Kuo-yü* (or *Gwoyueu*), 'the Country Speech'. All Chinese people must learn this: those whose home dialects differ largely from this *Kuan Hua*, or *Kuo-yü*,—in fact, whose dialects cannot be classed as sub-dialects or variants of this, and form different languages (particularly the people of the South and South-East of China),—will have to make a great sacrifice for the sake of national, pan-Sinic unity, viz. that of foregoing the privilege of cultivating their own dialects or using it in education and public life; and since there has not been much study or cultivation of the local dialects in the imperial regime, or in the republican regime either, this is not felt as much of a hardship. The problem of Romanization has thus been reduced to the Romanization of modern Chinese in a standardized Mandarin or North Chinese dialect (this standardized Mandarin, written as before in the usual Chinese characters, has already been achieved in the hands of a body of eminent Chinese literary men), in their sounds as well as the important sound-attribute of tone or musical accent which is of significant value (in other words, which serves to differentiate words of various meanings). Mandarin, and its Peking variety were already Romanized by European scholars, and two systems, that of the Englishman Sir Thomas Wade, and a French system, are commonly in use. But neither of these ordinarily indicate the tones. Sometimes special accent marks either detached, or capped upon the vowel letters, are used with both the Wade and the French systems; and sometimes the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4 for the four tones of Northern Mandarin superscribed over the Roman transcription of a Chinese word are used in the Wade system.

All this was exceedingly cumbrous, and rather unpractical; and scholars of Chinese, both Chinese and Western, were much exercised to find out a system of Romanization which would give a tolerable representation of the pronunciation of an all-embracing standardized Mandarin, together with the tones, with the help of the ordinary Roman letters used in printing English, without any diacritical marks; and this Romanization should be done in such a way that it would be an adequate reflex of the phonology or historical development and interconnexion of the sounds of the Chinese words. After a good deal of experimentation, such a system of Romanization has at last been devised, and it has been finally adopted (or at least recommended) by the Chinese Government. This is the *Gwoyueu Romatzyh* or 'the National Roman Script', and the scholar primarily responsible for it is Dr. Chao Yüan-jên (Jaw Yuanren). Dr. Bernhard Karlgren, the eminent Swedish sinologist who is an authority on Chinese Phonetics and Phonology, expressed his doubts as to the suitability of this system in his valuable little book *Philology and Ancient China* (Oslo, 1926). But it would appear that nothing more practical and at the same time more scientific could be devised by the best brains of China and Europe. This system does away with the rather exasperating ambiguity of writing four distinct words with different

tones all in one way: *Kuai*, with four tones (*Kuai*<sup>1</sup>, *Kuai*<sup>2</sup>, *Kuai*<sup>3</sup>, *Kuai*<sup>4</sup>) would be written in this system as *guai*, *gwai*, *goai*, *guay* respectively, the vowel or the semivowel (*u*, *w*, *i*, *y*) in an ingenious manner indicating the tone element in the word. The result is that for Chinese in a standard Mandarin or Northern dialect, we have a clear, unambiguous phonetic Roman orthography, which gives four distinct forms for four different words previously written as one: and that is a very great advance in the study of Chinese through the Roman script—one may say that half the battle is gained in Chinese. By this system, two distinct compound words, written simply *Kuo-yü* in the Wade system (or *Kuo*<sup>2</sup>-*yü*<sup>3</sup>, and *Kuo*<sup>4</sup>-*yü*<sup>2</sup>, if numerals are used for tones), one (*Kuo*<sup>2</sup>-*yü*<sup>3</sup>) meaning 'National Language' and the other (*Kuo*<sup>4</sup>-*yü*<sup>2</sup>) meaning 'too, too much', are very easily and perfectly differentiated as *Guoyeu* and *guoh-yu* respectively. In the proper resolution of orthographic homophones, the value of such a system can be easily appreciated.

This new spelling has not as yet been widely adopted, though following the initiative of the government, many Chinese scholars are now Romanizing their names in this system. Superficially, used as we are to the Wade system generally, this new *Gwo-yeu Romatzyh* will alter the face of Romanized Chinese: it would take us some time to see *Chiang Kai-shek* (or *Kai-shih*) in *Jiang Gaishy*, and to make out the Chinese equivalents for the first ten numerals, *i*<sup>1</sup>, *érh*<sup>4</sup>, *san*<sup>1</sup>, *ssü*<sup>4</sup>, *wu*<sup>3</sup>, *liu*<sup>4</sup>, *ch'i*<sup>1</sup>, *pa*<sup>1</sup>, *chiu*<sup>3</sup> and *shih*<sup>2</sup> in *i*, *ell*, *san*, *syh*, *wuu*, *liow*, *chi*, *ba*, *jeou* and *shyr* (it should be noted that *r* at the end or middle of a word in the new Romanization serves as tone-indicator, and has no sound value). The new spelling will, with its use of the voiced letters *b*, *d*, *g*, *j* and plain, simple *p*, *t*, *k*, *ch* (respectively in place of *p*, *t*, *k*, *ch* and *p'*, *t'*, *k'*, *ch'* as before) and with its use of *r*, give a certain vigorous and muscular appearance, so to say, to Chinese words in Romanization, which is totally lacking in the Wade system.

I shall not proceed to detail this novel and exceedingly well-planned *Gwoyew Romatzyh*: the two books under review give a very good elucidation of it, and those who are specially interested in Chinese, as well as those who are interested in general phonetics, will find it quite fascinating. Very helpful are the tables giving equivalents of the new system in the script of the *International Phonetic Association*, and in the current Wade system. The first work, which is just a little more than a pamphlet, gives the principles underlying the system, with tables of syllable concordances, besides some lessons in the new *Kuo-yü* (*Gwoyew*) and English translations on the opposite page, with Wade equivalents of the first few lessons and a word for word English translation. The second book aims at teaching colloquial Chinese (in the National Speech), in 25 lessons in the *Gwoyew Romatzyh*. There cannot be any question that the new script will be a decided advantage; and one feels inclined to congratulate the Chinese people—at least, those among them who speak and use the new National Language,—as well as those who are interested in the Chinese language and in Chinese culture, on this newly formulated National Sino-Roman Script and Orthography.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

- (1) **TIBETAN WORD BOOK.** By SIR BASIL GOULD, C.M.G., C.I.E., I.C.S., Political Officer in Sikkim and British Political Representative in Tibet and Bhutan, and HUGH EDWARD RICHARDSON, I.C.S., formerly British Trade Agent at Gyantse, Tibet, and in charge of the British Mission at Lhasa: with a Foreword by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., F.B.A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1943; Royal 8vo., pp. xvi, 447. (The text of the book is reproduced from type-script and from handwriting for the Tibetan words.)
- (2) **TIBETAN SYLLABLES.** By SIR BASIL GOULD and H.E. RICHARDSON. Oxford University Press, 1943. Crown 8vo., pp. x, 120.
- (3) **TIBETAN SENTENCES.** By the same authors. Oxford University Press, 1943. Crown 8vo., pp. v, 137.

The above are three most recent publications on the Tibetan language as spoken in Central Tibet at the present day, and are the results of ripe scholarship, and they are sure to be of very great help in acquirement of colloquial as well as written Tibetan. The first of the above is the most considerable work. It gives nearly 2,000 (1,950 to be exact) basic words and roots in Tibetan, arranged in the order of the Tibetan alphabet, with the modern pronunciation in Roman script first, then the original word in Tibetan script, followed by a Roman transliteration of the Tibetan spelling, and then the primary or most important meaning of the word: and finally we have a list of compounds and phrases in which this basic word occurs, in its original or altered sense. Most of these 2,000 words have from 3 to 6 entries under them, and sometimes many more, and from this the scope of the work may easily be appreciated. The Word Book thus forms a very handy and a comprehensive vocabulary of modern Tibetan.

*Tibetan Sentences* give some 800 colloquial sentences in Tibetan script with modern pronunciation in Roman transcript and English translation below, with reference by number to the *Word Book*. *Tibetan Syllables* forms a sort of phonetic analysis of modern Tibetan, with a note on the Tibetan alphabet and spelling. It gives, in the Tibetan alphabetical order, some 2,000 syllables, i.e. monosyllabic words and word-bases which form the syllabic 'speech-commodity' of modern Tibetan. This list of syllables is exceedingly valuable. But, unfortunately, the phonetic description is not as detailed as it could be expected, e.g. *b d g z*, etc. unvoiced are represented *p' t' k' sh'*, without any description of these modifications except that these 'are sounded more heavily than similar letters without the mark'; and the question of *tones* in Tibetan is not at all discussed: surely the 11 *se-s* (p. 78 of *Tibetan Syllables*) represented by 11 different spellings in the Tibetan script (and consequently showing the same phonetic convergence of 11 different words of Old Tibetan), e.g. *zas* 'food', *ze* 'bristle', *sad* 'awake', *sre* 'rose', *sras* 'son', *sreg* 'burn', *sres* 'alloy', *gsal* 'clear', *bsad* 'kill', *bsal* 'clear up' and *bse* 'rhinoceros', must, at least partly, be differentiated from each other by tone as a compensation for phonetic loss, as it has happened in the various other languages of the Sino-Tibetan family, e.g. Chinese, Siamese, Burmese and Newari. Similarly the 14 *che-s* (i.e. *chhe-s*, pp. 6, 7) representing in 5 cases the old Tibetan *chad*, and the words *che*, *ched*, *ches*, *mche*, *mched*, must have a significant tone-quality. As a student of phonetics, I would have liked very much to see this matter discussed, as the authors are erudite in Tibetan both written and spoken.

One very interesting thing is noticed from the *Word Book* and the *Syllables*: a very large number of monosyllabic words, or word-roots, nominal and verbal, as well as particles, are 'obsolete in colloquial Tibetan

as a complete word'—they only occur in composition with other words. Thus there are 11 *ka*-s in modern Tibetan, meaning 'the letter *ka*' (<*ka*), 'sugar' (<*ka*), 'pillar' (<*ka*), 'emphatic particle' (<*ka*), 'difficult' (<*dkah*), 'order' (<*bkah*), 'channel' (<*rka*), besides 4 others derived from earlier *ga* meaning four different things, but of these only 4 are current in modern Tibetan as independent words, the rest being used only when compounded with other words. All these obsolete words were in full use as living words in older Tibetan. This means that phonetic decay has made compounding with explanatory adjuncts as necessary in modern Tibetan as, for example, in Northern Chinese; and this forms an additional point of agreement among modern representatives of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic stock.

The general get-up of these books, with covers and end-papers in Bhutanese handmade paper, is excellent, and one feels glad that even in spite of the war the authors have been able to present to the public with such excellent and useful books for the study of one of the most interesting and important languages of the world.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

PESHTA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION. By V. G. DIGHE. Pp. 235. Price Rs.6. Karnatak Publishing House.

Baji Rao I has been regarded as the greatest figure in Maratha history after Shivaji. Maratha expansionism associated with his name marks the most important phase of Maratha activity in the 18th century. The great Peshwa achieved almost uninterrupted success. A political biography of this remarkable personality, synthesizing all the new materials in different languages that have been discovered in recent years, must therefore be very welcome to all students of the modern history of India.

Dr. Dighe worked under the guidance of Sir Jadunath. It is pleasant to find that in his study of the great Maratha hero he has ascertained the low watermark so that praise and admiration has not been carried too far. In this work we have a very detailed and well-documented account of almost all the important episodes of Baji Rao I's eventful life. Sir Jadunath in his enthusiastic foreword selects for special mention the chapters on the Janjira campaign, the siege of Bassein and the Peshwa at the Raja's court. A careful study of this book clarifies many obscure points and solves some of the puzzles of Maratha history of this period, giving the patient reader a grasp of the realities.

But the reviewer feels that a full story of Maratha expansion should give a very satisfactory account of the attitude of Baji Rao towards Nadir Shah's invasion and the effect of this on Maratha expansion. No new light has been thrown on this important topic and it remains as obscure as before. The advisability of northward expansion in preference to expansion southward has been a disputed point to students of Maratha history. The quotation from *Shahu Charitra* of Chitnis (p. 94) gives us the view of Baji Rao—'The reduction of Karnatak is as good as a domestic affair and can easily be effected by Huzarat troops'. But the view of Baji Rao was more or less well known. The author only puts it in a more emphatic form. We expected a fuller treatment of this subject with a discussion of the views of the contemporaries.

There is a suggestion for the publishers. On the cover there is a picture of Baji Rao on horseback, the horse's hoofs covering the Deccan, its head reaching the Ganges-Jumna Doab. This may impress the chauvinist and the hero-worshipper but on the serious, sober students of history for whom the book is meant the flap will create a very unfavour-

able impression which the book of course will dispel. In his footnote on p. 151 the author should have included Lockhart's *Nadīr Shah* in his list of standard histories describing events in Persia.

N. K. SINHA.

NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN HINDU PHILOSOPHY. By S. K. SAKSENA, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by Nand Kishore & Bros., Benares, 1944. Pp. 223+v. Price Rs.7-8.

The nature of consciousness is one of the burning problems of contemporary philosophy in the West. Idealistic systems of philosophy in the West are generally in favour of the view that consciousness or mind or self is the ultimate reality and is the ground of the world of objects or the system of finite things and beings. But in the school of modern realism, known as neo-realism, the independent existence of consciousness has been altogether denied and it has been sought to be reduced to a special kind of relation among objects, or to a 'cross-section of reality' which is non-mental. In view of such wide divergence of opinions with regard to the nature of consciousness, it is both useful and necessary for philosophers to know what contributions Indian philosophy has made to the study of the problem of consciousness.

The book under review serves this very useful purpose. It gives a clear and complete account of the philosophical speculations of the Hindus on the nature of consciousness from the Vedic period down to the age of the systems of philosophy. The whole course of these speculations has been conveniently divided and treated with special reference to the ontological, the epistemological, the psychological and the transcendental nature of consciousness, and the problem of the relation between consciousness and unconsciousness. Although this method involves some needless repetitions on certain points, it has been more helpful in giving the reader a clear grasp of the main problems with regard to the nature of consciousness. All the important Hindu theories, bearing on the different problems of consciousness, have been fully explained and discussed by the learned author. Following the Advaita Vedānta, he has justified the distinction between a transcendental and an empirical consciousness, and supported the existence of the transcendental consciousness as an eternal, unmodifiable and distinctionless principle which manifests all things and events but transcends all changes and relations. But for the reality of the transcendental consciousness as its pre-supposition we cannot explain our experience of the world of change and plurality, or of the unity and diversity of experience itself, or of the duality of subject and object in experience. This transcendental consciousness is the ultimate reality. How the eternal and free transcendental consciousness manifests itself as the world of changing and limited things and beings is a problem which our intellect or reason cannot solve, but which can only be realized in direct experience or intuition of the transcendent reality. It is here that Hindu philosophy goes beyond the general position of Western philosophy where the value and validity of a supra-rational intuitive experience of the ultimate reality are hardly recognized. This and other distinctive features of Hindu philosophy are contrasted with those of Western philosophy especially in the last chapter of the book. All this has made the work an interesting and illuminating study of the main problems of consciousness. The book should have a wide circulation as it deserves.

S. C. CHATTERJEE.



COMMENTARY BY DEVABODHA ON THE ĀDIPARVAN OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.  
 Edited by R. N. DANDEKAR. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental  
 Research Institute, Poona, 1941. Price Rs.4.

It is widely known that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, at Poona, has undertaken an enormous and complicated project in publishing a 'critical' and 'correct' edition of the Mahābhārata. The enterprise has fortunately advanced a great deal. At this stage, the sincere attempt of the Institute to publish the oldest available commentary of the Epic, under the able editorship of Mr. Dandekar is to be eagerly welcomed by all scholars interested in the study of the Mahābhārata and Oriental Studies.

The volume under review is entitled as 'Devabodha-kṛta-tātparyatikā Jñānadīpikā'. It is not, however, a commentary in the strict sense of the term; but it is a concise tikā, i.e. a running annotation on the difficult words and passages in the text. Occasionally, it tries to explain 'constructional obscurities and grammatical difficulties, and gives the gist of passages.' This Tikā of Devabodha is, unlike other available manuscripts of commentaries, unaccompanied by the Epic Text. While giving the gist of the passages, it has usually cited the entire verses (i.e. half ślokas) from the text.

The learned editor has adduced various reasons for the publication of the Tikā—of these the important ones are the following:—

- (1) The Jñānadīpikā, Mahābhāratatātparyatikā by Devabodha is the oldest commentary extant on the Epic.
- (2) Devabodha's commentary is far superior to Nilakanṭha's.
- (3) Important readings from the commentary of Devabodha have been cited in the critical edition of the Mahābhārata, which is being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona.

The first reason is quite correct. Devabodha is certainly the oldest of the hitherto known commentators like Vimalabodha, Arjunamīśra, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, Vādirāja, Ratnagarbha, and Nilakanṭha. All of them cite Devabodha with great respect. In the opinion of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, 'Arjunamīśra's Artha-dīpikā on the Mahābhārata may be considered as a revised and enlarged edition of the Jñānadīpikā'.

It is an admitted fact that the Mahābhārata must have passed through certain abnormal circumstances of transmission, which make its text-tradition not only 'multiple and polygenous but also bewildering'. Through centuries there has been amazing fusion of versions which cannot now be completely disentangled by purely objective criteria. Now, Devabodha's commentary being the oldest one available throws a flood of light on the above-mentioned problem; for it has retained an interpretation which follows a version (most akin to the Śāradā type), old by at least some couples of centuries. So says Dr. Sukthankar, 'He is, therefore, most likely, the earliest commentator of the Mahābhārata hitherto known, and, in my opinion, . . . . is in any case most valuable, and its evidence, both positive and negative, is of supreme importance for the constitution of the text'.

But we differ with the esteemed editor, when he remarks that Devabodha's commentary is far superior to Nilakanṭha's. Nilakanṭha belongs to the last quarter of the seventeenth century and his commentary is the latest one, in wide circulation, on the Mahābhārata. He had an ample opportunity and advantage to go through all the available interpretations and commentaries preceding him and that is why his is an interpretation naturally encyclopaedic in character. Devabodha's commentary, though

not included in Nilakanṭha's verbatim, is but substantially present there. Moreover, for an all-round understanding of the difficult passages, Nilakanṭha's Bhāratabhāvadīpa is more useful than Devabodha's Jñānadīpikā. As regards the correct reading also, Nilakanṭha can safely be relied upon; for he says in his prefatory verses

“ बहून् समाहृत्य विभिन्नदेशान् कोशान् विनिश्चित्य च पाठमग्रम् ।  
प्राचां गुरुणामनुद्धृत्य वाचमारभ्यते भारतभावदीपः ॥ ”

He has selected the best reading, by examining critically the different readings, on the basis of the lexicographic evidences of different provinces. He has not shown even the least possible disrespect for the earlier commentators; for he has said “टीकान्तराणोन्दुरविप्रभाणि” but his commentary is a lamp, small in size but pure and intimate, useful and soothing in the temple-like Bhārata. Besides that, in the interpretation of the obscure and difficult passage or word, Nilakanṭha is more precise and elaborate than Devabodha. For instance in the verse No. 23 of Ādiparvan, chapter 145 (Bangavāsi edition) the commentary of Devabodha runs as—

कक्षः दृष्टेन्धनसमुदायः तं हन्तीति कक्षघ्नः अग्निः । शिशिरघ्नः तुषारघ्नः स एव । महाकक्षे महावने । विलौकसो विलवासिनः । न दहेदित्युक्तेन प्रकारेण । च-शब्दो दृष्टान्ताय । यथा महावने प्रज्वलितोऽग्निर्विलवासिनो न दहेत् तथाप्यत्र गृहदावपि ज्वलन्निर्विलसमाश्रयाग्न दहतीति । संकेतेन युधिष्ठिरायात्मनः शरीरस्य रक्षोपायं कथयतीति ॥

while Nilakanṭha interprets:—

कक्षः कुक्षिः पार्श्व इति यावत्, तत्र हन्ति गच्छतीति कक्षघ्नः पार्श्वचरः पुरोचन एव ।.....कक्षघ्नः एव शिशिरघ्नः, प्रदह्याति हिनन्तीति शिशिरोऽग्निः, इदं हिंसायामित्यस्य रूपम्, तेन हन्तीति शिशिरघ्नः,.....अयमेव पार्श्ववर्ती युष्मानग्निना हन्तुमायातीत्यर्थः । एवं तर्हि अयमेव हन्तव्यः, उत वारणावते तद्गृहं वा न प्रवेष्टव्यं उत वारणावतमगलैव हास्तिनपुरं प्रत्येवागन्तव्यमित्याशङ्क्याह, महाकक्ष इति । महति कं मुखं क्षिणोति इति कक्षयः शत्रुः, वर्णलोपेन कक्षे, महति शत्रौ सखेतत् त्रयं कर्तुमशक्यम्; ज्ञातकपटो हि बलवान् शत्रुः प्रत्यक्षमेव प्रहरेत् इति भावः । कस्तर्ह्येष उपाय इत्यत आह, विलौकसो विलान्तःप्रविष्टान् युष्मान् स पुरोचनो न दहेत्, तत्र दाहसम्भावना नास्ति; तत्र गृहान्तर्विलं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

One can understand easily how much the latter interpretation excels over the former one in point of clearness and fitting up with the context.

About the third reason quoted above we have nothing to say against it; on the other hand, we do appreciate its necessity and utility.

All these considerations tend to show that the Tikā of Devabodha is useful and consequently worth publishing.

Now, who was this Devabodha? The colophon at the end of the commentary of the आदिपर्व shows that Devabodha was a Sannyāsi of the rank of a परमहंस and he was also a परिवाजक. His Guru was Satyabodha who was also a Sannyāsi of the same rank. Therefrom

we may presume that Devabodha has commented on the Great Epic without any worldly interest.

It is generally supposed that the language of the Mahābhārata is regulated by the principles laid down by **महेश** and not by Pāṇini; but Devabodha says in his prefatory verses that it was regulated by the **महेश्वर** School of Grammar.

Mr. Dandekar has constituted the text of the present volume from three manuscripts, hitherto available. The manuscripts are—B. belonging to the Oriental Institute, Baroda (No. 11372); b. a Devanāgarī manuscript belonging to the same institute (No. 12928); C. a manuscript in the Government collection under the care of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (No. 3397: *Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. V, p. 150). He has fixed up the correct reading by comparing all the three manuscripts and often with the help of the commentary of Arjunamīśra. Our editor has, however, brought about improvements at some places upon the MSS.-text. In the constituted text, he has restored Saṁdhis on the principle of clarity and has adopted numbers of ślokas and adhyāyas from the critical edition of the Mbh. published by B.O.R.I. The text has been divided into paragraphs according to sections; complete lines or verses from the text are given in separate lines. In the footnotes he has cited the sources of the quotations in the commentary, where possible. In short, he has tried his best to make it a successful and useful edition and it is certainly a success.

The editor has informed us, in his Introduction, that Devabodha's commentary on **सभा, उद्योग, भीष्म** and **द्रोण** is also available and the Institute intends publishing it in course of time. We congratulate the editor on his laudable attempt and request him to note that, in view of the success he has achieved in his other works already published, the completion of the publication of the present commentary is a great desideratum, for which the students of the Mahābhārata and Oriental Studies would be eagerly waiting.

KSHITIMOHAN SEN and  
NAGENDRANATH CHAKRAVARTI.

**THE LAST PESHWA AND THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS.** By P. C. GUPTA  
Pp. 113. Price Rs.6. S. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta.

This study of the life of the last Peshwa in exile is a continuation of the author's previous work on Bajī Rao II and the East India Company. But it may also be read as an independent volume. Bajī Rao II is not certainly an inspiring figure. A dissertation on his life in exile would appear to many as perhaps unnecessary. But history is not made by heroes only but by weaklings and incapables as well and we should certainly concern ourselves with all factors noble and ignoble, inspiring as also dispiriting if we are to understand aright the logic of history. We should be grateful to the author for choosing a subject which is not attractive and popular but which at the same time required patient research in the interest of history.

We had a very unsatisfactory picture of the exile at Bithur. There was the temptation to think of this man of forty-three, still in the vigour of his manhood, eating out his heart in exile. We were almost inclined to believe vague rumours of his intrigues with Lahore and Katmandu Durbars. But the author has definitely proved that though some intrigues were

carried on in the ex-Peshwa's name 'by the persons about him', Baji Rao II lacked initiative even in conspiracies.

At Bithur, Baji Rao II did not cling to unreal hopes as fallen monarchs do. At the same time we feel that it was not a calm and dignified repose. Malcolm had made generous provision for the fallen monarch, but nobody could think that he would live so long. The author quotes Kaye's statement that the longevity of Baji Rao II was spoken of as one of Malcolm's offences. The comments of the *Delhi Gazette*, quoted by the author, very fully illustrates this impatience, official as also non-official European. It was said that 'the sum paid to Baji Rao would have constructed a Ganges canal or made a railway from Calcutta to Delhi'. It was even suggested, 'When royalty in Europe abdicates or is deposed it lives on alms'. In view of this attitude it was only natural that Nana Sahib, his adopted son, was refused a pension. But it must not be overlooked that the generous provision made by Malcolm helped more than any other thing to make the ex-Peshwa forget his former state and sink gradually into oblivion. At Bithur, Baji Rao decided disputes among the Marathas, performed religious ceremonies, fed the Brahmins, at times visited places of religious interest, and constructed buildings and decorated them lavishly. The sorrow of the exile's life was relieved by five fresh arrivals in his seraglio. He had married six times beforehand. But all his life's partners of the days of his greatness were dead by 1830.

This life of a British pensioner in a backwater, caused the British very little anxiety. The generous provision made by Malcolm enabled the ex-Peshwa to live in an atmosphere of luxury and idleness. We are perhaps justified in thinking that a more generous treatment of his adopted son might have prevented the Mutiny at Cawnpore from being such a terrible affair as it developed to be under his leadership. It is relevant to note, as the author points out, that the Acting Commissioner who supported Nana Sahib's pension claim described him in 1851 as 'a quiet, unobtrusive young man, not at all addicted to any extravagant habits'.

It is a pity, as the author says, that Baji Rao's palace was destroyed in the Mutiny. As original Marathi sources are so few the author had to rely almost entirely on British official records. But he has given us an excellent study whose interest is biographical as also historical. The Publishers have done their work well.

N. K. SINHA.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA, VOL I. By VIDYĀRATNA P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., Ph.D. Annamalainagar, 1944. Royal 8vo. Pp. lxx, 306. Price Rs.4.

The volume under review contains English translation and short notes on the first three Āhnikas of the Mahābhāṣya. In the Preface the author discusses various topics connected with the three seers of Sanskrit Grammar—Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The author understands his subject and his notes and translations are quite good so far as they go. The Preface, however, though giving a lot of information about Pāṇini and his followers, is not up-to-date and it is not possible to accept all the statements contained in it.

On page xiii we read: The word पश्यति makes us infer that Patañjali considered him aṣṭi. The passage referred to occurs in the *Bhāṣya* on जनसनखनां सञ्ज्ञातोः vi. 4. 42 and runs thus: पश्यति त्वाचार्यो भवतीह

विप्रतिषेधस्ततो हल्यहणं करोति। We are all familiar with such suggested senses in the writings of Rāghavabhaṭṭa and other commentators but can hardly accept them as proper inferences in the domain of historical research.

On page li we find: 'His (Patañjali's) knowledge of architecture is seen from the following:

कृतश्मश्रुश्च पुनः श्मश्रूणि कारयति (M.B. under VI-1-127).'

In the Mahābhāṣya on इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ऋक्खं vi. 1. 127: we find न हि सुक्तवान् पुनर्मुञ्क्ते न च कृतश्मश्रुः पुनः श्मश्रूणि कारयति। ननु च पुनः प्रवृत्तिरपि दृष्टा। सुक्तवानपि पुनर्मुञ्क्ते कृतश्मश्रुश्च पुनः श्मश्रूणि कारयति। सामर्थ्यात् तच्च पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्भवति। भोजनविशेषाच्छिल्पिविशेषाद्वा।

It is clear from the above passage that कृतश्मश्रुः means 'one who has already shaved' and शिल्पिविशेष refers to 'a barber who is an artist' and not to an architect.

On page xxxii we read: 'Pāṇini is the author of *Pātālaviṣayam* or *Jāmbavativijayam* also'. This statement must be taken with more than the proverbial grain of salt. The question has been threshed out in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1.

Coming now to the Paspasāhnikā, the very first words of the Mahābhāṣya अथ शब्दानुशासनम् have been the subject of much dispute. The exact meaning of the particle *atha* and of the compound *śabdānuśāsanam* have been discussed at great length by annotators and commentators and even poets and poetasters have aspired to give us the sense of the entire expression. One poet writes:

गुर्वन्तिके क्रिया पूर्वं संज्ञयार्थावबोधनम् ।

करोति पत्युर्व्यतिरथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

In the presence of the elders the (bashful) young bride instructs her husband in love by means of gestures, then (after the elders have moved away) she conveys her instructions in words.

The following stanza from the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparvan, ccxxix, 76) will be read with interest in this connexion:

श्वश्रूश्चरयोरप्ये वधूः प्रेक्ष्यान्शासत ।

अन्वशासच्च भर्तारं समाज्ञायामिजल्पति ॥

The daughter-in-law storms at her servants in the presence of her father-in-law and mother-in-law. And she instructs her husband, sends for him and talks to him (in their presence).

This is all very interesting but we are not concerned with it just at present. What is a matter of moment to us now is the authorship of the words—अथ शब्दानुशासनम्. According to several ancient writers this is the very first rule of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. Thus Medhātithi says in his Bhāṣya on Manu i. 1: पौत्रवेष्ट्यपि ग्रन्थेषु नैव सर्वेषु प्रयोजनाभिधानमात्रियते। तथाहि भगवान् पाणिनिरनुज्ञैव प्रयोजनम् अथ शब्दानुशासनम् इति सूत्रसन्दर्भमारभते, i.e., even in human compositions (the canon regarding) the mention of the object and aim (of the particular treatise) is not observed in all cases; thus

the reverend Pāṇini begins his series of rules अथ शब्दानुशासनम्, etc. without so much as a mention of the object (of the study). It is clear from this statement of Medhātithi that he regards अथ शब्दानुशासनम् as the first rule of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Patañjali, however, while apologizing for Pāṇini's use of the word वृद्धि in his rule वृद्धिरादैच् says that the word has been used at the very beginning for the sake of auspiciousness: कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति ? एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मध्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 40). Thus according to Patañjali, वृद्धिरादैच् is the first rule of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. According to Bhartṛhari, Kaiyaṭa and others also अथ शब्दानुशासनम् is the first sentence of Patañjali. Thus Kaiyaṭa who follows Bhartṛhari says: भाष्यकारो विवरणकारत्वाद् व्याकरणस्य साक्षात् प्रयोजनमाह—अथ शब्दानुशासनमिति ।

This difference of opinion on the authorship of अथ शब्दानुशासनम् does not appear to us hard to reconcile. It is well-known that ancient sūtra treatises generally begin with अथ and it is just possible that the first rule in all or most ancient works on grammar was अथ शब्दानुशासनम् and since it was so common it was not felt as the first rule. (Readers of Edgar Wallace will appreciate this point.) It was looked upon as a name of these works. This is why Patañjali refers to वृद्धिरादैच् as the first rule.

On page 33 we find चत्वारि शृङ्गाणि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । This is the reading in all the printed editions of the Mahābhāṣya that we have come across and Kielhorn does not note any variant. But since नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताः is a compound च at the end is clearly superfluous. The expression is evidently borrowed from the Nirukta (इतौमानि चत्वारि पदजातान्यनुक्रान्तानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । i. 12) and the correct reading would therefore appear to be नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च ।

On page 78 अविज्ञानत एतदेवं भवति । सूत्रत एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । आतश्च सूत्रत एव । यो ह्युत्सूत्रं कथयेन्नादो गृह्येत is translated : 'This is with the dullard; for words are learnt only from sūtras. If, on the other hand, one deviates from sūtra, the sound alone and not the substance, will be taken into account' with the foot-note that 'नादः may mean Sound or not this'.

The expression आतश्च सूत्रत एव has been left out in the translation. And though Kaiyaṭa assigns both senses to nādaḥ it is clear that it can mean only 'not it' here. No doubt the sentence is irregular but such irregularity is not uncommon in Sanskrit. Thus under i. 2. 64. 29 we find in the Mahābhāṣya: यो हि गामश्च इति ब्रूयादश्वं वा गौरिति न जातुचित् सम्प्रत्ययः स्यात्. Similarly we find in the Manusmṛhitā:

यश्चैतान् प्राप्नुयात् सर्वान् यश्चैतान् केवलास्त्यजेत् ।

प्राप्यणात् सर्वकामाणां परित्यागो विशिष्यते ॥ ii. 95.

The annotator does not discuss the gender of शक्यम् in शक्यश्चानेन श्रमांसादिभिरपि क्षुत् प्रतिहन्तुम् (p. 60) nor has he anything to say on the exposition of धर्मनियमः as धर्माय नियमः (p. 58). These are two very interesting points of grammar and it is only pressure on space that prevents us from discussing them.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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Note on the genealogy and chronology of the Vākātakas.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR.

The discovery of the Basim plates<sup>1</sup> has thrown new light on the genealogy and chronology of the Vākātakas, and the reconstruction of their history by previous writers is now completely out of date. We now know that after the death of Pravara-sena I there was a partition of the kingdom, and two portions of it were ruled over by two branches of the family. Prof. Mirashi, while editing these plates, has clearly brought out this point and given a complete genealogy of these two branches. Dr. Altekar is the only scholar who has made a comprehensive study<sup>2</sup> of the history of the Vākātakas after this new discovery. But unfortunately his scheme of chronology rests upon very weak foundations, and he has completely ignored some valuable data. I propose, therefore, to study the question afresh in order to fix the dates of the Vākātaka kings as closely as possible.

The Rithpur plates<sup>3</sup> of the *Mahādevī Prabhāvatī-guptā* refer to her as 'sāgra-varṣa-śata-dīva-putra-pautrā'. The editor of the plates translates it as follows: 'who has sons and grandsons. a life of full hundred years and will (in the end) live in heaven (or in case *Dīva* has been engraved for *Dīva*: who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years).' It appears that the word read as *dīva* is really *dīva* and is a mistake for *jīva*, and that the passage really means that Prabhāvatī-guptā lived for more than hundred years and had her sons and grandsons living at the time.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever may be the exact meaning, the passage clearly shows that the queen-mother Prabhāvatī-guptā was more than 100 years old at the time when the grant was made, viz., the 19th regnal year of her son Pravara-sena II.

Unfortunately due notice has not been taken of this fact in fixing the chronology and genealogy of the Vākātakas, and some scholars have deliberately ignored the plain meaning of the words. Thus the editor of the plates remarks that 'the expression need not be interpreted too literally. What is meant here is that Prabhāvatī-guptā lived for a long time'. In support of this view he refers to V. A. Smith's comment on the interpretation of a similar expression which occurs in many Vākātaka grants, viz., *Varṣa-śatum = abhivardhamāna-kośadāṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-putra-pautriṇaḥ*, applied to Prthivī-sena. V. A. Smith commented<sup>5</sup> on this passage that 'the expression "a hundred years" need not, of course, be taken literally'. Now, the exact meaning of this passage is not clear. Fleet rendered it as one 'who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a

<sup>1</sup> The plates were first published in *PLHC*, III, 449. Its importance was pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*IHQ*, XVI, 182; XVII, 110). It was finally edited by Prof. Mirashi in *EL*, XXVI, 137.

<sup>2</sup> *New History of Indian People*, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar, Ch. V.

<sup>3</sup> *JPASB*, XX, 53.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar has also adopted this view in his *Select Inscriptions*, p. 416, fn. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *JRAS*, 1914, p. 324.

hundred years'.<sup>1</sup> According to V. A. Smith it means that 'his treasures, means of government and line increased during a hundred years and that he had sons and grandsons'.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is not quite clear whether the 'hundred years' refer to the duration of Prṛthivī-śeṇa's life or the period of prosperity that elapsed before him. In any case it differs from the very clear and definite statement in the Rithpur plates that Prabhāvatī-guptā lived for more than hundred years. There is no reason why the figure of hundred years should not be taken literally in both these expressions. Thus although we may not be quite sure whether Prṛthivī-śeṇa lived for hundred years or not, there can be no question that Prabhāvatī-guptā was more than 100 years old in the 19th regnal year of Pravara-sena II. Such expressions are very unusual, and for the moment I can only think of another instance in Indian epigraphy, *viz.*, the Khajarahi Inscription which refers to the Candella king Dhaṅga as *jīvitvā śaradām śatam*,<sup>3</sup> which Kielhorn translates as 'living rather more than hundred years'. Now the scholars<sup>4</sup> have unhesitatingly accepted this expression to indicate that Dhaṅga lived for a hundred years or more, and I do not see any reason why we shall not assume that Prabhāvatī-guptā was more than hundred years old in the 19th regnal year of her son Pravara-sena II.

This assumption enables us to fix the date of the Vākātaka kings far more precisely than has hitherto been possible. If Prabhāvatī-guptā lived to an old age of more than hundred years it is only reasonable to assume that she survived her brother Kumāra-gupta I, who was probably the eldest son of his father. It is, of course, not impossible that Kumāra-gupta also lived for more than hundred years and was considerably younger than his sister. But in all cases where nothing definite is known, we should proceed on the basis of a reasonable and probable state of things, rather than an unusual and unlikely possibility. We shall, therefore, be fully justified in holding that Prabhāvatī-guptā passed her hundredth year *after* and not *before* 455 A.D., when her brother Kumāra-gupta died.

Now it is well-known that when Prabhāvatī-guptā became a widow she was regent for her son Divākara-sena for at least 13 years. It is also generally accepted that Divākara-sena died while yet a minor, that his younger brother Dāmodara-sena, another minor, succeeded him, and that Prabhāvatī continued to be the regent till the latter came of age and assumed full powers of administration, under the name of Pravara-sena II.<sup>5</sup>

Now according to these assumptions Pravara-sena could not possibly ascend the throne before 437 A.D., as his 19th regnal year, when his mother was more than 100 years old, would fall after and not before 455 A.D. Besides, as he came to the throne immediately after he had become a 'major' (i.e., about 21 years of age) we may further assume that the period during which his mother acted as regent, for him and his elder brother, could not be earlier than 417 to 436 A.D.

This shows that Prabhāvatī-guptā did not become a widow till after the death of her father Candragupta II. This cuts at the very root of the reconstruction of the history of the Vākātakas as proposed by Dr. Altekar. According to him the whole period of regency (390-410 A.D.) fell within the reign of Candragupta II 'who helped the regency administration by sending experts and appointed the famous poet Kālidāsa as one of the tutors for his grandsons'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, III, 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, I, 146.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. H. C. Ray in *DIHI*, II, 684.

<sup>5</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> This view, based upon very late traditions about a Kuntala king, seems to be at the root of Dr. Altekar's hypothesis. Apart from the unreliable character of the tradition itself there seems to be no valid reason for regarding Pravara-sena II, or

In order to support this view Dr. Altekar has assumed that Prabhāvatī-guptā died at the ripe old age of about 75, ignoring altogether the express statement in the Rithpur plates, referred to above. Curiously enough, Dr. Altekar has accepted the second expression, noted above, to mean that the Vākāṭakas were ruling prosperously for about a hundred years before the accession of Prthivī-sena.<sup>1</sup> This discrepancy seems to weaken the hypothesis of Dr. Altekar to a very great extent, if not demolish it altogether.

Dr. Altekar's position is rendered hopeless if we put any faith in the Rāma-gupta episode, so strongly advocated by him. For according to this story, Candragupta must be regarded as a young man, at least not above 40, at the time of his accession; for otherwise his love-overtures to Dhruvadevi, and subsequent marriage with her, become very incongruous. Now as Candragupta II ascended the throne not earlier than 375 A.D. he must have been born not earlier than 335 A.D. and his daughter Prabhāvatī-guptā could not have been born before 355 A.D. Pravara-sena's 19th regnal year would then fall later than 455 A.D. as his mother was then more than 100 years old. Her widowhood and Pravara-sena's accession must, therefore, fall later than respectively 417 and 437 A.D. i.e., long after the dates suggested by Dr. Altekar (390 and 410 A.D.). Besides, Prabhāvatī-guptā would then be about 62 when she became a widow, and her husband could hardly be a young man of 30 as Dr. Altekar supposes.

Even apart from the Rāma-gupta episode we can hardly believe, in the absence of clear and positive evidence, that Candragupta II was more than 40 in 375 A.D. for he ruled till 413 A.D., and personally carried on military expeditions in Western India about 400 A.D. Even if we regard his age as 40 when he ascended the throne, he would have led an active military life at 65 and ruled till 78. The probability, therefore, is that he ascended the throne at about 30 and his daughter Prabhāvatī was born about 365 A.D. We may, therefore, put the accession of Pravara-sena II about 450 A.D.

The Rithpur plates refer to Prabhāvatī-guptā as *Mahārāja-śrī-Dāmodara-sena-Pravara-sena-janani*, i.e., mother of *Mahārāja Śrī Dāmodara-sena* (and) *Pravara-sena*. It has been generally assumed that Dāmodara-sena and Pravara-sena both refer to the same person, the latter being his coronation-name. But in that case it would be somewhat unusual to mention the two names together. Even apart from this, there are weighty objections against this view. As noted above, Prabhāvatī-guptā was more than 100 years old in the 19th regnal year of Pravara-sena II. If this king had ascended the throne immediately after he had become a major, as his identification with Dāmodara-sena would imply, then he would have been of about 40 years of age at the time of the Rithpur grant. As his mother was then more than 100 years old, she must have been more than sixty when Dāmodara-sena *alias* Pravara-sena was born. This must be regarded as very unusual. The only way to avoid it is to suppose that Dāmodara-sena was an elder brother who had ruled before Pravara-sena II, and that the latter came to the throne at a comparatively advanced age. It may be that Divākara-sena had assumed the coronation-name Dāmodara-sena, but it is also not unlikely that Prabhāvatī-guptā had another son of that name, who was younger than Divākara-sena but older

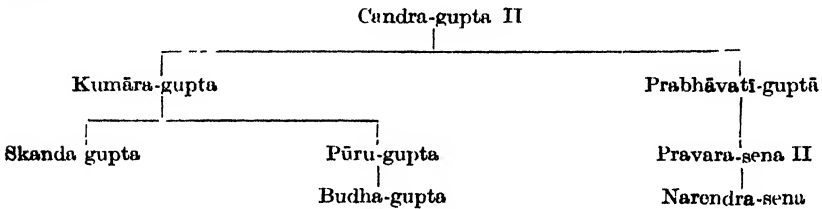
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any other king of the main Vākāṭaka branch, as Kuntaleśa or a Kuntala king, as suggested by Dr. Altekar.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

than Pravara-sena. We may then assume that Prabhāvatī-guptā was regent during the minority of Divākara-sena, but either he or his brother ruled under the name Dāmodara-sena for some years before Pravara-sena II came to the throne about 450 A.D. As his mother was more than eighty about this time, the commencement of the period of regency, when her sons were all minor, must be pushed back by about 30 years if not more. Thus we may hold that she became a widow not later than 420 A.D., the regency period extended up to about 435 A.D., and Dāmodara-sena reigned independently from c. 435 to c. 450 A.D.

Pravara-sena II ruled for at least 27 years<sup>1</sup> and so his reign-period may be regarded as extending from 450 to 480 A.D. The reigns of the next two kings, Narendra-sena and Prṭhivi-ṣeṇa II, probably covered the period 480 to 530 A.D. This chronology of the Vākātaka kings fits in well with their known synchronism with the Gupta emperors as the following table will show :—



Budha-gupta's last-known date is 495 or 500 A.D., and according to the chronology suggested above, his cousin Narendra-sena's reign would end about the same time, though this date is more than 40 years later than that suggested by Dr. Altekar.

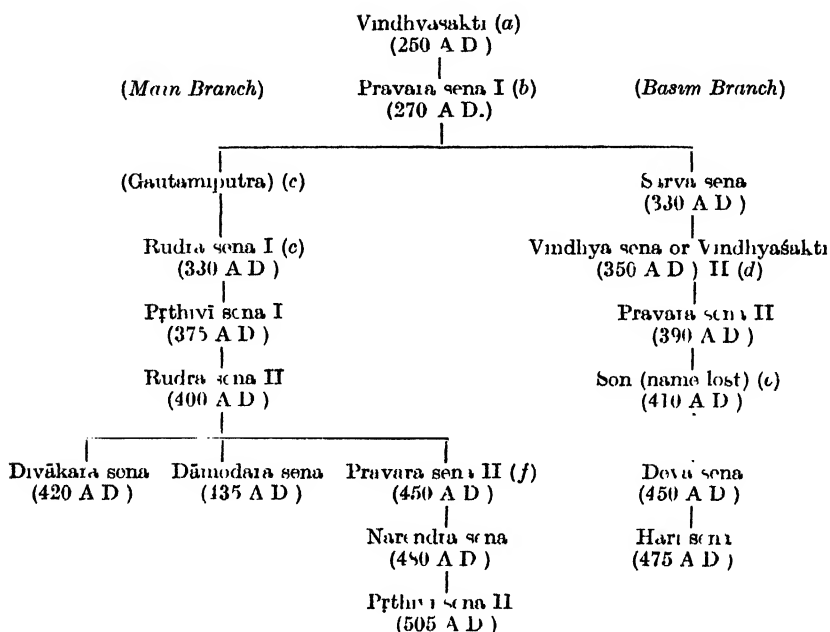
Narendra-sena of the main branch and Hari-sena of the Basim branch were both sixth in descent from Pravara-sena I. As such they may be regarded as contemporaries or very nearly so. It is difficult to understand why Dr. Altekar places Hari-sena later than not only Narendra-sena but also his son and successor Prṭhivi-ṣeṇa II. This is presumably a legacy of the old view, now proved to be wrong, that all the Vākātaka kings ruled in unbroken succession in a single line. But we can hardly accept this view in the absence of any positive evidence. Under normal circumstances Prṭhivi-ṣeṇa II would be regarded as later than Hari-sena. If there is any truth in the list of conquests attributed to Hari-sena in the Ajañtā record, he must have overrun the territory of the main Vākātaka branch.<sup>2</sup> Prṭhivi-ṣeṇa II is said, in the Balaghat plates, to have twice rescued the fortunes of his family. It is just possible, therefore, that he defeated Hari-sena or his successor and restored the fortunes of his family. On the whole he may be regarded as having ruled in the first half of the sixth century A.D. He was probably the suzerain of Vyāghradeva who ruled over Nachne-kitalai and Ganj regions. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri identified this suzerain Vākātaka king with Prṭhivi-ṣeṇa I rather than Prṭhivi-ṣeṇa II, on the ground that down to at least 528 A.D. the princes of the region which intervenes between Nāchnā and Ganj and the proper Vākātaka territory owned the sway of the Gupta empire.<sup>3</sup> But this argument loses its force if we place the end of Prṭhivi-ṣeṇa's reign somewhat later, say about 540 A.D., as might very well be the case.

<sup>1</sup> Pattan plates, *EI*, XXIII, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *PHAI*, 4th Ed., 455.

In view of the above discussion the chronology of the two Vākātaka families may be shown by the following table, the figure within bracket under each name giving the probable date of his accession. The dates are arrived at by counting backwards and forwards from the date of Pravara-sena II discussed above. Each reign has been assumed to have a duration of 25 years, save for reasons stated in the notes, given below.



- (a) There is a passage in the Purāṇas which literally means that Vindhyaśakti, 'after having known 96 years will enter up in the earth' (*DK* I 48-72). Dr D. C. Sircar takes the passage to refer to Vindhyaśakti's reign of 96 years (*IHQ* XVI, 183). Perciter has pointed out the difficulty of interpreting the passage correctly, and is inclined to take 96 years as referring to the reign of the preceding dynasty of the Kulikilas (*ibid*). As Pravara-sena is stated in the Purāṇas to have ruled for 60 years, it is unlikely that Vindhyaśakti also had a long reign. Hence his reign has been assumed to be 20 years. This places his accession almost immediately after the end of the Satavāhana dynasty.
- (b) The Purāṇas assign him a reign of 60 years and considering his extensive conquests and the performance of four *Āśvamedha* sacrifices, the Puranic statement may be accepted as fairly correct.
- (c) Gautami-putra died before his father and did not reign; hence his son must have ascended the throne at a comparatively young age, and ruled for a long period.
- (d) He made a land grant (Basin plots) in his 37th regnal year and may therefore be credited with a reign of 40 years.
- (e) He succeeded his father at the age of 8 and may, therefore, be credited with long reign.
- (f) The dates of Pravara-sena II and his brothers have been discussed above.



**Ibn Ḥazm and his *Jamharatu'l-Ansāb*.**

By MAS'UD ḤASAN, M.A., Calcutta University.

IBN ḤAZM.

Spain in the heyday of Muslim rule produced a number of eminent scholars and gifted savants. These were men distinguished in their own spheres. Thus there were historians like Ibnu'l-Qūtiya (d. 977 A.D.) and Ibn Hayyān (d. 1076 A.D.); geographers like al-Bakrī (d. 1094 A.D.) and al-Idrīsī (d. 1154 A.D.); biographers like Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 1183 A.D.) and Abū Ja'far al-Dabbī (d. 1203 A.D.); poets like Ibn Zaydūn (d. 1071 A.D.) and al-Mu'tamid (d. 1091 A.D.); and philosophers like Ibn Rushd (d. 1198 A.D.) and Ibn Bajjah (d. 1138 A.D.) whose intellectual activities made Andalusia a centre of learning, arts and sciences for medieval Europe. But the man whose encyclopaedic knowledge, versatile genius and vast and varied interests, earned for him the honour of being the greatest scholar and the most original thinker of Spanish Islām was Ibn Ḥazm.<sup>1</sup> He was a historian, a theologian, a traditionalist, a genealogist, a poet and a literateur—all in incredibly combined in one.

'Alī b. Ahmad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥazm,<sup>2</sup> surnamed Abū Muḥammad,<sup>3</sup> was born on Wednesday, the 29th Ramaḍān, 384 A.H. (7th Nov. 994 A.D.<sup>4</sup>), between the time of morning prayer and sunrise in the suburb of Mīnyat al-Mughīra in the eastern quarter of Cordova.<sup>5</sup> He claimed his descent from a Persian freedman of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, but in reality he came of a Spanish Muslim family; and his ancestors lived in Manta Lisham<sup>6</sup> a village in the district of Lابلa in western Spain.<sup>7</sup> His grandfather Sa'īd, who was a convert from Christianity to Islām, was the first to enter Spain; and his father Ahmad filled the office of Vizier under Mansūr b. Abī 'Āmir (d. 1002 A.D.) and his son Muza'ffar (d. 1008 A.D.)<sup>8</sup> Little is known about his boyhood and youth, as also the details of his early education. His father being a man of learning, an elegant writer and an accomplished scholar<sup>9</sup> must have given him a liberal education according to the highest standard of the age.<sup>10</sup> It is recorded that he was brought up in princely luxuries which

<sup>1</sup> Dhalabī, *Tadhkiratu'l-Huffāz*, ed. Hyderabad, Vol. III, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> The genealogical list of his family as written in Ibn Ḥazm's own hand runs thus:

على بن أحمد بن سعد بن حزم بن غالب بن صالح بن خلف بن معدان بن سفيان  
 ابن يزيد الفارسي مولى يزيد بن ابي سفيان بن حرب بن امة بن عبد شمس بن عبد مناف \*

See 'Abdu'l-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, *Al-Mu'jib fi Talkhīṣi Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Dozy, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jamu'l-Udabā*, Vol. XII, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khallikān, trans. De Slane, Vol. II, p. 267; *Encyc. Islām* art. Ibn Ḥazm.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣiḥā fi Akhbār 'Aṣṣamān al-Andalus*, No. 888, Vol. II, p. 409; 'Abdu'l-Wāhid, *Al-Mu'jib*, p. 34; Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥu'l-Tib*, Vol. I, p. 512.

<sup>6</sup> *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 237; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 270. Other versions are Mutliyatm (Yāqūt, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, ed. Wustenfeld, Vol. IV, p. 412) and Mutlijam (Yāqūt, *Irshād al-'Arab*, Gibb Memorial, Vol. V, p. 88).

<sup>7</sup> *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 237.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣiḥā*, No. 40, Vol. I, p. 26; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 270.

<sup>10</sup> Nothing can be said definitely about the nature of education he received, but this much is certain that he was not educated in Islāmic theology, for even at the age of 26, he did not know how to offer prayer. See *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 241.



he rightly deserved as the son of the Prime Minister. His family residence at Balāt Mughīth, which was later destroyed by the Berbers, was very beautiful.<sup>1</sup> He was always sumptuously dressed in silk, and he never sat except on the chair.<sup>2</sup> His love episode with a damsel who was brought up in his father's palace and who inspired him to compose some beautiful verses, belongs to this period.<sup>3</sup>

He was offered the ministerial chair at a very young age; and he adorned the tottering courts of Abdu'l-Rahmān V al-Mustazhir (d. 1024 A.D.) and Hishām al-Mu'tadd (d. 1036 A.D.) with varying fortunes and with intervals of banishment and imprisonment till the intrigues and the jealousy of his countrymen forced him to retire from public life, and he resigned from the post at the early age of twenty-six.<sup>4</sup> After retirement he renounced the world<sup>5</sup> and devoted himself entirely to the acquisition of knowledge, to the writing of books, and to the propagation of his doctrines.<sup>6</sup> His choice fell first on Logic<sup>7</sup> in which he took Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Madhḥijī, better known as al-Kattānī, a native of Cordova, as his teacher.<sup>8</sup> He acquired proficiency in this subject and soon wrote a book entitled *Kitābu'l-Taqrīb*<sup>9</sup> which has not survived. Next he turned to the Islāmic sciences and acquired such mastery that no Spaniard is stated to have acquired before.<sup>10</sup> The incident which led him to apply himself to the study of Islāmic Law (*Fiqh*) is very interesting and has been given by Yāqūt in detail<sup>11</sup>:—

"The reason of his learning theology is that once he attended the funeral ceremony of an old gentleman who was his father's friend. He entered the mosque before the 'Aṣr prayer while a number of people were sitting there and sat down without offering any prayer. His tutor and by tutor he means the man who had brought him up—hinted at him to offer the *Tahīyat*<sup>12</sup> prayer, but he did not follow the hint. Then some of those who were sitting near him said, "You have attained this age and you do not know that the *Tahīyat* is obligatory?"; and at that time he was a young man of 26. (Ibn Ḥazm) says, "I stood up, offered the prayer and then followed what my tutor had wanted me to do by making the sign." "When", he continues, "we returned to the mosque after the funeral prayer together with my friends who were the relatives of the deceased, I hastened to say the *Tahīyat*, but people began to shout, "Sit down, sit down this is no time for prayer." Thus, I came back from the funeral broken-hearted, and the disgrace which I myself had brought upon myself affected my heart very deeply. I said to my tutor: Please take me to the house of Abū 'Abdullāh b. Daḥḥūn, the learned theologian; and he took me

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawqu'l Ḥamīma*, ed. Petrof, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Dh. ḥabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> Dozy, *Spanish Islām*, tr. Stokes, p. 577-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 240; Ibn Ḥazm was not 'deposed' (Ency. Britt., art. Ibn Ḥazm) but resigned of his own free will. See al-Mu'jib, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣila*, No. 888, Vol. II, p. 409; Al-Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fi Akhbārī man Dhahab*, Vol. III, p. 299.

<sup>6</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> Dh. ḥabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, p. 343; *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 237.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Khallikān, tr. De Slanes, Vol. II, p. 268; Yāfi'i, *Mir'at al-Jinān wa 'Ibrat al-Yaqzān*, Vol. III, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> The full title is *Kitābu'l-Taqrīb li Hudūd al-Manṭiq*. See Ibnu'l-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*, ed. Lippert, p. 232; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 237.

<sup>10</sup> Ibnu'l-Qiftī, *Tārīkh*, p. 233.

<sup>11</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, pp. 241-42.

<sup>12</sup> *Tahīyat al-Masjid* is a supererogatory prayer consisting of two *rak'ats* performed just after entering the mosque.

there. I acquainted him with what had happened to me in that place, expressed my desire to take up the science and requested him to act as my guide. He recommended the study of the *Kitābu'l-Muwatta'* of Mālik b. Anas, and I began to read it with him from the following day. I continued attending his lectures and those of others for full three years.'

In Islāmic law Ibn Ḥazm first professed the Shāfi'ite views, but, perhaps under the influence of his teacher Abu'l Khayr Mas'ūd b. Sulaimān, a Zāhirite<sup>1</sup> he was converted to the Zāhirite school.<sup>2</sup> Dāūd al-Zāhirī, the founder of this school insisted on an absolutely literal and external interpretation of the texts of the Qur'ān and the Traditions. He rejected the use of Analogy (*Qiyās*), of the authority of an Imām (*Taqlīd*), and of individual opinion (*Rā'y*); and restricted the consensus of opinion (*Ijmā'*) to the unanimity of the companions of the Prophet alone. Ibn Ḥazm not only relentlessly fought for these ideals, but advanced beyond them,<sup>3</sup> for he extended the use of the Zāhirite doctrines to Dogmatic theology also, whereas the Zāhirites themselves limited them to the province of law (*Fiqh*).<sup>4</sup>

Curiously enough, Ibn Ḥazm, the theologian and the historian, was a brilliant poet too. 'His verses', to quote the words of Dozy, 'exhale a perfume of youth, artlessness, and joy; the allurements of his pure accents is irresistible in the midst of universal devastation—the song of a nightingale heard amidst a tempest'.<sup>5</sup> Although fragments of his poetry are scattered in the pages of the *Nafḥu'l-Ṭib*,<sup>6</sup> the *Mu'jamu'l-Udabā'*,<sup>7</sup> the *Wafayātu'l-A'yān*<sup>8</sup> and others, yet his own composition the *Tawqu'l-Ḥamāmah*<sup>9</sup> a *belles-lettres* monograph on love brings out his poetic gifts to the best advantage. It is a fine specimen of his simple and elegant style and possesses a rare charm of theme and diction. Ḥumaidī (d. 1095 A.D.) his best known pupil says, 'Ibn Ḥazm was well-versed in, and had complete mastery of poetry and *belles lettres*; and I never met a person who could extemporise poems more quickly than he'.<sup>10</sup>

The fact which made him extremely unpopular among his countrymen was his immoderate and fanatical language which he used against some of the

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawq*, p. 98; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣila* No. 1238.

<sup>2</sup> *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, *Al-Mu'jib*, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ency. Religion and Ethics*, art. Ibn Ḥazm.

<sup>5</sup> Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 574. The remark is about the poetry of both Ibn Ḥazm and his patron 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān V, and I have adapted this quotation by substituting 'his' for 'their' in two places.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Dozy, Vol. I, pp. 14-16, Vol. II, pp. 46, 130, 321, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. XII, pp. 243-46, 252-57.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. I, p. 429 (Egyptian edition).

<sup>9</sup> *Tawqu'l-Ḥamāma fi'l-Uṣṣatī wa'l-Ullāf*, ed. D. K. Petrof, Leiden, 1914. Dr. Shaiḫ 'Ināyatullāh of Lahore read a paper on 'Ibn Ḥazm and his Psychology of love as expounded in his work *Tawqu'l-Ḥamāma*, in the All India Philosophical Congress held at Lahore.

<sup>10</sup> Dhahabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, p. 312; Yāfi'i, *Mir'at*, Vol. III, p. 80; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 269.

One day, it is said, Ibn Ḥazm set out to see Abū 'Āmir b. Shaiḫl while it was raining very heavily accompanied by thunder and violent wind. Abū 'Āmir accidentally met him on his way and said, 'You are going to see me in such an inclement weather?' Ibn Ḥazm at once recited these verses in reply:—

و لو كانت الدنيا دونيك لجة      وفي الجو صمق دائم و حريق  
لسهل ودي فيك نكوك مسلكا      و لم يتعذر لي اليك طريق

See *Nafḥu'l-Ṭib*, Vol. I, p. 515.

greatest orthodox divines and religious authorities of Islām who stood high in peoples' esteem.<sup>1</sup> His Umayyad proclivities, on the other hand, added fuel to the fire,<sup>2</sup> and he became an object of hatred and hostility.<sup>3</sup> He was expelled from province to province, people shunned his society and the rulers of various states, induced by his enemies, gave him no shelter. Finally he settled in his village-home Manta Lisham, where he spent the rest of his life vigorously propagating the Zāhirite dogma, diffusing his learning to a number of devoted students who had the courage to defy official and popular ban, and writing indefatigably volume after volume on history, tradition, theology and other allied subjects,<sup>4</sup> till death overtook him on Sunday, the 27th Sha'bān 456 A.H.<sup>5</sup> (15th August, 1064 A.D.)<sup>6</sup> in the afternoon at the ripe age of seventy-one.<sup>7</sup>

### THE JAMHARA.

*Introductory.*—Ibn Ḥazm is one of the most prolific writers of Islām. As far as the number and volume of his writings is concerned he stands, according to Yāqūt, second only to Taharī whose writings when distributed over the days of his life are estimated to be fourteen leaves a day.<sup>8</sup> His son Abū Rāfi' al-Faḍl relates that he possessed 400 volumes consisting of about 8,000 folios in aggregate all composed and transcribed by his father.<sup>9</sup> This list obviously does not include a number of books which never went out of the limits of his estate boundaries, nor those which were put to the flames or torn to pieces in public by his narrow-minded and jealous contemporaries.<sup>10</sup> Fortunately we possess his most valuable work, the *Kitābu'l-Fiṣal fi'l-Milal wal-Ahwā' wal-Niḥal*<sup>11</sup> which won for him the honour of being the first scholar to contribute to the history of comparative religion. It is a pity, however, that his other works have not only been cast into shade by his *magnum opus*, the *al-Milal wal-Niḥal*, but many of them have either been lost to us for ever, or exist in rare manuscripts only. Even making allowance for the ravages of time following the unsettled condition of Spain since the downfall of the Umayyad rule, the prejudice and the fanatical zeal of the Ijmā'-ridden people<sup>12</sup> seem to have been mainly responsible for the loss of a large number of Ibn Ḥazm's works. Some of these less known books and treatises—thanks to modern scholarship—have been rescued from oblivion, as for instance the *Tawqu'l-Ḥamāma*,

<sup>1</sup> 'Imād, *Shadh.*, Vol. III, p. 300; Dhahabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, p. 346; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, pp. 269-70.

<sup>2</sup> Dhahabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, pp. 346-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, pp. 248-49; *Shadh.*, Vol. III, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, pp. 248-49.

<sup>5</sup> *Al-Ṣila*, Vol. II, p. 409; Maqquri, *Nafḥu'l-Ṭib*, Vol. I, p. 512; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh* p. 233; 'Imād *Shadh.*, Vol. III, p. 299; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 270. Dhahabī and Yāqūt give the date as Jumāda I, 457 A.H. also. (See *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 240; *Tadh.*, Vol. III, p. 348).

<sup>6</sup> According to *Ency. of Islām* (art. Ibn Ḥazm) this corresponds to 28th Sha'bān 456 A.H.

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Ṣila*, Vol. II, p. 410, No. 888. His age at the time of his death was 71 years 10 months and 29 days. See 'Imād, *Shadh.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

<sup>8</sup> *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 239.

<sup>9</sup> Dhahabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, 342; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 269.

<sup>10</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, Vol. XII, p. 249; Dhahabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, p. 346.

<sup>11</sup> Edited in Cairo in 4 volumes in A.H. 1317-21, but it is not a critical edition. Prof. Friedländer has translated some extracts of this book into English. Vide *The Heterodoxes of the Shī'ātes*, New Haven, reproduced from *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.*, XXVII and XXIX. An Urdu translation of the first three volumes of this book under the auspices of Translation Bureau, Hyderabad is ready for publication.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Prolegomena*, Vol. III, p. 4 (Paris edition).

the *Risāla fi Fadl al-Andalus*,<sup>1</sup> the *Nuqatu'l-'Arūs*.<sup>2</sup> But there are still many which have not yet seen the light of the day, and among these the *Jamharatu'l-Ansāb* is by far the most important.<sup>3</sup>

*The Title.*—There is a certain amount of uncertainty as regards the title of the book. Various names “جمهرة الانساب”, “الجماهر فى النسب”, “جمهرة انساب العرب” and “الجماهر فى انساب المشاهير”<sup>4</sup> have been cited by different writers. The author himself is not definite on this point. In the Patna MS.<sup>5</sup> the first volume concludes with the following sentence:—

و كمل السفر الاول من كتاب الجماهر فى النسب

while the second volume is introduced in these words:—

الجزء الثانى من جمهرة النسب تاليف الامام العالم الحافظ على بن

احمد بن حزم \*

Again, the concluding remark at the close of the chapter on the Khuzā'ah reads as follows:—

” قال على بن احمد بن سعيد بن حرم المؤلف لهذا الكتاب ود انتهيدنا

من ذكر جمهرة انساب العرب “ \*

and we find “تمت جمهرة الانساب” on the margin as a sub-heading. As the book is not found in the list of Ibn Ḥazm's works compiled by the early writers like Maqqarī, Ibn al-Qiftī, Yāqūt, Abdu'l-Walīd al-Marrākushī, Dhahabī and Ibn Khallikān it is somewhat difficult to establish the title. Ibn Khaldūn who used the book as a source for his chapter on the genealogy of the Arab tribes, (فى اخبار العرب واجبالهم ودولهم منذ مددا الخليفة الى هذا العهد) and who has quoted it there profusely, calls it everywhere simply “الجمهرة”<sup>7</sup> Brockelmann and C. Van Arendonk the contributor of the article on Ibn Ḥazm in *Ency. of Islām*, have given both the names “جمهرة الانساب” and “الجمهرة”<sup>8</sup> Hājī Khalifa calls it “جمهرة الانساب”<sup>9</sup> the title that was adopted by Ibn Ḥazm's predecessors Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 204 A.H.). Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī<sup>10</sup> (d. 967 A.D.) and Ibn Durayd<sup>11</sup> (d. 934 A.D.) for their works on the subject. The present writer is inclined to follow Hājī Khalifa and to call the book *Jamharatu'l-Ansāb*.

*The scope and the subject-matter.*—The book is on the genealogy of the Arab tribes with special reference to their branches established in Spain; the author traces their origin from the earliest times down to his own age.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Bulaq.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. C. F. Seybold.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Friedlaender says, ‘Should the mental products of Ibn Ḥazm be rescued from oblivion to which fanatical zeal and unreasonable neglect had doomed them, he will be acknowledged not only as the unrivalled representative of literary Spain, but as one of the greatest men in the whole domain of Islām.’ *The Heterodoxies*, Intro.

<sup>4</sup> Maqrīzī, *Kitābu Itti'āzi'l-Hunafā*, ed. H. Bunz, Leipzig, p. 8, cited by Goldziher in his article on Ibn Ḥazm. See *Ency. Religion and Ethics*.

<sup>5</sup> While collating this MS. I unfortunately forgot to mark the folio Nos., and hence it is not possible for me to give these numbers when I cite passages from it.

<sup>6</sup> In the Patna MS. we find “جمهر النسب” which is obviously a mistake committed by the copyist.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-'Ibar*, ed. Amīr Shakaib Arsolān, Vol. I, pp. 64, 78 and Vol. II, pp. 17, 38, 115, 122, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, Vol. I, p. 695; *Ency. Islām*, art. Ibn Ḥazm.

<sup>9</sup> *Kashfu'l-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, Vol. II, p. 629.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Tāju'l-'Urūs*, Vol. III, p. 110

His method is as follows. He takes up one important stock, or an eponymous ancestor, or the chief of a confederation of families, and enumerates the chain of their descendants, generation after generation, down to the time he flourished or till the family became extinct. Ibn Ḥazm himself describes the scope of his *Jamhara* in the Introduction:—

فجمعنا في كتابنا هذا تواسع ارحام قبائل العرب و تفرع بعضها من بعض  
و ذكرنا من اعيان كل قبيلة مقداراً يكون من وفء عليه خارجاً من الجهل  
بالانساب و مشرفاً على جمهرتها و بالله تعالى النوفيق \*

Ibn Ḥazm has imposed only one restriction upon himself namely that he has refrained from discussing a family which has not left behind anyone to represent it, unless it has produced a person of importance or has left its mark in any field.<sup>1</sup> The author takes special pains to mention whether a particular family or the branch of a family at any time migrated to or settled in Spain. He tries to locate the family or the tribe, as the case may be, in the particular district, town, city and even the quarter in which it took its abode. He also mentions whether the family was surviving, and, if not, where and when the lineage ceased. Arab pedigree is based on the paternal system but Ibn Ḥazm, wherever possible, traces the descent on the side of the mother as well.

*Summary of the contents*—The work begins with an Introduction in which the author lays stress on the importance of the genealogical sciences. By quoting the verses of the Qur'ān, the Traditions of the Prophet, and the sayings, and the practices of the four Orthodox 'Aliphs, he establishes that a certain amount of genealogical knowledge is obligatory on every adult Muslim, while an advanced study of the Arab lineage is a matter of honour to all and a *fard kifāya* (a collective obligation) for some. Before concluding the introduction, he refutes the oft-quoted saying of the Prophet

“ان علم النسب علم النفع و جهالة لا نضر”<sup>2</sup> whose authenticity he doubts. The division of the Arab in general into various stocks forms the next subject of his discourse. Here he discusses the principal divisions of the Arabs: the 'Adnān, the Qahtān and the Khuzā'ah with special reference to the problem of their descent—viz, whether they are the descendants of Ishmael or not.

As it is usual with the Muslim genealogist, the Banū 'Adnān who are the ancestors of the Prophet have been treated first. Among them the Quraish have been dealt with in great detail, for about one-third of the book has been devoted to them. The author describes each division and sub-division of them *in extenso*. Next the Banū Ilyās and the Banū Qays 'Aylān, the two remaining descendants of Muḍar b. Nazār are described. The other son of Nazār has been dealt with next, followed by very brief accounts of Iyād b. 'Adnān and 'Ak b. 'Adnān, both the tribes having

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥazm's own words are:—

شرطنا ان لا نذكر من ولادات القبائل و اوساطه (٩) الا من اسل و اما من انقرض نسله  
فلا معنى لذكره الا من كان من الصحابة (رض) و انبيائهم و اهل الشرف و نباهة الذكر ولاد من  
ذكرهم او يدعو سبب الى ذكر من انقرض عقبه لشهرته او ببعض الامر و ان انقرضت اعقابهم \*

(See *Jamhara*, Patna MS.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khaldūn justifies this saying of the Prophet and follows the golden mean between the two extreme views, viz.: (1) that its acquisition is obligatory for every Muslim, and (2) that it is of no use. See *Al-'Ibar*, ed. Amīr Shakaib Arsalān, Vol. I, p. 4.

played very insignificant part in the early history of Islām. With them the narrative of the Banū 'Adnān comes to a close.

Dealing with the Banū Qaḥṭān, or the Arab, of Yemanite stock, he goes straight to the Ansārs, who as we know are mainly composed of Aws and Khazraj. These two well-known tribes are very remote descendants of Kahlān b. Saba, yet, on account of their association with and contribution to Islām, they have been assigned the first place by the Muslim writers on Genealogy; and Ibn Hazm has followed them in this respect. After giving an exhaustive account of the Helpers he passes on to the Ghassānids, who like Harab, Tha'labah, 'Imrān and others are the sons of 'Amr b. 'Āmir but form a separate tribe for the simple reason that they drank from the water of Ghassān. Then he leads us back to the sons and the grandsons of Zayd b. Qaḥṭān b. Saba. We then get considerable details about Khiyār b. Mālik b. Zayd and his descendants, and 'Uraib b. Zayd with all his clans and sub-clans. After concluding the account of the Qaḥṭānid Arabs who are said to have descended from Qaḥṭān b. Saba, the author takes up the account of Ḥimyar b. Saba, the founder of the great tribe of Banū Ḥimyar who in course of time built a mighty empire extending from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf in South Arabia. The account of the Yemanite Arabs concludes with them.

The third principal stock, the Khuzā'ah, whose origin is a moot point in the history of Arab genealogy is the subject of the last chapter of the book. The author has appended some additional information relating to the genealogical lore at the end under the following headings:—

- (١) القبائل و البطون المشهورة \*
- (٢) أسماء قبائل العرب و اتصال بعضها ببعض \*
- (٣) الكلام فى مفارقة قحطان و عدنان \*
- (٤) جمهرة من نسب البربر \*
- (٥) قطعة من نسب بنى قصى المولدين \*
- (٦) نبذ من نسب بنى اسرائيل \*
- (٧) قطعة من نسب الفرس \*

The fragmentary character of these discourses and certain other considerations indicate that they form no part of the book, and were apparently added on the completion of the main work.

*Literary and biographical character.*—The framework of the *Jamhara*, as we have just seen, is purely genealogical. But we will hardly do any justice to Ibn Hazm if we overlook its literary, historical and biographical character, for it contains an astonishing quantity of miscellaneous literary, historical and biographical material as well. Instead of giving a dry catalogue of the names of persons, the author, has given biographical accounts of a large number of them. Though writing on genealogy, sometimes he gives such details as the dates of their deaths, the length of their lives, the offices they held, the contribution they made, the wrongs they committed, and the weakness under which they suffered. Thus our author introduces a large number of historical traditions and anecdotes, descriptions of important Arab days and battles, (*Ayyām u'l-'Arab*), explanations of proverbs and curious proper names, and lively accounts of political events and of Arabian antiquities. In this connection the following biographical notices, selected from here and there, will not be found uninteresting:

About Zibriqān <sup>1</sup> a handsome poet and a member of the deputation of the Banī Tamīm that waited upon the Prophet, he says:

Zibriqān is from among the Banī Bahdala and his name is Ḥuṣayn b. Badr. He was a member of the deputation. His descendants at Talbīrah were the first to settle there. When they first entered Spain they settled in a large village called Zabāriqa which was named thus after them. Then the Christians overpowered them, so they shifted to Talbīrah. Their quarter there is known by Haumatu'l-'Arab up to this day. The poet means them while eulogizing Maṣṣūr b. 'Amir and congratulating him for some of his victories:

If the people of Zibriqān wish they can attack. Then they can return to their native place at Zabāriq.

فمن بنى بهدلة الزبرقان و اسمه  
الحصين بن بدر... له وفادة وله عقب  
بطلبيرة لهم بها تقدم وكانوا اول دخولهم  
بالاندلس فزلوا بقرية صحفة تسمى  
الزبارقة نسبت اليهم ثم غلب النصارى  
فانتقلوا الى طلبيرة فمحلهم بها معروفة  
بحومة العرب الى اليوم - و اياهم عنى  
الشاعر فى مدحه للمنصور بن ابي عامر  
حيث يقول تهنية فى بعض فتوحاته -  
فلو شاء اهل الزبرقان تحمّلوا  
فعادوا الى اوطانهم بالزبارق

Here he explains the origin of three Arabian proverbs: <sup>2</sup>

The sons of Dabba b. 'Add are Sa'd b. Dabba who left issues, and Sa'id who has left no issue. The latter who has narrated some Prophetic traditions, was killed by Hārith b. Ka'b who in his turn was killed by Dabba. The three proverbs: 'Is it Sa'd or Sa'id?', 'Hārith the Afflicted', and 'Sword preceded justice', all improvised by Dabba originated regarding this incident.

ولد ضبة بن اد سعد بن ضبة وله  
العقب وسعيد لا عقب له قتله الحارث  
بن كعب وله خبر ثم قتل ضبة الحارث  
بن كعب وفى ذلك صارت الامثال  
الثلاثة اسعد ام سعيد؟ والحارث ذو  
شجون، وسبق السيف العدل - قالها  
كلها ضبة \*

Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'ā <sup>3</sup> the name of the well-known intrepid Khārijite leader is explained thus:

... He had a son whose name was Harab b. Salma the Khārijite belonging to the Azraqite group. He was acknowledged as Caliph for 20 years, and he is no other than Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'ā. Fujā'ā is the title of his father, for once he shifted to Yeman without leaving any trace and then came back to his people all on a sudden (فجأةً)

... وكان له ابن اسمه حرب بن سلمى  
الخارجى الأزرقى سلم عليه بالخلافة  
عشرين سنة وهو قطرى بن الفجاءة،  
والفجاءة لقب لابيه لانه غاب الى اليمن  
ثم اتى قومه فجأة ... \*

<sup>1</sup> See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 43, for his life.

<sup>2</sup> See Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Jamharatu'l-Amthāl* ed. Bombay, p. 97, for details.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 213.

'Anhasa b. Ishāq is described in the following words.

Abū Ḥātim 'Anhasa b. Ishāq a descendant of Hanbal b. Bajāla was a leader of the Banī 'Abbās, and came from Herāt. Muntaṣir during the caliphate of his father made him the Governor of Egypt which post he held for four years and four months, and then came back to Iraq. All these happened in the caliphate of Mutawakkil. None ruled over Egypt on behalf of the Abbāsids like him. He was a very just man, and was condemned as a Khārijite for his strict impartiality and fight for truth. He is the last Arab to rule over Egypt and the last governor to offer his prayer with people and to deliver the weekly sermon.

و من ولد - بنجل بن بجالة ابو حاتم  
عنبسة بن اسحاق ... من قواد بنى  
العباس من اهل هراة ولاة المنتصر  
و هو حينئذ فى خلافة ابيه بمصر  
فبقى عليها اربع سنين و اربعة اشهر  
و رجع الى العراق و كل ذلك فى  
خلافة المتوكل و لم يل مصر لبنى  
العباس مثله كان من اعدل الناس و كان  
يتهم بمذهب الخوارج لشدة عدله  
و لحربه للمعق و هو آخر عربى ولى مصر  
و آخر امير صلى بالناس و خطب \*

Again, the *Jamharatu'l-Ansāb* includes much material that more properly belongs to the history of literature. Poetry and poets have enjoyed special favour at the hand of the author who was himself not a mean poet. He has not only traced the descent of Arab poets but has given other information regarding their lives and works not to speak of copious citation of Arabic verses. If a tribe has produced a number of poets he mentions this also.<sup>1</sup> Minor poets like al-Ṭirimmāh, al-Shammākh and Mutammim b. Nuwaira, and even such obscure poets as Ibnū'l-Aṭnāba, Anas b. Sharma, and Shabīb b. al-Barṣā' have not been neglected. Hutaī'ā<sup>2</sup> and Mansūr b. Zibriqān are among those who have been dealt at considerable length.

Hutaī'ā the poet, his name is Jarwal b. Aws b. Mālik b. Ḥaṭīya b. Makhzūm... Hutaī'ā addresses the following verse to 'Alqama b. 'Allātha whom 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed as the governor of Ḥaurān:

If I met you safe there would have been only very few days between me and my prosperity.

... Ja'far is the son of Qurai' b. 'Awf and is also called Anfu'l-Nāqa (the nose of the she-camel). He was named so because his father slaughtered a she-camel and distributed its flesh among his wives, and gave the head of the she-camel to Ja'far who held it by the nose. Now

الخطينة الشاعر و اسمه جرول بن  
اوس بن مالك بن حويه بن مخزوم  
... "علقمة بن علاثة ولاة عمر بن  
الخطاب حوران و له يقول الخطينة -  
و ما كان بينى لو لقيتك سالما  
و بين الغنى الا ليال قلائل

... ولد قريش بن عوف جعفر و هو  
انف الناقة لقب بذلك لان اباه نحر  
ناقة فقسمها فى نسائه و اعطى جعفر  
راس الناقة فاخذ بانفه فقبل له ما هذا  
فقال انف الناقة فللقب فكان ولده

<sup>1</sup> For example, "وكان من بنى اسد شعراء كثيرة" See *Jamhara*, Bankipore MS

<sup>2</sup> Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature*, pp. 44-45.



people asked him what it was. He said, 'The nose of the she-camel', and thus they began to call him by this name. His sons, however, were enraged with this epithet till Ḥuṭai'a composed the following verse in their praise:

These are the people who are the nose and others are tails. Who can make the nose of the she-camel equal with its tail ?

The poet Maṣṣūr Zibriqān b. Salma associated himself with Harūn Rashīd and under his patronage reached to very high positions. At first he was a Khārijite of the Ṣafarī group. He then entered the city of Raqqa and supported himself against a pillar which belonged to Dā'ūd the magician the Rāfidite. Dā'ūd came there, offered his prayer, and supported himself against the pillar till it was in between them. Dā'ūd then began to speak on the Imāmiya faith with his followers. Thus Maṣṣūr was in no time converted to the Imāmiya views of the Rāfidites. But he always used to display his indifference towards the house of 'Alī till one day 'Attābī recited one of his poems on the Rāfidite faith before Rashīd. Rashīd was enraged and at once wrote to the ruler of Rās al-'Ain ordering him to crucify Maṣṣūr after amputating his tongue. But the messenger entered Rās al-'Ain when people were coming back from the funeral ceremony of Maṣṣūr.

يغضبون منه الى ان قال العطيئة  
مادحاهم -

قوم هم الانف و الاذنان غيرهم  
و من يسارى بانف الغافة الدنيا

منصور الشاعر البرقان بن سلمة ...  
صحب الرشيد و بلغ عذدة المبالغ  
العظيمة - و كان اول امره خارجيا صغريا  
فدخل مدينة الرقة فاستد الى سارية  
فاذا بها سارية داؤد الرقى الرافضى  
فاتى داؤد و صلى و استد الى السارية  
صارت السارية بينهما و جعل داؤد يتكلم  
فى الامامة مع اصحابه فرجع منصور  
من حينه الى مذهب الامامية من  
الرافضة و كان يظهر للرشيد الانحراف  
عن بن على الى ان انشده العتابى  
يوماً شعرا له فى مذهب الرافضة فحرد  
الرشيد فكتب من وقته الى صاحب  
راس العين يامره بصلب منصور بعد  
قطع لسانه فدخل البريد راس العين  
و الناس منصرفون من جنازة منصور \*

Tradition and Theology were the most favourite subjects with the author, and he never loses any opportunity of discussing them. He records a number of Apostolic sayings and anecdotes. If a person applied himself to the study of these two principal branches of Islāmic learning he mentions it with great care. In each case he points out whether a person took part in the transmission of the Ḥadīth. If a chain of authority (*sanad*) is peculiar in any respect, or is weak or strong he explains it<sup>1</sup>. Not only this but he

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥazm describes a peculiar *Sanad* in one place:-

... و روينا من طريقه حديثا فيه اربعة من الصعانة فى نسق لم يقع هذا الاتفاق فى  
خبر غيرة وهم ؟ كما حدثنا احمد بن محمد بن عبد الله الطلمنكى قال نا القاضى ابو بكر  
محمد بن احمد بن يعقوب بن مفرح حدثنا القاضى محمد بن ابوب الرقى الصموت حدثنا  
احمد بن عمرو بن عبد الخالق البراءنا ابراهيم بن سعيد الجوهري ثنا سفيان بن عيينة  
عن الزهرى عن السائب بن يزيد عن حوطب بن عبد العزى عن ابن السعدى عن

occasionally gives his own opinion about the authenticity and genuineness of a tradition and the trustworthiness of a narrator.<sup>1</sup> These digressions—if I may be allowed to use this term—do not irritate the reader. Rather, coming in the midst of those dull, monotonous and wearisome lists of endless names they serve as relief and delight him. Again, the historical importance of these short notes cannot be overemphasized specially because they come from the pen of a fifth century writer.

*The Manuscript.*—As already stated the *Jamharatu'l-Ansāb* is still in manuscript, but fortunately we possess more than half a dozen manuscripts of this valuable work. Of these six are known to exist outside India in Tunis, Masjid al-Zaitūna;<sup>2</sup> in Madrid, Real Acad. de la Hist.<sup>3</sup> which is a copy of the former; in Paris, Bibl. Nat.;<sup>4</sup> in Berlin;<sup>5</sup> Stambul<sup>6</sup> and Cairo.<sup>7</sup> Three copies are known to be in India which are preserved in the Rampur State Library, the Maktabatu'l-Sindiya<sup>8</sup> and the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore. The Rampur MS. contains 296 folios and the date of its transcription, as given by the cataloguer, is A.H. 984.<sup>9</sup>

The Bankipore MS.<sup>10</sup> which I have consulted and from which Mr. Ṣalāḥu'l-Dīn Khudā Bukhsh published extracts in his *Contribution to the History of Islāmic Civilization*,<sup>11</sup> though not 'splendid'<sup>12</sup> is fairly good. It comprises 163 folios, and both the volumes are bound in one. It does not contain the date of transcription nor does it bear the name of the scribe. Written in clear but rather cursive and scholarly *Naskh* it is unfortunately full of omissions and obliterations. It contains a number of additions and corrections as well. Up to folio 53 diacritical points have not been given but from folio 54 onwards not only these points are given, though carelessly, but the writing also differs. A close examination of the manuscript leaves no doubt in our mind that the copyist was not a scholar of Arabic, for he has committed a number of flagrant mistakes of spelling and grammar, for instance "فنا" for "فتى", "الموضع" for "الموضع", "فاطمة طعمة" for "فاطمة طعمة", "نبا" for "نبا", and "انكهن" for "انكهن".

It is difficult to fix the date of the transcription of the manuscript, but from the style of writing and from the fact that it contains a note on the fly-leaf dated A.H. 1089<sup>13</sup> (A.D. 1678), it is perhaps safe to assume that it

عمر بن الخطاب (ص) قال قال رسول الله ما ازال من هذا المال من غير مسئلة ولا اسراف

نفس فاقبله - السائب صاحب و حوخط صاحب و ابن السعدي صاحب و عمر صاحب \*

<sup>1</sup> About one Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh his opinion is:—

"هو مذكور بالكذب في الحديث مشهور بذلك"

<sup>2</sup> Cat. No. 5014.

<sup>3</sup> Codera, o.c., p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Cat. No. 5829.

<sup>5</sup> Verz. 9510.

<sup>6</sup> 'A. Amiri 'Ar. 2413.

<sup>7</sup> V, 152.

<sup>8</sup> *Tadhkiratu'l-Nawādir min al-Makhtūṭati'l-'Arabīya* Hyderabad, p. 75. The information was furnished by Shāh Ihsānullāh of Sind.

<sup>9</sup> Cat. No. 94. Vide *Fihristi Kutubi Rāmpūr Library*, p. 633.

<sup>10</sup> In fact there are two manuscripts (Cat. Nos. 1101 and 1102) in the Bankipore Library, one complete and the other incomplete ending in the middle of the genealogical account of the Banū Mālik b. Kināna, but the latter being very recent and perhaps a copy of the former is not of much value for our purposes. Vide *Cat. of Arabic and Persian Mss. in the Oriental Library, Bankipore*, Vol. XV, pp. 195-98.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. I, pp. 320-56.

<sup>12</sup> Khudā Bukhsh, *Islāmic Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 320.

<sup>13</sup> The note runs as follows:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين من منن الله وله الحمد على عبده وابن عبد ربه الفقير اليه

حسن بن جابر الغفاري ومن الله تعالى بالشراء الصحيح... بتاريخ جمادى الاولى

سنة تسع وثمانين و الف \*

was copied towards the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century, A.D.

*Conclusion.*—As Ibn Ḥazm wrote his *Jamharatu'l-Ansāb* in A.H. 450<sup>1</sup> that is not more than 6 years before his death, it is needless to emphasize that it embodies the results of his ripe experiences and mature studies. It bears moreover testimony to the quality of originality most prized in Ibn Ḥazm and which marks him out as one of the most eminent scholars in the whole field of Arabic literature. This is the first and the only book extant which is devoted exclusively to the genealogy of the Arab tribes;<sup>2</sup> and although there are traces that the author has derived some of his material from his predecessors to wit Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 763 A.D.), his son Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 819 A.D.), Tabarī (d. 923 A.D.) Mas'ūdī (d. 956 A.D.) and others, yet the greater part of his book contains information gathered from the lips of trustworthy recorders, and appears to be based on his own researches. Accuracy, completeness of details, sound judgment, wide outlook, and keen power of observation—qualities which are usually associated with Ibn Ḥazm—have nowhere been displayed so well as in this book. These features have made the *Jamhara* an indispensable source of information in connection with the Arab genealogical studies.<sup>3</sup> A carefully-prepared edition of the book will be welcomed by all students of Arab genealogy and history.

<sup>1</sup> Codera, *Mission historica en la Argelia* Y. Yuncz, Madrid, 1892, p. 42, cited by Brockelmann in *Gesch. der. Arab. Litt.*, Vol I, p. 695, and *Ency. Islam*, art. Ibn Ḥazm.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Mubarrad's *Nasabu 'Adnān wa Qahqān* practically on the same subject and recently edited by Maulānā 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Maḥmūd is too brief to be considered here.

<sup>3</sup> Codera used it as a source for his article on the Hammudids and Tudjibids. See *Ency. Islam*, art. Ibn Ḥazm.

*N.B.*—I take this opportunity of acknowledging my debt and of offering my thanks to my teacher Dr. M. Z. Siddiqī, M.A., Ph.D., of Calcutta University, who guided me throughout in writing this paper. Thanks are also due to my teacher the late Prof. M. M. Haq, M.A., of Presidency College, Calcutta, who kindly took the trouble of going through the manuscript very carefully and gave some very valuable suggestions.

## **Economic Condition of the Korkus of Melghat Forest.**

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

In this note, a brief study is made of the economic condition of the Korkus of Melghat Forest.

The Melghat taluq is situated in the Amraoti district of Berar; it lies between 21° 10' and 21° 47' N. and 76° 38' and 77° 40' E. and is approximately 1,609 square miles in area. Portions of it has rich black soil and near Dharni and Bairagarh, the forest has disappeared giving way to cultivated land. Elsewhere it is mainly forest, nominally at least State Forest, although portions are not looked after by the Forest Department. On the whole, 'the country is extremely rugged and broken into a succession of hills and valleys. The climate of the tract has a very evil reputation . . . A severe type of malaria prevails at the end of the rains and the beginning of cold weather . . . In the hot weather, heat in the valleys is intense.' Between 1881 and 1891 the population increased by 10·8% in spite of these conditions but in the next decade 'the population declined by 22% due to famine and emigration on account of the constant extension of the Melghat reserves'. The majority of the present inhabitants are Korkus.<sup>1</sup>

The Melghat Forest Division proper covers an area of 1,187 square miles and the entire area is hilly with an elevation varying from 1,200 to 1,600 feet on the average. The soil is generally a dark brown loam, with a good deal of medium sized boulder and is quite fertile. The rainfall is double that in the plains of Berar.

Apart from the deadly type of malaria mentioned earlier, the villages in the forest suffer from an inadequate water supply. In the higher parts the villagers have to descend to deep valleys to get water for domestic use and for drinking.

In the forests there are plenty of *Samban* (*Rusa Unicolor*), the bison (*bibos laurus*) and barking deer (*Muntiacus Muntjak*) porcupines and pigs, all of which damage crops. Tigers are also numerous and carry off and kill a large number of cattle each year. 'The total population of the forest villages on March 31st, 1935, was 12,394 mostly Korkus'.<sup>2</sup> There were at that time 134 inhabited villages in the six forest Ranges.

The investigations recorded here were carried out among the Korkus of the Melghat Forest Division and apply to them. Two visits were paid by the writer in 1938 and in 1941.

The Melghat Forest Division along with the rest of Berar was part of Nizam's dominion until 1853, when it was assigned to the British Government. At that time the Korkus lived by shifting cultivation and a certain amount of hunting, and by sale of timber and firewood. Within five years of British occupation of Berar, forest reservation was introduced and shifting cultivation was forbidden by 1878. An attempt was made to control felling of timber over the whole area as early as 1872 but as this led to serious discontent among the aboriginal forest population a part of the area was left unreserved. At present the Korkus are given selected

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<sup>1</sup> Central Provinces District Gazetteers- Amraoti District, Bombay 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Summarised from the Working Plan of Melghat Forest Division (official publication of the Forest Department).

areas, near villages if possible, for settled cultivation at a nominal rent. They are also allowed to obtain a free supply of firewood, of thorn and branches for fences, and some timber for house building. Free grazing of cattle is also allowed. In return, the villagers have to do certain forest work such as (a) cutting and burning exterior boundary lines, (b) repair of roads. Some payment is made for such work,—not at the prevailing rate, but at a lower rate in consideration of these concessions. In addition the Korkus are expected to work in the Government timber depots, for payment at a scheduled rate. 'Departmental exploitation of timber was introduced in 1931-32 in Sembadoh range and gradually extended to the other five ranges.' Before that there was only licensed timber cutting on independent basis.

Burning of undergrowth and of dry leaves is carried out during January and February, for a distance of about half a furlong on either side of the roads, to create firelines. The rate of payment in 1940-41 was Rs.2-8-0 to Rs.3 per mile of such burning and clearing. It was stated by the local Forest officials that 5 to 6 persons (boys and old men) working for a fortnight could finish this job. The rate for individual per day comes to half anna only.

For ordinary road repairs the rate per mile was said by officials to be Rs.6 to Rs.12. The villagers gave a lower figure. For a very bad condition of the road, daily wages were paid at the rate of As.4 per men, As 3 for women and As.2 for boys. Ordinary road repairs required the services of about 15 persons per mile (about three weeks). Here again the average rate comes to half anna per diem. The rate was checked by observing actuals for repairing in February, 1941. Fashioning of timber (previously felled) in departmental yards, starts late in October and goes on till the middle of June. During rains—right through the agricultural season, keeping an eye on the needs of Korkus for cultivation (said the officials)—felling operations are taken up, to clear certain areas and also to cut down selected trees. About ten days' service in the month is required of the Korku adults, and wages at As.4 per day is paid. The departmental officials stated that there is always shortage of labour and that the Korkus grumble at the work, and at one time had left villages near some of the timber depots. As however all land in the forest is allotted for cultivation by the Forest Department officials, and new villages cannot be started without permission it appears that the villagers gradually returned to such work. For example, it was learnt, that in 1933 Sembadoh Range had a population of about 1,500, but at the time of visit by the writer it was said to have risen to 2,100, mainly by return of emigrant Korkus. Apart from working in Government timber yards, the Korkus can fell timber themselves after taking out licences.

The income from timber work in the yard comes ordinarily to Rs.7 per month. In rare cases a man can cut down and fashion double the usual amount and earn Rs.12 per month. If the Korku has a cart, he earns more by carrying the timber to the railway terminus or elsewhere as required. The table below gives the earnings of a number of villagers of Sembadoh area for November, 1940. The families were selected at random from the list of names of heads of families which sent men to work in the yard (names were selected without any knowledge of their earnings). Some of the men work together in groups of two or three, with a brother or brothers or occasionally an outsider or a servant.

In some cases it is possible that part of the work done just before November had been paid in November and in others work done in November is incomplete and therefore not yet paid for by the depot. This accounts for the range of variations. On an average, however, these differences from actual earnings cancel out. The men who owned carts and carried timber

Name.	Village.	Payment for Timber.	Carted by.	Payment for Cartage.
Hiralal and two relatives.	Gol Tikri (Sembadoh)	Rs.19-6-0	Co-workers ..	Rs.10
Kalu and three others	Multanidhana (Sembadoh)	Rs.11-6-0	Outsiders ..	Rs.14-3-6
			Outsiders ..	Not recorded as unnecessary.
Lobo and two others	..	Rs.25-4-0	Co-workers ..	Rs.4-13-6
			Co-workers ..	Rs.22-0-6
Mangal .. ..	..	Rs.3-14-0	Co-worker of Kalu	Rs.5
			Outsider ..	Not recorded.
Rona .. ..	..	Rs.3-14-0	Outsider ..	Do.
Mahting (son of Langra).	..	Rs.2-14-0	Outsider ..	Do.
Soma .. ..	..	Rs.4	Co-worker of Kalu.	Rs.5
			Cart was hired.	
Choto .. ..	..	Rs.7	Tanu (below)	Rs.4-13-6
Tanu .. ..	..	Rs.4	Outsider ..	Not recorded.
			Outsider ..	Do.
Mahting (Bhumka) ..	..	Rs.4-6-0	Outsider ..	Do.
TOTAL 17 ..	...	Rs.86	(Excluding outsiders.)	Rs.51-11-6

in them earned more, but the time taken in carting was lost. Usually the shaping of timber and taking a cartload to Ellichpur and back was stated to take two men three weeks. Lobo, Kalu and Hiralal, each own two carts. Tanu has one cart. A cart if hired costs Re.1 for the cart and Rs.2 for each bullock for a trip to Ellichpur (and back). The actual earnings were, allotting cart-hire to cart-owners, as noted (to nearest rupee) below:—

Hiralal and two others ..	Rs.10 each.	Mahting (Bhumka) and ..	Rs.4 each.
Mangal and Rona ..	Rs.4 each.	Soma ..	
Choto ..	Rs.7.	Lobo and two others ..	Rs.16 each.
Kalu and three others ..	Rs.6 each.	Tanu ..	Rs.9.
Mahting (son of Langra) ..	Rs.3.		

The total earnings were Rs.137 for 17 men, i.e. Rs.8 approximately per man per month. A second set of income data regarding all the Korku timber workers in Bori and Harisal villages in Caorakund range and a random selection of five groups consisting of seventeen workers in all, in Caorakund village are noted below.

Five groups consisting of eight workers in Harisal, four groups consisting of six workers in Bori and five groups consisting of seventeen workers in Caorakund, earned in all Rs.340-1-9 including cartage in December, 1940. The average comes to Rs.11 to the nearest rupee. In January 1941, 13 workers of Bori and Harisal earned on an average Rs.6 only by timber cutting and fashioning. Those who owned carts earned more from carrying timber. Taking into account the full earnings of 17 workers in Sembadoh range in November and 31 workers in Caorakund range in December 1940, the average works out at a little less than Rs.10 per month. If the figures for cart-hire are excluded the average comes to a little over Rs.7 for timber work. This is in close agreement with the official report that the wages work out at about four annas per day.

*Agricultural Holdings.*

Land is allotted in the forest area on the basis of 'ploughs'. The maximum number of ploughs in a given area is fixed by the Forest Department for each village. 'To ensure that a certain area will lie fallow in rotation, the number of ploughs is fixed on the basis of one plough to every 12 acres of black soil or 24 acres of culturable red soil, as one plough is considered capable of cultivating only 6 acres of black soil or 8 acres of red soil on an average in each year'. The acreage allotted for cultivation in the villages visited are noted below:—

Range.	Village.	Area.	Ploughs sanctioned.	Actual.
Chikalda (1938)	Memna .	196	9	7
	Bori .	925	31	Not checked; but number of ploughs held is less than number of ploughs sanctioned in each case.
	Tetu ..	424	16	
Sembadoh (1938 and 1941).	Gol Tikri	909	45	55
	Sembadoh		recently raised to 60	
Caorakund (1941).	Mulbanidhana			
	Harisal ..	910	36	20
	Caorakund ..	1,070	27	21
	Bori ..	189	10	5

Except in Sembadoh, there does not seem to be a shortage of cultivable land. It should, however, be remembered that the quality of the soil varies a good deal. In Memna area, for example, the soil is of reddish brown colour (known as Balla) and not very fertile. Land must be left fallow for one or two years to be fit for cultivation. For Melghat Taluq as a whole, the average Korku holding in 1925-27 was 25 acres, i.e. one 'plough' of culturable red soil. Where there is black soil, this was equivalent to two ploughs. The position regarding the income of the Korkus by agriculture may be judged from the following table regarding the actual number of 'ploughs' of land held in different villages as ascertained by the writer:

Range.	Village.	Total number of Korku families.	Total number of ploughs.	Number of families with		
				one plough or less.	two ploughs.	three ploughs.
Sembadoh ..	Multanidhana ..	28	24	27	1	..
Chikalda ..	Memna ..	6	7	5	1	..
Caorakund ..	Harisal ..	5	6	4	1	..
	Bori ..	4	5	3	1	..
	Caorakund ..	15	20	9	5	1
	TOTAL ..	58	62	48	9	1
	Percentage ..	100	..	82.8	15.5	1.7

In the Settlement Report, the figures for raiyats with one plough and those with less or no land are not separately given. Hence these two classes have been combined in the above table for comparison with the settlement figures.

In the Settlement Report of 1925-27 a five-fold classification of raiyats was adopted. The lowest Group E is that without a *jori* or yoke of bullocks and land, the next is Class D which consists of 'one plough raiyats who are heavily indebted—both classes certainly depend as much on casual labour as on agriculture—the typical C class man is the one plough raiyat not overwhelmed by debt... the typical B class has at least two ploughs', and indulges in petty money lending and grain loans. The A class raiyat 'has generally a large holding and is a lender of substantial amounts of money or grain. In 1925-27 there were 2,377 Korku raiyats in Melghat taluq<sup>1</sup> distributed under the following classes:—

A	B	C	D and E
19	388	1840	130

In percentages, combining C, D and E, we get

A	B	C, D, E
0.8	16.3	82.9

If we remember that these figures are for Melghat as a whole, including the fertile Dharni tract, it may be concluded from my results that the holding of land by the Korkus has not changed appreciably between 1925-27 and 1938-41. Since the two and three plough raiyats are to be included under B my figures based on a small sample work out as

B	C, D, E	
17.2	82.8	in nearest integers.

The agreement is quite close. The lack of change is probably to be ascribed to the strict control exercised on settlement in villages and allotment of land for cultivation. The amount of crop grown per plough has, however, decreased during this period as indicated below.

*Crops.*—The principal food crops raised by the Korkus in the Forest division are: (a) *Javar*, (b) *Kodon*, (c) *Kutki*, (d) *Sawa*, (e) *Mandgi* and a certain amount of rice, gram, and wheat. The fertility of the soil varies a good deal from rich *Kali* to the moderately fertile *balla* of the hill areas. The amount of produce is noted in *Koro* and *Khandi*, which are local measures. Sixteen seers of 80 tolas make one *Koro* and 20 *Koros* make one *Khandi*. The local maund is of 32 seers and not, like the Bengal maund, of 40 seers. Ordinarily one *jori* of land, i.e. land turned up by one plough, will give one to one and a half *Khandi* of *javar* or *kutki* or *mandgi*. Actually, it was stated, the production was less owing to unavoidable neglect of cultivation on account of '*Begar*'. Under this term, the Korkus include:— (a) Cutting and burning of undergrowth. (b) Road repairs and making nullahs. As noted earlier, the work is more or less compulsory and the payment is very low—about half anna (half-penny) per day. Only boys of age 12-14 and old men, however, normally do this work. The Korkus pointed out that while they have to repair these roads practically for nothing, they have no roads to their field for carting manure. (c) A third kind of *begar* was said to be the work done when officials or people for *shikar* (hunting) came. A number of adolescent boys and old men would be told off to draw water, to get fire-wood and do similar duties. Others,

<sup>1</sup> Final Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Melghat Taluq, 1925-27, by R. M. Crofton, Government Press, Nagpur, 1928.



again, would be sent to tie up bullocks or buffaloes in forests as bait, fix the *mācan* (platform) in trees and help in other ways. During the visits of the writer, it was observed that the boys and old men were allotted such duties. In his own case he paid five annas per day to an old man who was out of work and was allotted to him for odd jobs during his stay. This was held to be fair. In the case of another man who fetched wood (no other work was given) direct payment was made at eight annas per day as this was claimed to be fair (instead of six annas which was mentioned by the Patel as the scheduled rate). The Patel (headman) made no remarks as he is expected to keep payments to the schedule. The officials stated that the Korku dislikes being compelled to work and a sub-divisional officer whom the writer met, mentioned a case where a carter had refused to hire out his cart at one rupee a day for a week. The carter's objection (found on enquiry) was that he needed his cart then for taking timber to Ellichpur and that he would have out of the rupee only four annas per day after paying cart and bullock hire.

As regards *shikar*, the sum stated by the Korkus to have been paid to the boys who helped one *shikari* for five days worked out at less than one anna per boy. Their opinion was that each boy should have received payment at the usual rate of two annas and a half which is obtained for regular daily work. Regarding another *shikari* the complaint was that the boys were needed for more urgent work at home in connection with agriculture and house repair.

Interruption of agriculture: While the work in the timber depot is not 'begar', complaints were rife that such work interferes with proper cultivation and growing of crops. The timber felling operations which go on through the rains and the clearing and burning of undergrowth after the rains and during autumn interfere with agriculture. Even during the rest of the year, the Korku holds that the conditions are not satisfactory. An old Korku, who was working in the depot summarized this last set of objections as follows:— 'The work is hard; the labour is forced. What can a whole family purchase on four annas a day! My house is dilapidated, for I have no time to repair it. My son is away with the *shikari sahib* tying up buffaloes at night in the forest in the rains. We prefer work in the fields. Mother Earth gives good crops. The *tīl* (sesamum) and other similar crops would pay the money lender his dues. The grain (*khariṣ*) we could eat in comfort the whole year. Instead, I have to cut wood, and plant teak in this fashion and that fashion,—ordered ten times by Forest office men'. Timber cutting and sale he explained, paid better, if they could work on their own.

Most of the food grains have to be sown in the beginning of monsoon. Some are harvested in September-October and others like *jawar*, in December. The crops require watch at night (and often during the day) from a platform hut, to protect them against wild animals, as soon as they have grown a bit beyond the seedling stage. In many areas, the fields are at some distance from villages, and if the cultivator has to leave his field for several days unwatched during the period when animals are tempted by them, a good portion of the crop may be lost. Heavy rains again, will wash away seeds and early seedlings, if proper and timely care cannot be taken. When the writer pointed to some fields which showed better standing crops than others, he was told that these belonged to the Patel of the village who was exempt from the duties classed as 'begar' and also from forced labour at the timber depots. In order to ascertain how far this explanation was correct, actual crop returns were collected in several villages from the Patel and also from others. In Sembadoh, the Patel who has two *joris* of land obtained:

*Jawar* .. 3 *khandis*.  
*Paddy* .. 3 *khandis*.

The crops harvested by other villagers were as follows (for one *jori* of land in each case).

Name.	Crop.	Amount.	Remarks on Field.
Rona ..	<i>Kutki</i> and <i>Mandgi</i>	10 <i>Koro</i>	Two miles away.
Bogu ..	<i>Kutki</i>	5 <i>Koro</i>	"
Moti ..	<i>Mandgi</i>	10 <i>Koro</i>	"
Mahting ..	<i>Kutki</i>	2 <i>Koros</i>	Field on hills
Dholja ..	<i>Jawar</i>	....	"
Labo ..	<i>Jawar</i>	....	"
	<i>Mandgi</i>	10 <i>Koro</i>	
	<i>Kutki</i>	10 <i>Koro</i>	

The *jawar* crops of Dholja and Labo were spoilt by too much rain. Part of the *Kutki* crop of Mahting was destroyed by rain and by wild animals.

Harisal fields are quite near the village. The details of crops in Caorakund range are noted below. Wheat estimates could not be obtained and are left out. Only the Patel and Tingu had sown it.

Village.	Name	No. of Ploughs	<i>Kutki</i>	<i>Paddy</i>	Gram	Lentil
Harisal	Hiraji Patel of Harisal	Two	One <i>Khandi</i>	Half <i>Khandi</i>	Expected 1 <i>Khandi</i> .	Expected 10 <i>Koro</i>
	Nailu	One			Expected half <i>Khandi</i>	Sown 4 <i>Koro</i>
	Karma Tingu	One		1 <i>Koro</i>	..	3 <i>Koro</i> .
	One	One		10 <i>Koro</i>	Expected 1 <i>Khandi</i>	4 <i>Koro</i> .
	Royang	One		Spoilt by late sowing	Expected 5 <i>Koro</i>	Spoilt by late sowing.
Bori	Patel of Bori	Two	10 <i>Koro</i>	<i>Kodon</i> 10 <i>Koro</i>	Expected 1 <i>Khandi</i>	<i>Makar</i> 4 <i>Koro</i>
	Mahting	One	Spoilt	1 <i>Koro</i>	..	2 <i>Koro</i> .
	Gurjal	One	2 <i>Koro</i>	4 <i>Koro</i>		2 <i>Koro</i>
Caorakund	Patel of Caorakund	Two	4 <i>Koro</i>	1 <i>Khandi</i>	Expected 1 <i>Khandi</i>	<i>Paddy</i> 4 <i>Koro</i> .
	Mahting	Two	4 <i>Koro</i>	3 <i>Koro</i>	....	..
	Manang ..	Three	3 <i>Koro</i>	10 <i>Koro</i>		4 <i>Koro</i> .
	Batu ..	Two	8 <i>Koro</i>	5 <i>Koro</i>		2 <i>Koro</i>
	Andhara		2 <i>Koro</i>	4-5 <i>Koro</i>		2 <i>Koro</i>

In Caorakund, an insect pest damaged the *Kutki* crop and late rains brought down the paddy yields very low.

We may summarize these facts as follows:—

In Sembadoh, six *joris* of land of others produced  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *khandis* of grain against 6 *khandis* by the Patel on two *joris* of land. In Harisal the Patel with 2 *joris* got 3 *khandis* (excluding wheat which he had sown in a larger area than others) against 3 *khandis* obtained by others with 4 *joris* in all. In Bori the Patel obtained a little over 2 *khandis* with two *joris* against half a *khandi* raised by others on an equal area (2 *joris*) of land.

In Caorakund the Patel will have  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *khandis* with two *joris* against  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *khandis* by others with 9 *joris*.

It is clear, therefore, that the Patel has much bigger harvests, from two to four times that of others on an average, in all the villages. It is also of interest to note that in Caorakund village when *natural causes beyond the control of the villagers including the Patel* destroyed crops, the Patel and others got proportionately the same amount of harvest. Thus the *Kutki* crop was destroyed by insect pests and the Patel got 4 *Koros* with two ploughs' of land against 17 *Koros* by others with 9 ploughs of land (against expected 18 *Koros* in proportion to Patel's crop). For paddy, Manang and Batu sowed the same area as the Patel while Andhara used only one-fourth of that area. Mahting did not sow any paddy. The yields were for Patel 4 *Koros* and for the others 8 *Koros*, against an expected yield of 9 *Koros* if in proportion to Patel's harvest.

It may, therefore, be concluded that the crops of the Patels of the villages were uniformly much better when not affected by causes like late rains or insect pests. The ordinary Korkus stated, as reported earlier, that they lost their crops because they had no time to look after their fields properly owing to work imposed on them by the Forest Department. The facts collected regarding harvests support this statement.

If we take the harvest of the Patels as normal, we get a total of 13-14 *khandis* for 8 *joris*, i.e. a little over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *khandi* per *jori*. This figure was independently reported by the Patel and a revenue department official. A man requires a little over a seer of (unhusked) grain per day, a woman a little less, and children about half the amount for their meals. A family consisting of husband, wife and three children will therefore need one *khandi* of grain for three months. This is the size of a family in most cases. On an average, therefore, a Korku with one *jori* of land should be able to get food grains for nearly five months from his fields. Actually it is much less. A Government official (Naib Tahsildar) informed the writer that the best lands (black soil) gave a higher yield and kept the cultivators in food for eight months. This is, however, unusual. According to him (and this was confirmed by enquiries among Korkus), in the month of April, all the boys and girls and old men in villages would collect *mohua* flowers. This was dried and stored. It was pounded in their wooden mortar (*shel*) and mixed with a little *jauar* flour to make into bread. This was mainly the food they had in June and July, it was reported.

The income from the timber yards and from felling has been noted as about four annas per day on the basis of actuals as well as official reports and a little more for those who have carts. This amount will enable an earner to purchase for his family one *khandi* of grain for his family, in three months or a little less. As timber work lasts for seven to eight months in all (counting 30 days for a month), a Korku with one *jori* of land and work in the Timber Depot ought to have just enough grain for his requirements of food, if his fields are properly cultivated and watched. Actually, if the reports are correct, he got about a third of the normal average crop of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *khandi*, in the sixteen instances noted (of Korkus other than 4 Patels of villages). As the number of families studied is small, and under-estimates

were presumably made by all the Korkus (as among peasants elsewhere) including the Patels, it may be said definitely, that the Korku with one 'plough' of land gets much less than five months' food from his fields.

Presumably the Korku makes up for this deficit partly from vegetable or other kind of food collected by him and partly by taking less food than he needs, i.e. by partial starvation over some months of the year. The junior local officials met by the writer held a similar view.

#### OTHER SOURCES OF FOOD.

Regarding vegetable food collected by the Korkus, mention has already been made of *Mohua* flowers. This article of food is used in somewhat the same fashion by the Santals, who live in another province but are speakers of the same family of languages.

Various kinds of *sag*—edible leaves—are also collected. These are boiled in water and seasoned with salt.

Korkus are said to be fond of fishes; but the supply is not plentiful in the hills. In the rivers, however, after the rains small fishes abound. Basketry traps are mostly used for fishing, as also catching by hand, after a stealthy approach. A few Korkus in the forest have recently purchased nets from other castes but this is rare. Fish so caught are boiled in water and seasoned with salt and chilli at meals. Fish are also smoke-dried for later use.

Formerly, the Korkus used to do a good deal of hunting and even now have various traps for birds and beasts. But the strict enforcement of Game Laws has cut down this source of food to a negligible amount. The writer was informed by a Deputy Ranger that the Korkus cannot kill deer, *sambar*, porcupine or birds. They can only kill pigs.

The poor quality of food taken by Korkus reflects this shortage of supply. If a Korku is engaged at the timber yard, he can take a piece of bread (*sokrā*) freshly baked in the morning. If, however, he has to go to the forest, he takes—(if there is anything left over)—a little boiled rice or baked bread left over from the night meal. The usual practice is, however, to take one meal at midday, and another in the evening after return from work. By actual visits to a number of houses, the writer found that the total food of a Korku adult on an average consists of a pound and half of boiled or baked grain, with a little *sag* seasoned with salt and pepper, or a little pulse. It may be noted that a '*Bhagia*' or indentured Korku servant gets 32 seers of grain and a little salt, pepper and *dal* for his food each month.

The cows give little milk,—usually about a pint a day. The number of cows in three different villages is noted below:—

Name.	Number of families.	Number of cows and calves.	Number of families			
			without cow.	with one cow.	with two cows.	with more than two cows with calves.
Multanidhana ..	28	26	18	4	3	3
Harisal ..	5	9	2	..	2	1
Caorakund ..	15	49	4	3	1	7
<b>TOTAL ..</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>

*It is apparent that half the Korku families in these areas have no cows. One-fourth have one to two cows, while the remaining fourth own more than three-fourths of the total number of milch cattle and growing calves. For the vast majority of the Korku families, therefore, milk does not find any place in the diet. Only a small number of the Korkus who are above the subsistence level, have a little milk in their houses for their children. Adults get nothing except in a few isolated cases.*

Although the Korku lives a very poor life, nevertheless even his simple needs are difficult to satisfy from the income he gets from land and the timber yard. He has, therefore, to take loans from the money lender. The writer was informed by a Ranger that the villagers of Multanidhana had taken loans from a Marwari in Chikalda. But as the officials (rightly) discourage such loans the writer found it impossible to obtain any details on this point directly. But in the course of taking genealogies and ascertaining the bride price paid for each marriage, questions were asked how the amount was raised. Some details regarding debts came to light in this connection. It was found that a certain amount of borrowing and lending takes place in the village between Korkus who have a surplus and those who are poor. Thus Kalu son of Dadu, who cultivates two *joris* of land and has two carts lent Rs.20 to Babno son of Labo, at the time of marriage of Babno. No interest was said to have been charged; but this is uncertain. Credit has also to be obtained at the village grain shop, as the Korkus get payment for timber work only on completion of a certain amount of work. A higher price is charged by the shopkeepers for such advance, in lieu of formal interest on the same.

The indebtedness of Korkus has not been given separately in the Settlement Report. But it is noted that out of nearly 2,400 aboriginal and non-aboriginal raiyats, as many as 1,119 were indebted, and the average debt came to Rs.140 and another Rs 4 to Rs.5 worth of grain. There were 1,840 Korku and 542 other raiyats in this class, and on an average the economic condition was probably not very different in the two groups. If this assumption is permissible, we may say that 860 or a little less than half the Korkus of this class were indebted to this extent in 1925-27. In the Dharni area, the income is higher, but in the Melghat Forest, a debt of this size is equal to a man's earnings for a year and a half. The matter may be viewed differently in terms of the time needed to work off such a debt by service. Normally, a man now-a-days (1938-41) gets Rs.25 to Rs.30 as annual wages as a servant, besides thirty-two seers of grain and salt, pepper and pulse in small amounts, each month, and three pieces of clothing annually. Leaving aside the food and clothing which he needs himself it is clear that it will take five years to pay off the principal. The interest on the principal will prolong it by another two years. This is not an over-estimate. In an actual case observed by the writer a debt of Rs.60 was arranged to be repaid by work as a servant for three years.

#### EARLIER CONDITION.

There are no records of the actual economic condition of the Korkus of this area two or three generations ago. It is, however, known that they carried on a trade in timber in earlier times besides shifting cultivation. Timber work in Government yards has, as a matter of fact been introduced only since 1931-32. Prior to that the Korkus cut down timber on a licence basis. The income from this work, it was stated by officials, was on an average the same as for work in the yard. Exact figures could not be obtained as sales are often made on the road-side to a trader or a villager

who has a cart, instead of taking it to the timber sales depots. The Korkus claim that they can earn more on a licence basis and prefer it also for other reasons.

Until shifting cultivation was prohibited, the Korkus had greater freedom in the matter of food growing. The official report of the Forest Department states: 'There is reason to believe that many areas now under forest were under cultivation, and that the tract supported a larger population than at the present day.' Even after shifting cultivation was stopped, and settled cultivation encouraged, the Korkus were at liberty to fell timber according to their convenience. The option enjoyed on licence basis left time for looking after agriculture as needed. Instead of cultivation, weeding and watching being done during intervals of work in the Government yards, the Korku in such case could work on timber felling and fashioning, in the intervals of his agricultural operations. It is likely that this enabled him to get the normal crop from his land.

Again, before game laws practically put an end to his hunting, the Korku supplemented his diet of cereals with a certain amount of flesh of wild animals and birds.

The Korku remembers these earlier conditions quite well and grumbles and grouses at the compulsory (though paid) work he has to do. In 1931 when departmental operations (Forest Dept.) were first started, a large number of Korku villages were deserted. Gradually they returned when they realized that there was no option. The drop of the Sembali population to 1,500 in the year 1933 and later return of Korkus has been mentioned earlier.

#### SUMMARY.

It is obvious that the economic condition of the Korkus has deteriorated at least twice during the past three generations. The first decline occurred when shifting cultivation was stopped and timber cutting and hunting seriously restricted. This was late in the last century, about three generations ago. The second decline occurred when timber depots were organized, and interference with agricultural operations decreased the output of crops. Licensed timber cutting which the Korkus claim as bringing a larger income also decreased for many families.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS.

While the present price of timber, especially teak, may have possibly changed conditions in Melghat temporarily, the permanent problem remains. It will have to be solved on the basis of prices and wages in normal times.

The problem as envisaged by the Forest Department is (a) to preserve and develop the teak (and other timber) forest, (b) to ensure an adequate supply of cheap labour, and (c) to look after the needs of Korkus as far as it is compatible with the two other clauses. The conditions under which the Korkus have to work, it has been made clear in this paper, hamper their agricultural operations and do not bring them tolerable living wages. Also a people accustomed to live in their own villages under their own officials have been practically reduced to the position of indentured labourers. They must stay in certain villages as ordered, and must work under the Forest officials when and where required. If such compulsion had enabled them to live in some comfort—above absolute necessity—the Korkus might not have grumbled so much. Part of the difficulty lies in the mode of formulation of the problem. The primary interest of the officials is about their timber cutting and sale. There is a note in a recent 'Working Plan'

of the Melghat Forest Division that (a) lorry transport may have to be adopted, and (b) aboriginal tribes from the C.P. plateau may have to be imported at higher wages. If this last expedient is tried, the Korkus will die out. Adoption of lorry transport without compensation for loss of cart-hire through greater production of shaped timber will also not improve the economic condition of the Korkus.

If we consider the problem to be of giving the Korku fair living conditions, and also to develop the Melghat timber trade after the first condition has been satisfied, a solution is possible on different lines.

Some amount of land near villages will have to be taken from the forest and made over to cultivation in an area like Sembadoh where there is shortage of suitable land not too far away from the village sites. The Korku cultivator must also be at liberty to work in his fields according to the needs of agriculture. In order, however, to avoid wasting of time in such operations, co-operative work should be encouraged. This will help in protection of crops against animals as well as against unexpected heavy rains. A certain amount of hunting rights should also be conceded to such organizations. Since, however, timber felling and shaping will be rendered somewhat irregular if left to individual initiative of the Korkus, co-operative organization should be introduced in this field as well. A record may be kept of the work put in by each Korku during a month, and the total price of timber shaped during it may be distributed on the work-days basis. The same co-operative organization may run its grain shop for advance to the Korkus against work done and thus avoid economic loss due to charging of high prices. Since the Forest Department can afford to pay higher wages, these should be adopted. The official objection that some time ago wages were raised but failed to draw Korku labour is not valid. The officials have failed to grasp the difficulties brought in by forced labour in the timber yard and in the forest. To enable such attempts to be successful, the official must look upon himself as a welfare officer, trying to guide the Korkus into productive independent work. Otherwise it is not likely that he will be able to secure their co-operation in making such an experiment. It should be remembered in this connection that the Korkus like other aboriginals have to be educated through actual responsible work, to improve their economic and cultural conditions and to take their place among the other people of India. Unless, however, they learn to do their own jobs themselves, they will never grow out of tutelage and will not be able to live as a self-respecting social group in the midst of the other people of Berar and Central Provinces. The remedy does not lie in going back to their shifting cultivation, known as bendar, and to disorganized timber cutting and sale. On the contrary, there should be a forward move to more organized agriculture, and timber work, helped in the early stages by those who possess the requisite knowledge and power. An important aid to this work will be through proper school education of the Korkus. This is discussed in a separate note.

## **A Study on the Physical Characters of the Rajbangsis.**

By GAUTAMSANKAR RAY.

### **I. INTRODUCTION.**

The Rajbangsi caste of North Bengal has many striking features both from the Physical and Cultural points of view. In order to make a proper scientific estimation of their physical features, the present investigation was undertaken among a fair sample of these people.

The investigation was carried out in the second week of June 1946, on 100 individuals. The subjects are inhabitants of several Moujas<sup>1</sup> under Khoribari Police Station in the District of Darjeeling.

In this paper only the Statistical Analysis of both the somatoscopic observations and somatometric measurements have been dealt with. As there are 100 subjects, so it is obvious that the frequency of any class in the analysis is the percentage of that class also.

As regards previous researches on this subject, the work of Sir H. H. Risley and of Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell may be mentioned. In between the years 1886-88, 100 Rajbangsis (Kochh) of North Bengal were measured under the supervision of Sir H. H. Risley. But no systematic somatoscopic observations were undertaken. Further, Risley did not carry out any thorough statistical analysis of those measurements. Later on Lt.-Colonel Waddell measured 88 Rajbangsis of North Bengal.

As regards the Racial Affinities<sup>2</sup> of the Rajbangsi (Kochh) Sir H. H. Risley in his 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal' (*Ethnographical Glossary*, Vol. II) has written: 'a Dravidian caste of Northern Bengal originally Kochh, but now claiming to be an outlying branch of Kshatriyas'. Later on, in his book *People of India* he has described them as 'a people of Dravidian stock who, being driven by pressure from the west into the swamps and forests of Northern and North-Eastern Bengal, were there brought into contact with the Mongoloid races of the Lower Himalayas and the Assam border, with the result that their type was affected in a varying degree by intermixture with these races. On the whole, however, I thought that Dravidian characteristics predominated among them over Mongolian'. But Lt.-Colonel Waddell describes them as 'distinctly Mongoloid though somewhat heterogeneous'. According to Colonel Dalton<sup>3</sup> 'they belong to the Dravidian stock, and are probably a branch of the great Bhuiya family'. It may be pointed out here that older ethnologists failed to distinguish the Dravidian type from the distinct proto-Australoid type of India.

### *Distribution of the Rajbangsis in Bengal.*

The following table shows the distribution of the Rajbangsis in the different districts of Bengal. This table has been prepared from Census of India, 1931,<sup>4</sup> Bengal and Sikkim, Vol. V, Part II, tables.

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<sup>1</sup> The Moujas are: Dahaguri, Kishoredoba, Khuniapukuria, Pataram and Balajihora.

<sup>2</sup> In a later paper the writer wishes to discuss the Racial Affinities of the Rajbangsis.

<sup>3</sup> Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal—E.T. Dalton, C.S.I. (1872).

<sup>4</sup> Population on the basis of caste is not available in the tables of 1941 Census.



TABLE I.

District, etc.	Rajbangsi Population.	Percentage.
Bengal .. ..	1,806,390	3.5
Burdwan .. ..	3,460	0.2
Birbhum .. ..	4,352	0.5
Bankura .. ..	7,298	0.7
Midnapore .. ..	8,937	0.3
Hooghly .. ..	7,552	0.7
Howrah .. ..	17,585	1.6
24-Parganas .. ..	40,047	1.5
Calcutta .. ..	2,014	0.2
Nadia .. ..	14,651	1.0
Murshidabad .. ..	24,354	1.8
Jessore .. ..	3,788	0.2
Khulna .. ..	24,350	1.5
Rajshahi .. ..	26,529	1.9
Dinajpur .. ..	360,368	20.5
Jalpaiguri .. ..	331,168	33.7
Darjeeling .. ..	26,969	8.4
Rangpur .. ..	444,974	17.1
Bogra .. ..	9,413	0.9
Pabna .. ..	12,975	0.9
Maldah .. ..	42,009	4.0
Dacca .. ..	26,947	0.8
Mymensingh .. ..	29,735	0.6
Faridpur .. ..	13,019	0.6
Bukhargunj .. ..	1,150	less than 0.05
Tippera .. ..	2,764	0.1
Noakhali .. ..	506	less than 0.05
Chittagong .. ..	553	less than 0.05
Cooch Behar State .. ..	318,846	54.0
Tripura State .. ..	75	less than 0.05

## II. ANALYSIS OF SOMATOSCOPIC OBSERVATIONS.

Though the somatoscopic observations are more or less subject to personal bias, yet their values supplemented by the somatometric measurements cannot be ignored, specially in constructing the racial history of a people.

In this case only the following important observations were noted:

(1) Skin Colour, (2) Form of Hair, (3) Slit of the Eye, (4) Epicanthic Fold, (5) Depression of the Nasal Root, (6) Prominence of the Zygomatic Arch, (7) Thickness and Eversion of the Lips. These observations were made on all the persons numbering 100.

### 1. Skin Colour.

The skin colour of all the subjects was noted according to Von Luschan's Hautfarben Tafel, at two different parts of the body namely: (1) on the Cheek, and (2) on the ventral side of the Upper Arm. In comparing the skin colour with the number of the scale it was found that in all cases the colour of the skin did not actually correspond to the number of the shades of the scale, but it was in between two shades. Hence the skin colour of the subjects has been indicated by the number of the two shades.

As a whole, the colour of the skin, both on the exposed and unexposed parts of the body, varies between 20 and 33 according to Von Luschan's skin colour chart. In 75 out of 100 persons the colour of the skin is between 24 and 28 on the ventral side of the Upper Arm. In 74 out of 100 cases the colour of the skin on the cheek is also between 24 and 28. According to the descriptive terms, the skin colour of a large majority of the people is between Bright Tawny and Clear Brown both on the exposed and on the unexposed parts.

The following table shows the detailed distribution of the skin colour of the subjects:—

TABLE II.  
*Distribution of Skin Colour.*

Scale Number.	Frequency	
	On Cheek.	On Upper Arm.
20-21 .. ..	1	0
21-22 .. ..	10	8
22-23 .. ..	12	9
23-24 .. ..	5	0
24-25 .. ..	17	6
25-26 .. ..	35	37
26-27 .. ..	12	15
27-28 .. ..	5	17
28-29 .. ..	2	4
29-30 .. ..	0	1
30-31 .. ..	0	1
31-32 .. ..	1	1
32-33 .. ..	0	1
TOTAL ..	100	100

## 2. *Form of Hair.*

From the data given in Table III, it will be found that the majority of the people have straight hair, the frequency of which is 76. Only 24 persons have wavy hair. Excepting two cases of medium wave the remaining 22 have shallow waves. No case of curly hair was noted.

TABLE III.

### *Hair Form.*

Form.	Frequency.	
Straight .. ..	76	
Wavy .. ..	24	
Curly .. ..	0	
TOTAL ..	100	

## 3. *Slit of the Eye.*

A careful examination of the position of the eyes shows that oblique eyes are greater in number than the straight eyes. (Cf. Table IV. A.) The obliquity in the majority of the cases are slight and in all the cases the external canthus is higher than the internal one.

As regards the opening of the eye-slit, the narrow type has the highest frequency, being 74. No case of wide type was observed. (Cf. Table IV. B.)

TABLE IV.

### *Form and Opening of the Eye-Slit.*

Form.	A.		Opening.	B.	
	Frequency.			Frequency.	
Straight ..	43		Narrow ..	74	
Oblique ..	57		Medium ..	26	
			Wide ..	0	
TOTAL ..	100		TOTAL ..	100	

#### 4. *Epicanthic Fold.*

A narrow eye-slit is sometimes confused with the presence of the *Epicanthic Fold*. So this character was noted carefully and several cases of this type of fold were recorded, the total frequency being 15, of which 13 persons have only a trace of it. None have a marked type.

TABLE V.

##### *Nature of the Epicanthic Fold.*

Epicanthic Fold.	Frequency.
Absent ..	85
Trace ..	13
Medium ..	2
Marked ..	0
TOTAL ..	100

#### 5. *Nasal Root.*

Regarding the depression of the Nasal Root it was found that there are 55 persons with medium depression, 40 with shallow depression while the remaining 5 have deep depression.

TABLE VI.

##### *Nasion Depression.*

Depression.	Frequency.
Shallow ..	40
Medium ..	55
Deep ..	5
TOTAL ..	100

#### 6. *Zygomatic Arch.*

The absence of prominent zygomatic arch was marked only in the case of 9 persons. The remaining 91 persons have some prominence, the degree of which has been classified in the following table.

TABLE VII.

##### *Nature of the Zygomatic Arch.*

Prominence.	Frequency.
None ..	9
Slight ..	40
Medium ..	44
Marked ..	7
TOTAL ..	100

#### 7. *Lips.*

As regards the thickness of the lips the majority of the subjects have medium lips, numbering 89. No case of eversion was noticed even in the slightest degree. Analysis of the above characters has been given in the following table.

TABLE VIII.

*Characters of the Lips.*

Thickness.	Frequency.	Eversion.	Frequency.
Thin ..	8	Absent	100
Medium ..	89	Slight ..	0
Thick ..	3	Marked	0
TOTAL ..	100	TOTAL ..	100

## III. ANALYSIS OF SOMATOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS.

The following important measurements were taken on all the hundred subjects: (1) Height Vertex, (2) Maximum Head Length, (3) Max. Head Breadth, (4) Minimum Frontal Diameter, (5) Max. Bizygomatic Breadth, (6) Bigonial Breadth, (7) Nasal Height, (8) Nasal Breadth, (9) Nasal Depth, (10) Morphological Total Facial Height, (11) Morph. Upper Facial Height, (12) External Orbital Breadth, (13) Auricular Height (this measurement was taken by indirect method).

In taking these measurements,<sup>1</sup> the technique adopted by H. H. Wilder in his 'A Laboratory Manual of Anthropometry' was followed. In analysing the measurements and indices (excepting in the case of nasal elevation index) the classifications advocated by Martin in his 'Lehrbuch der Anthropologie' was followed. In analysing the nasal elevation index the classification advocated by S. S. Sarkar<sup>2</sup> was adopted. Beside the analysis of the above characters a comparison of some of them with those taken by Sir H. H. Risley and Lt.-Colonel Waddell has also been given in this part.

## A. Measurements.

The following table shows the Statistical Constants of the Measurements:—

TABLE IX.

*Showing Statistical Constants of the Measurements.*

Measurements (in cm.)	Number.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Mean.	Standard deviation.
Stature ..	100	178.2	149.5	160.33 ± .36	5.34 ± .25
Max. Head Length ..	100	20.6	16.6	18.74 ± .05	0.67 ± .03
Max. Head Breadth	100	15.5	13.2	14.20 ± .03	0.46 ± .02
Min. Frontal Diameter	100	11.3	8.8	9.95 ± .03	0.38 ± .02
Max. Bizygomatic Breadth ..	100	14.3	12.4	13.30 ± .03	0.41 ± .02
Bigonial Breadth ..	100	11.6	9.1	10.28 ± .04	0.56 ± .03
Nasal Height ..	100	5.8	4.1	4.94 ± .02	0.36 ± .02
Nasal Breadth ..	100	4.2	2.9	3.56 ± .02	0.25 ± .01
Nasal Depth ..	100	2.9	1.1	1.82 ± .02	0.26 ± .01
Morph. Total Facial Height ..	100	13.3	9.2	11.34 ± .05	0.71 ± .03
Morph. Upper Facial Height ..	100	7.5	5.4	6.48 ± .03	0.47 ± .02
Ext. Orbital Breadth	100	10.3	8.3	9.36 ± .03	0.44 ± .02
Auricular Head Height ..	100	14.9	9.8	12.57 ± .07	1.05 ± .05

<sup>1</sup> In measuring the Nasal Depth the distance between pronasale and subnasale was measured.

<sup>2</sup> A proposed classification of the Nasal Elevation Index—S. S. Sarkar (*Vide—Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute*, Vol. I, 1938).

*Stature.*

Analysing the stature it was found that the Rajbangsis are mainly short and below medium in stature, the frequencies being 43 and 36 respectively. There is only one person with very short stature and 5 persons with tall stature. The mean stature is 160.33 cm. and the range of variation is 28.7 cm.

TABLE X.  
*Classification of Stature.*

Class.	Range in cm.	Frequency.
Pigmy .. ..	$\bar{x} - 129.9$	0
Very Short .. ..	130.0 - 149.9	1
Short .. ..	150.0 - 159.9	43
Below Medium .. ..	160.0 - 169.9	36
Medium .. ..	164.0 - 169.9	9
Above Medium .. ..	167.0 - 169.9	6
Tall .. ..	170.0 - 179.9	5
Very Tall .. ..	180.0 - 199.9	0
Giant .. ..	200.0 - $\bar{x}$	0
<b>TOTAL ..</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>100</b>

*B. Indices.*

The following table shows the Statistical Constants of the Indices:—

TABLE XI.  
*Statistical Constants of Indices.*

Indices.	Number.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Mean.	Standard deviation.
Cephalic Index ..	100	87.95	69.84	75.78 $\pm$ .20	2.94 $\pm$ .14
Altitudinal Index ..	100	78.33	54.74	67.08 $\pm$ .37	5.43 $\pm$ .26
Facial Index ..	100	98.52	70.80	85.33 $\pm$ .34	4.97 $\pm$ .24
Breadth Height Index	100	109.09	67.12	88.59 $\pm$ .52	7.74 $\pm$ .37
Nasal Index ..	100	93.02	55.77	72.36 $\pm$ .48	7.15 $\pm$ .34
Nasal Elevation Index	100	82.86	29.73	51.38 $\pm$ .54	8.08 $\pm$ .39

*1. Cephalic Index.*

The dolichocephalic element is predominant among the Rajbangsis. But there is a tendency towards mesocephaly. The frequency of the dolichocephalic group is 58 and that of the mesocephalic group is 40. While there is only one in each of the brachy and hyper-brachy groups. The mean cephalic index is 75.78.

TABLE XII.  
*Classification of Cephalic Index.*

Class.	Range.	Frequency.
Dolichocephal ..	$\bar{x} - 75.9$	58
Mesocephal ..	76.0 - 80.9	40
Brachycephal ..	81.0 - 85.4	1
Hyper-brachycephal ..	85.5 - $\bar{x}$	1
<b>TOTAL ..</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>100</b>

## 2. *Altitudinal Index.*

Hypsicephalic element has the highest frequency among these people, being 81. While the frequencies of chamaecephalic and orthocephalic elements are 4 and 15 respectively. The mean Index is 67.08.

TABLE XIII.

### *Classification of Altitudinal Index.*

Class.	Range.	Frequency.
Chamaecephal ..	$\bar{x} - 57.6$	4
Orthocephal ..	57.7 - 62.5	15
Hypsicephal ..	62.6 - $\bar{x}$	81
TOTAL ..	....	100

## 3. *Facial Index.*

Though the mesoprosopic group is the predominant group among these people (being 35), yet the frequencies of euryprosopic and leptoprosopic groups are not negligible, they are 31 and 20 respectively. The mean Facial Index is 85.33.

TABLE XIV.

### *Classification of the Facial Index.*

Class.	Range.	Frequency.
Hyper-euryprosopic ..	$\bar{x} - 78.9$	7
Euryprosopic ..	79.0 - 83.9	31
Mesoprosopic ..	84.0 - 87.9	35
Leptoprosopic ..	88.0 - 92.9	20
Hyper-leptoprosopic ..	93.0 - $\bar{x}$	7
TOTAL ..	....	100

## 4. *Breadth-height Index of Head.*

Classifying the breadth-height index of head it is found that the majority of the Rajbangsis fall in acrocephalic group, the frequency being 68. The mean index is 88.59.

TABLE XV.

### *Classification of Breadth-height Index.*

Class.	Range.	Frequency.
Tapemocephal ..	$\bar{x} - 78.9$	11
Metriocephal ..	79.0 - 84.9	21
Acrocephal ..	85.0 - $\bar{x}$	68
TOTAL ..	....	100

## 5. *Nasal Index.*

The majority of the Rajbangsis are mesorrhine, the frequency being 51. The frequencies of the leptorrhine and the chamaerrhine groups are 43 and 6 respectively. The mean nasal index is 72.36. There is no person either with hyper-leptorrhine or with hyper-chamaerrhine nose.

TABLE XVI.

*Classification of Nasal Index.*

Class.	Range.	Frequency.
Hyper-leptorrhine ..	$\bar{x} - 54.9$	0
Leptorrhine ..	55.0 - 69.9	43
Mesorrhine ..	70.0 - 84.9	51
Chamaerhine ..	85.0 - 99.9	6
Hyper-chamaerhine ..	100.0 - $\bar{x}$	0
<b>TOTAL ..</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>100</b>

6. *Nasal Elevation Index.*

Mesocept group is the predominant group with a tendency towards platycept; the respective frequencies are 57 and 40. The mean index is 51.38.

TABLE XVII.

*Classification of Nasal Elevation Index.*

Class.	Range.	Frequency.
Platysept ..	$\bar{x} - 49.9$	40
Mesosept ..	50.0 - 64.9	57
Hypsisept ..	65.0 - $\bar{x}$	3
<b>TOTAL ..</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>100</b>

C. *Correlation of Stature, Cephalic Index and Nasal Index.*

The following table shows the correlation of Stature, Cephalic Index and Nasal Index:—

TABLE XVIII.

*Correlation Table of Stature, Cephalic Index and Nasal Index.*

		N.I. 55.0 - 69.9	N.I. 70.0 - 84.9	N.I. 85.0 - 99.9
Stature 130.0 - 149.9	C.I. $\bar{x} - 75.9$	..	..	..
	C.I. 76.0 - 80.9	1	..	..
	C.I. 81.0 - 85.4	..	..	..
	C.I. 85.5 - $\bar{x}$	..	..	..
Stature 150.0 - 159.9	C.I. $\bar{x} - 75.9$	6	13	2
	C.I. 76.0 - 80.9	10	8	2
	C.I. 81.0 - 85.4	..	1	..
	C.I. 85.5 - $\bar{x}$	..	1	..
Stature 160.0 - 163.9	C.I. $\bar{x} - 75.9$	6	15	..
	C.I. 76.0 - 80.9	7	6	2
	C.I. 81.0 - 85.4	..	..	..
	C.I. 85.5 - $\bar{x}$	..	..	..
Stature 164.0 - 166.9	C.I. $\bar{x} - 75.9$	4	3	..
	C.I. 76.0 - 80.9	1	1	..
	C.I. 81.0 - 85.4	..	..	..
	C.I. 85.5 - $\bar{x}$	..	..	..
Stature 167.0 - 169.9	C.I. $\bar{x} - 75.9$	3	1	..
	C.I. 76.0 - 80.9	2	..	..
	C.I. 81.0 - 85.4	..	..	..
	C.I. 85.5 - $\bar{x}$	..	..	..
Stature 170.0 - 179.9	C.I. $\bar{x} - 75.9$	4	1	..
	C.I. 76.0 - 80.9	..	..	..
	C.I. 81.0 - 85.4	..	..	..
	C.I. 85.5 - $\bar{x}$	..	..	..

The analysis of the above table shows that dolichocephalic, mesorrhine, below medium statured element has the highest frequency (being 15). The next two elements are: (1) dolichocephalic, mesorrhine, short stature and (2) mesocephalic, leptorrhine, short stature; the respective frequencies are 13 and 14. The detailed analysis of the correlation table is given in the following table.

TABLE XIX.

*Analysis of Correlation Table XVIII.*

Stature.	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.	Frequency.
Short ..	.. Dolichocephalic	Leptorrhine ..	6
" ..	" "	Mesorrhine ..	13
" ..	" "	Chamaerrhine ..	2
Below Medium ..	" "	Leptorrhine ..	6
" ..	" "	Mesorrhine ..	15
Medium ..	" "	Leptorrhine ..	4
" ..	" "	Mesorrhine ..	3
Above Medium ..	" "	Leptorrhine ..	3
" ..	" "	Mesorrhine ..	1
Tall ..	" "	Leptorrhine ..	4
" ..	" "	Mesorrhine ..	1
Very Short ..	.. Mesocephalic	Leptorrhine ..	1
Short ..	" "	Leptorrhine ..	10
" ..	" "	Mesorrhine ..	8
" ..	" "	Chamaerrhine ..	2
Below Medium ..	" "	Leptorrhine ..	7
" ..	" "	Mesorrhine ..	6
" ..	" "	Chamaerrhine ..	2
Medium ..	" "	Leptorrhine ..	1
" ..	" "	Mesorrhine ..	1
Above Medium ..	" "	Leptorrhine ..	2
Short ..	.. Brachycephalic	Mesorrhine ..	1
" ..	.. Hyper-brachycephalic	Mesorrhine ..	1
TOTAL ..			100

D. *Comparison with the Important Measurements and Indices of Other Authors.*

The following table (No. XX) shows the comparison of some of the important measurements and indices with those taken by Risley and Waddell. The comparisons of the frequency distributions for Statures, Cephalic Indices and Nasal Indices with those of Risley have been given in the Figs. I, II and III.

TABLE XX.

Measurements <sup>1</sup> and Indices.	RAY			RISLEY			WADDELL		
	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean
Stature ..	1782	1495	1603	1746	1440	1607	1695	1502	1591
Max. Head Length ..	206	166	187.4	202	166	186.2	202	165	181.0
Max. Head Breadth ..	155	132	142.0	153	127	140.2	152	131	139.0
Nasal Height ..	58	41	49.4	57	44	48.9	52	37	45.0
Nasal Breadth ..	42	29	35.6	45	32	37.5	49	30	36.0
Cephalic Index ..	88	76	75.78	84	68	75.2	87	71	76.7
Nasal Index ..	93	56	72.36	92	61	76.6	109	67	80.0

<sup>1</sup> Measurements are in mm.



# FREQUENCY-DISTRIBUTION OF STATURES.

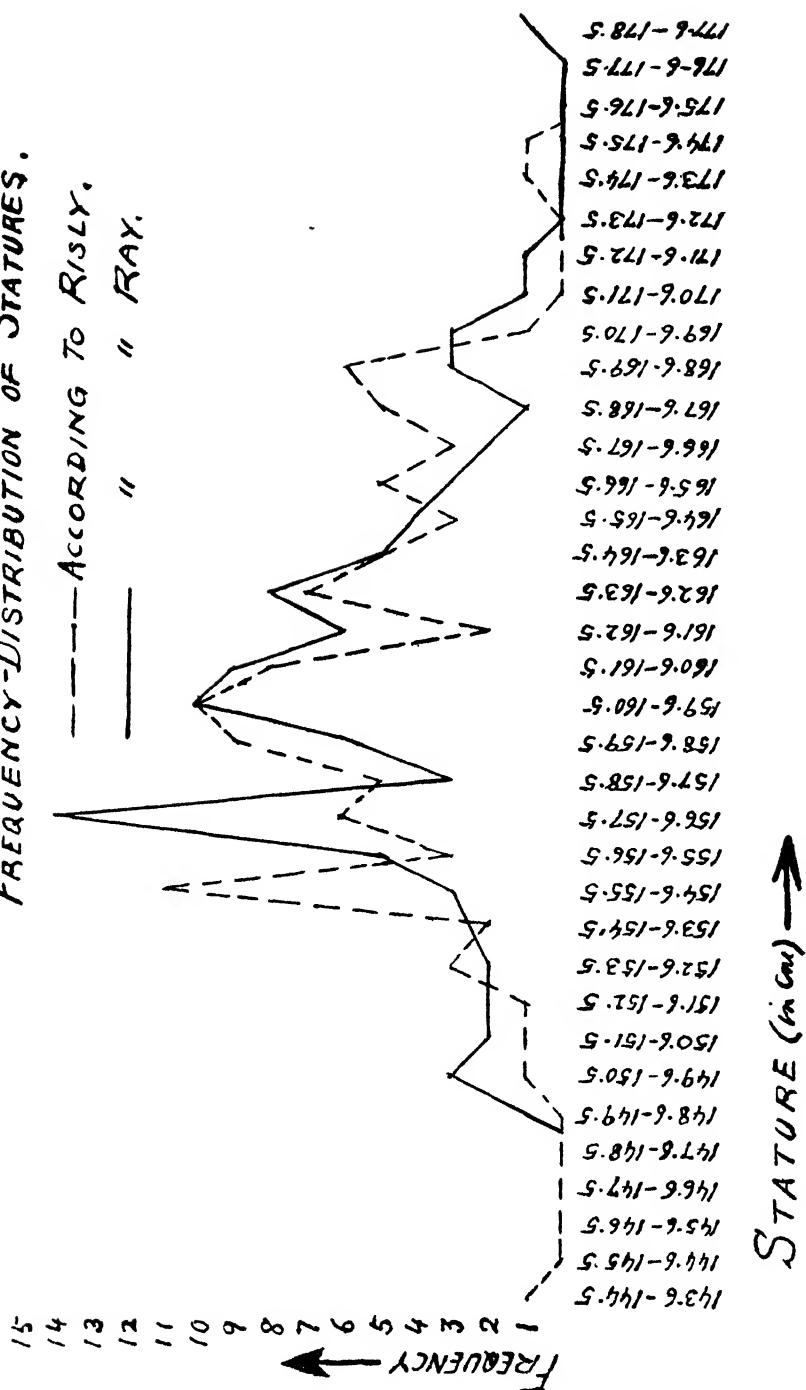


FIG. I.

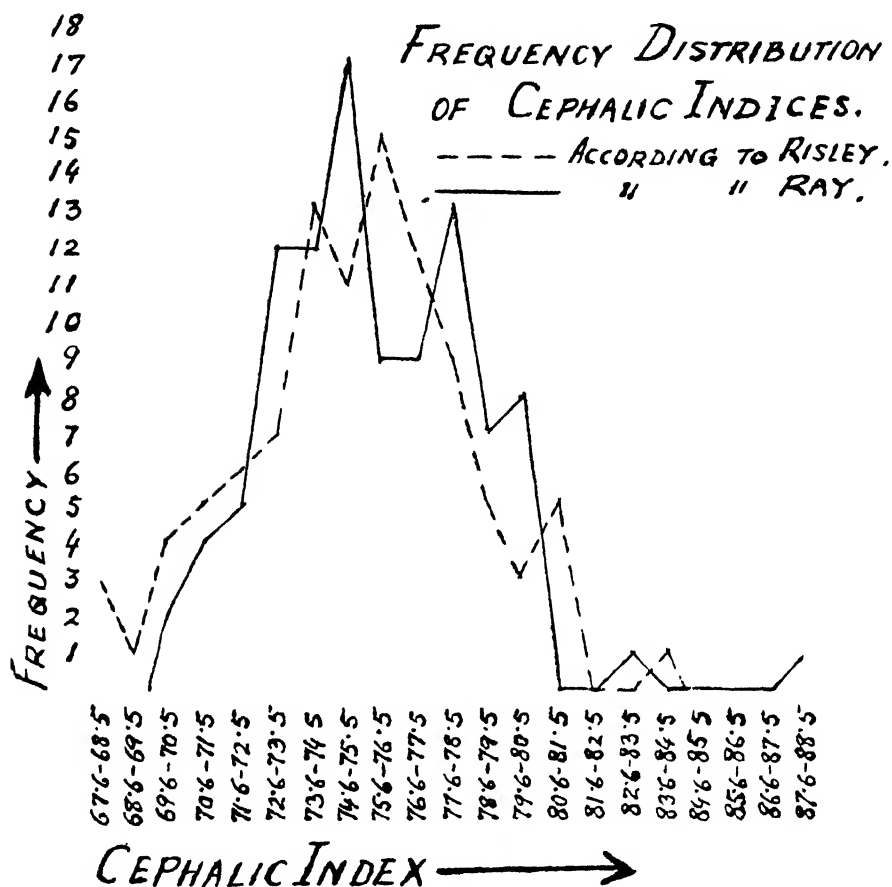


FIG. II.

## IV. SUMMARY.

The majority of the Rajbangsis studied are between bright tawny and clear brown in colour with straight hair and prominent cheek bones. The eyes are generally narrow and slightly oblique. They are between short and below medium in stature. The mean stature is 160.33 cm. They are mainly dolichocephalic (mean C.I. 75.78) mesorrhine people, but the mesocephalic, leptorrhine element is also strong among them. The mean nasal index is 72.36.

# *FREQUENCY-DISTRIBUTION OF NASAL INDICES.*

--- ACCORDING TO RISLEY.

— " " RAY.

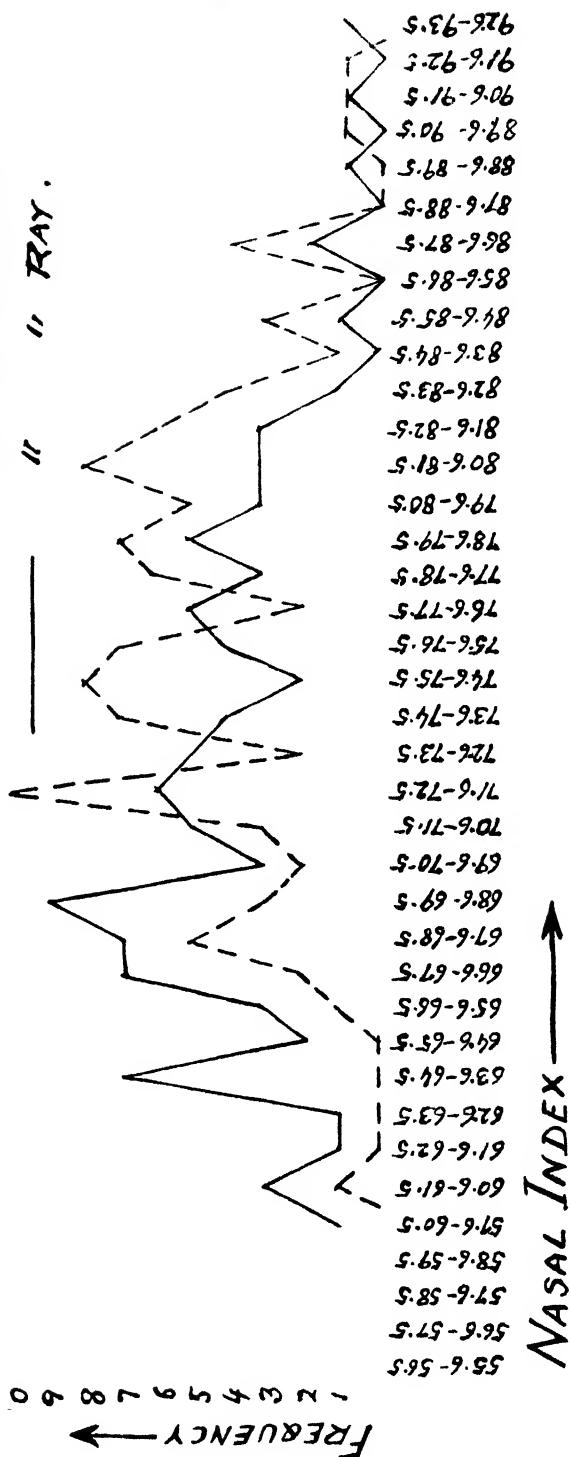


FIG. III.

## Korku Marriage Customs and some Changes.

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

In this note a brief account is given of the marriage rules and rites of the Korkus of the forest villages of Melghat. A comparison is also made of the frequency of different types of marriage, two generations ago, a generation ago and at present. The writer was unable to witness any actual ceremony and obtained the details as far as possible by the genealogical method.

In an earlier paper the economic condition of the Korkus of this area has been discussed.<sup>1</sup> Here it is sufficient to state that the Korkus live part of the year by cutting timber, and the rest by cultivating the land allotted to them in the forest. They have also to perform certain duties for the Forest Department in return for privileges enjoyed by them. Apart from the cash wages and the crops raised, the fish in the hill streams are caught and *mohua* flowers (*Bussia Latifolia*) in forests are collected by Korkus for food. Very limited hunting of game is also allowed. Women do not play any part in the actual raising of crops or cutting and shaping of timber. They help of course in collecting *mohua* flower and in fishing. But it would be a mistake to underestimate the woman's value in the family life. The crop after harvesting and threshing, is prepared by her for cooking. Water has to be fetched by her, very often from rivers quite a long way from the village, going down and climbing up steep hills. Apart from cooking, she looks after the house and children, and has to send the food to her husband, at his place of work (unless it is a timber yard close by). Generally this is at some distance and the Korku cannot come back for his meal. In the morning the man looks after his tools, and sets out on work quite early. If he can afford, he has a snack of something left over from the night meal. More often, he goes off without any breakfast and gets his food at midday or a bit earlier, sent from home. If there is no adolescent boy or girl to take it, the wife may go herself. Adolescent boys, it may be noted, often have to work on road repairs or cutting and burning fire lines or look after needs of shikaris at a low rate of payment (see earlier paper). Hence a woman in the house is essential to the Korku. The wife and before marriage the grownup sister and after marriage, the growing daughter all have their important place in the economic life of the Korku. Hence it is natural to find that the Korku father (or brother, in the absence of father) is unwilling to let go a grown up girl from the house, without compensation. As we shall see later, he insists also on payment for the marriage feast, which he has to arrange at his village.

The income of the Korku, in the old days, before restrictions on shifting cultivation and timber cutting under Rules of the Forest Department came into operation, was fairly adequate for these demands. But the various prohibitions that have been introduced from time to time have gradually decreased their income and resources. At present (and for some time past) the majority of them can barely manage to get adequate food throughout the year. There were naturally poorer Korkus and those

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<sup>1</sup> Economic Condition of the Korkus of Melghat Forest by K. P. Chattopadhyay. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1946.

better off, earlier also; but the community as a whole has decayed economically owing to needs of forest conservation having taken the first place in the Government measures, in preference to the needs of the Korkus for their livelihood. Various adjustments in their marriage customs have taken place in consequence. These will be studied now.

The orthodox and most respectable form of marriage among Korkus is known as 'Beao'. It may be termed marriage by arrangement.

The proposal comes from the man's side. If a suitable girl is heard of, somewhere, two relations or friends, living in the same village as the boy, will go to the village of the girl, with the authority of the boy's family. These men are known as *Cithore*. For Pulum son of Bhaoe of Multanidhana village (Genealogy XIII), Dholja son of Baju (Genealogy III) and Kalu son of Dadu (Genealogy I) acted as *Cithore*. They went to the village of the girl and made enquiries about her without informing her family at first, from their own friends. This is the usual rule; the girl is generally observed while at work, as for example when fetching water for the household. This is followed by a formal enquiry from the boy's parents to the girl's parents through the *Cithore* if they are willing to give their daughter in marriage. The custom of refusing to entertain the proposal at first, mentioned by Russell and Hiralal, was not reported to the writer. Mr. Batu, who is a Korku himself and is an educated man, working in the Revenue Department, in Chikalda, also stated that it was not known in Dharni area.

If the father of the girl is agreeable to the *Cithore*'s preliminary proposals, he will say 'Sidu anu'—'drink wine'—which conveys in brief an invitation to come and drink wine, to the bridegroom's family and *Cithore*. The two messengers go back and on a date previously notified, the boy's father and several (usually four) persons of his village come to the girl's house where they are welcomed by the host. Then they all sit down to discuss the proposal. The boy's father pays some money (rupees five, actually it was said in several cases), and wine and jaggery are bought. The wine is taken and the *gonom*—i.e., 'brideprice' or more correctly, payment for marriage is settled. After this food and drink are taken. It was stated that on Dharni side songs were sung on this day stating that marriage of so-and-so's son with so-and-so's daughter was going to be celebrated. But in Sembadoh area this was not done. The party of the boy's household return in the afternoon. A few days later, the *Cithore* go again and fix the date of the wedding. The preliminary negotiation and settlement of *gonom* was referred to as *mungni* by my informants.

When the date of marriage approaches, invitations are sent by both parties to relatives through messengers who will carry a little rice (*atap* rice) coloured with turmeric. In the Dharni area, it was reported, the turmeric is reddened by adding lime and this is termed 'Kumkum'.

The day before that on which the bridegroom will start for the bride's village, the youngmen of his own village may be invited to put up a rectangular *mandwa* or shed. This, however, is not done by every one. Nano (Genealogy VII) said he had a *mandwa* put up at his marriage and this was confirmed by other old men. There are usually nine poles of *salai* (*Boswellia Serrota*) or *moin* (*Lannea Grandis*) wood arranged in three rows of three each. The top frame may be made of *salai* preferably. But bamboo is also used in its absence. On this structure are laid *Jamun* (*Eugenia Cumini*) branches. The poles are cut in the forest and brought home on a cart. But before unloading, a woman performs *arati*. A plate of brass with a lighted earthen lamp using sesamum oil and a cotton (or in its absence rag) wick, some *atap* rice and a little turmeric powder is taken up by her and ceremonially waved before the load. The cart is then unloaded.

The central pole is first put in by three unmarried boys and three unmarried girls, besides the bridegroom. The rest of the shed is then built. A multi-coloured strip of cloth is now taken by the Bhumka (the village priest) and a whole turmeric is tied in it, and it is then suspended from the central pole. This multi-coloured cloth strip known as *nara* was said now to be replaced by a bunch of multi-coloured thread, about a cubit long, purchased from shops. But it is also made by dyeing white thread yellow with turmeric, red with kumkum and keeping some uncoloured yarn. Formerly *nara* could be had of weavers, it was stated.

Some rich people, it was said, also put up a special short central pole known as the *mendo*, besides the central structural upright. It has also to be made of *salai* (Mr. Batu alone said it was made of *mohua* wood), which has not flowered and given fruit. Men who know how to make it will fashion it during the night preceding the starting of the procession. It cannot be worked next day. The post is square in cross-section and about four feet high (see sketch 1) and has a lozenge shaped head at the top. On one face, it was stated, the Sun is engraved, on the other the Moon and Stars, and on a third face comes a man on horseback. On the fourth side are conventional geometrical (ornamental) designs. The completed *mendo* is rubbed with turmeric and sesamum oil and put in by the central post. *Arati* is then done as described earlier.

In the bride's village, the shed is erected the day before the actual wedding. No *mendo* is erected.

The shed is generally completed in the morning. In the afternoon there is a turmeric rubbing ceremony. The groom sits on a wooden stool and is rubbed with turmeric and sesamum oil by unmarried girls. If the *Cithore* has any woman in that house who is entitled to joke with him, she will put turmeric coloured hand prints on his cloth.

The groom is now bathed and taken into the house to offer worship at the central pole (*dharan*) of the main hut of the dwelling house. In general there are three big uprights in such a hut. But if there are four, the pole next to the inner sleeping apartment is used for worship. It may be noted that similar offerings are made at this place at the *sedoli* rite<sup>1</sup> and at harvest. The bridegroom first of all offers coconuts mentioning ancestors. One or more chicken are also sacrificed—the blood being offered. Turmeric powder is also used. In villages in contact with Hindus, *kumkum* was said to be used. Also in such villages worship was then done at a Hanuman (monkey god) temple of the village, and offerings made of coconut, turmeric, vermilion and *kumkum*, along with thread from the new cloth to be put on by the bridegroom. Thereafter the 'Muthuadeo' of Korkus is worshipped. This is a heap of stones at one end of the village, where the deity resides. In the forest villages less influenced by Hindus, worship of Hanuman is not done. Only Muthuadeo is worshipped. Here the Bhumka officiates and makes the actual offerings which are the same as for the ancestors. The groom now puts on the new cloth already mentioned and ~~sits~~ in the house. The rest of the night is spent in merry-making. Next day, the bridegroom's party start on their journey after *ārati* is done to the groom by a woman relative. The father of the boy, the village headman and some women relatives accompany the groom.

In the bride's village the turmeric and oil rubbing ceremony occurs as in the groom's house.

<sup>1</sup> 'Korku Funeral Customs and Memorial Posts' by K. P. Chattopadhyay. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1943.

The bridegroom's party time their journey so that they arrive at the girl's village in the evening. They do not proceed to the bride's house but stay in some shelter, usually arranged for them by the headman of the village. They carry their own food and dine on the same.

Next morning, the village officials and elders (Panch) will meet at the bride's house and some men and women of the groom's party will go playing drums and singing. They will take with them such saris (women's one piece garment) as they have agreed to give. The minimum is one sari and one coli (bodice or blouse) for the bride. A sari has also to be given to the mother of the bride referred to as *mae sari* (mother's sari). If this gift is not made, a rupee is paid in lieu of it. The balance of the *gonom* has to be made over now. Offerings are made thereafter, at the bride's house to the ancestors at the central pole of the hut, and to Muthuadeo and Hanuman temple (if in existence) as already described in the case of the bridegroom.

Certain other rites are performed in front of a *ber* (Zizyphus) tree the elder brother and his wife being officiants, but the details and significance of the same were not clear from the accounts obtained. There was also a sharp difference of opinion between informants from Dharni side and those in Sembadoh as to where and when the rite is performed. Sembadoh people insisted that the bridegroom's folk performed it at their own village before starting, while the Dharni informants were equally positive that the ritual took place at the bride's village after the bridegroom had come, and jointly. No gifts are, it may be noted, made at this ceremony nor any expenses incurred for it.

After the payment of *gonom* and worship of the ancestors and deities the bride puts on the new clothes brought for her. She is then ritually saluted (*ārati*) by a sister or a woman relation of that order of the groom. A father's sister will also be eligible for the job.

Later the bridegroom is taken to the marriage shed,—on the hip of a man of his party. Nano stated he was carried by his elder brother Dhunda, (Genealogy VII). The bride is also brought there on the hip, by one of her relatives. The boy faces east and the girl faces west. They are set down thus. The bride's elder sister (or father's sister) does *ārati* to the groom now. Two women who are elder sister or father's sister of the parties to be married stand behind the bride and groom. Each carries a small basket known as 'Tuknuc' containing rice, turmeric, betel leaf, coconut pieces and other articles including a bead necklace. First the bridegroom's sister (or father's sister) pours out a handful from the basket into his up-turned palms. He hands the contents to the bride, who raises her joined palms over her head and pours these into the corner of the sari of her sister held out like a bag behind her. This is done seven times by the groom, and then the bride's sister starts emptying her tuknuc and the bride takes her handfuls in joined palms and makes over the same to the man, who pours it out behind as already described. The necklace is put round the bride's neck by the bridegroom.

The boy and girl now get up and link their little fingers—of the boy's left hand with that of the girl's right hand. Some women of both sides now form a ring round them and dance. The bride and bridegroom now face each other and the man has to pick his woman upon his hip and carry her round the complete circle of dancers. '*Inij Beao Jitae*', i.e. 'this marriage successful' was the explanation given of this rite by Mr. Batu. More dancing now occurs and the wedded pair are (said in Sembadoh) carried on hips seven times round the marriage place. The couple now go into the house. The guests are then fed, the men and women separately. Next

morning farewells are bidden and the husband and wife leave. The usual village council assembles, and the first man to be bowed to is the Patel (headman).

On return to the groom's village, further worship is done at the central pole of the house and to the other deities, as noted earlier. There is song and dance, and feeding of guests of the bridegroom (relatives and villagers) as well as some members of the bride's family who come to it.

The *mandwa* at bridegroom's place (if erected) is formally demolished on the same day. The bridegroom breaks off one crossbeam and says 'it is broken'. He then takes the broken pole and his wife carries a leafy branch of the *mandwa* and they proceed to a river—if there is one near by. Some other men and women of the dancers will accompany them. The bride and groom throw the pole and branches into water and perform *ārati* to the river with turmeric powder. If there is no river near by only a small bit of the pole and a few leaves will be thrown into the village well whence water is drawn. A pot (*loṭā*) of water is also brought back by the girl on her head and she makes it over to her husband's father outside the hut. He will drink a little of the water and will put in a few coins in the *loṭa*. Now the girl takes up the waterpot and proceeds to go inside the hut. An old woman or man or a younger brother of the husband generally sits at the entrance. If it is an aged person, the bride has to promise to look after him or her. If it is the husband's younger brother she will say 'I will arrange your marriage'. She is now allowed to enter the hut with her husband. Just inside some women are seated, with one seer of grain in a measure. The bride and groom now sit facing the measure. The grain is poured out, and refilled by the bride. If something is left over, it is a sign of prosperity ('overflow'). If it finishes a little before complete refilling, the omen is bad.

It will be noted from the foregoing brief description of the formal and full marriage rite of a Korku, that the bridegroom has to provide food for his party on the journey and later at the bride's village. The bride's father gives a feast to the wedding party at his village. The bridegroom's family have to give a big feast on return of the married couple. By enquiry at the forest villages it was ascertained that a marriage feast cost about rupees fifty while the food carried on the journey was of value of rupees twenty or more. As the *gonom* varies from Rs.150 to Rs.200 the total expenses come to about Rs.250 for a 'Beao' type of marriage for a man. The bride's father, on the other hand, gets Rs.150–200 of which about Rs.50 is spent on a feast, i.e. he profits by Rs.100–150 approximately from the girl's marriage.

As a Korku does not earn much, it is obvious that such a big sum in cash and kind cannot easily be got together by a poor man among them. It is true part of the *gonom* may be paid in kind but even that does not seriously mitigate the difficulty. A poor Korku will therefore often arrange for marriage by an abbreviated rite. It is known as Lokor Kadaen Beao. In this form the preliminaries are settled as before, but there are no songs or celebrations prior to the actual marriage. On the day of starting, the worship of ancestors and deities are performed. The party is usually small, consisting of the bridegroom and a few near relatives. The money and cloth are made over in presence of the Panch on arrival on the same evening. The little food carried is cooked and eaten by the bridegroom's party; the bride's family also join. The money paid to the Panch, by the two sides at marriage is usually expended in part on wine (whether at Beao or Lokor) and this is drunk. Next morning the wedded couple return to the village of the groom and give a feast to the villagers. The elaborate



ritual described for Beao, is not performed. Only the girl is formally made over to the man and they sit side by side, before the assembled folk at the bride's village. Formal obeisance is done and leave is taken as usual, beginning with the Patel before returning home.

The expenses for this type of marriage is much less than for Beao as only a small amount of food has to be carried for the journeys and much less *gonom* is paid. Usually the payment is Rs.80-120 only—say Rs.110 on an average. This is less than the usual amount for Beao by the expense of a feast—the one given at the bride's village. The other expenses are within Rs.60, i.e. a total of Rs.170 or less. Although this cuts down the expense by 50 per cent, even then the total may prove too high for a poor man. In such cases, a man will try to pay off the *gonom* by service. This form of marriage is described as Lemjena. In this type of union, the bridegroom works as a servant in the bride's father's house. After a year or two, the girl will be made over to the man as wife before the Panch, but the service continues. At the end of the period agreed upon, the husband sets up house separately. If, however, he leaves earlier with his wife he is expected to pay *gonom* in part, the amount depending on the period of unexpired service. Some actual cases of payment and receipt of *gonom* for Beao and Lokor types of marriage are noted below. Two cases of service are also included.

#### Beao type:

Name	Clan	Genealogy	Amount of Gonom.
1. Bhura ..	.. Kasada	IV	Rs.150
2. Pulum ..	.. Kasada	IV	Rs.180
3. Andu ..	.. Bethe	VII	Rs.150
4. Lala ..	.. Bethe	VII	Rs.150
5. Mana ..	.. Bethe	VIII	Rs.150
6. Dadu ..	.. Maosi	X	Rs.200
7. Karina ..	.. Bethe	XXIII	Rs.200

#### Lokor type:

8. Pulum ..	.. Kasada	XIII	Rs.100
9. Mahting	Maosi	X	Rs.80
10. Baju	—	XXVII	Rs.100
11. Gurjal	Bethe	XXIX	Rs.60 and one bullock
12. Karina	Kasada	XXXIII	Rs.80
13. Mahting	Busum	XXXIV	Rs.125
14. Gunthu	Sakom	XXXI	Rs.100

#### Lemjena type:

			Service
15. Sonaji ..	.. Maosi	XIV	Ten years
16. Khano ..	.. Sakom	XXII	Twelve years

Nowadays, however, the period of service is often considerably shortened. A few cases of young men who have come away with the wife after a much shorter period are noted below.

17. Dende ..	.. Jambu	XXVIII	Four to five years
18. Bhao ..	.. Tandil	VIII	Five years
19. Candru ..	.. Maosi	X	Four to five years

Sometimes the man who is serving as Lemjena will stop after a few years and pay something to be let off the rest of the years of service. This was done by Sikari who married Kali daughter of Dende (Genealogy XXVIII). If a man dies while serving as Lemjena, before completing his term, no compensation is paid. Nor is the man bound to serve if the girl dies after marriage but before the term is completed. Death of one party ends the

contract. This is illustrated by the case of Dadu who served for Phurka daughter of Rona (Genealogy XII). This man Dadu had been serving as Lemjena for a girl called Sitai of clan Maosi. He was married to her and had a son but Sitai died several years before his contract was completed. He left the house of his dead wife and became Lemjena for Phurka. He married this girl as his second wife but died himself this time before completing the term. No compensation was paid in either case. Batu of clan Bethe married Jhumao (Genealogy VI) after two years of service. He died four years later before completing his term. The parents of Batu paid nothing as compensation. In another case, however, two sisters successively took the place of a deceased sister (Genealogy XX).

The reasons for the shortening of the period of service will be clear if the rate of wages prevalent formerly and now are considered. In the old days (say two generations ago or a little later) it was said a man who worked as a servant would get Rs.12 or occasionally Rs.15 as wages per annum besides food and clothing. At present only a young lad gets this wages. For a full grown adult the cash wages paid have risen to Rs.25 to Rs.30 per annum besides the usual food and clothing. It often happens that a man and his brother or some other relative thus work as servants and contribute the money collected from wages for the *gonom* for a Lokor or some other form of marriage. Thus Jhola younger brother of Pulum (Genealogy XIII) worked as a servant (bhagia) for Kalu son of Dadu (Genealogy I) of Multanidhana to enable his brother Pulum to pay *gonom* for his (Pulum's) bride. Oonkar son of Nasu (Genealogy V) worked as bhagia for four years and saved up Rs.100 for his own marriage. The Korkus have recognised that the money wages have gone up. The value of a wife in the household has not, however, increased. Hence the money value of the service now tends to be equated to the money value of service for a bride in the earlier period. Ten to twelve years' service in the former days would have brought Rs.150 approximately. Now this amount is earned in five years. It is of interest to note also that this is approximately the full *gonom* paid at the 'Beao' form of marriage. Evidently the Korkus have taken careful notice of the economic basis of the rites and demands in fixing as well as altering the amount of cash and period of service demanded for the different types of marriage. It cannot be objected that the comparison of the *gonom* paid at marriage and of the cash value of services spread over 10-12 years is not valid. For the *gonom* is not always paid in full at marriage although this is the rule. Part of it may be paid in several instalments. This has become more frequent due to deterioration of economic conditions. In the Lemjena custom, the bridegroom works practically like a bhagia for a couple of years and then receives the girl as wife. This period of service may be compared to the initial payment at marriage. The later service is comparable to instalments. Before discussing the frequencies of these three important and main types of marriage certain other ways of getting a wife have to be mentioned.

#### LEVIRATE AND WIDOW MARRIAGE.

If an elder brother or elder cousin dies, leaving a young widow, and the younger kinsman is unmarried the widow may be taken over by an abbreviated ceremony. It is merely an announcement to the village assembly (Panch) that the two have decided to live together; it is, however, followed by a feast to the villagers whose attendance at it signifies their social acceptance of it. The custom of leviration is referred to as 'Adha urag sageba'—'taking half the house'. No payment is made to any party in such a case. Mahting son of Pacu (Genealogy XXVIII), levirated

the widow of his elder brother Dokra, a year after the latter's death, by this ceremony. Another Mahting, a son of Kalu (Genealogy X), levirated his cousin Rona's widow Mangrai in this fashion. Owing either to Maratha influence, or other special reasons some men do not like to marry the widow of a brother. Thus Nano, the younger brother of Dhunda (Genealogy VII), refused to levirate the latter's widow although he (Nano) was then unmarried. Nano explained that his brother was much older and he had looked upon the elder brother's wife as a mother. How could he take her, he questioned.

If the husband's younger brother refuses to take her as wife, the widow may remarry, outside the family. The ceremony is similar to that of leviration—an acknowledgement before the village assembly followed by a feast. This form of marriage is termed Pato. Divorced women are also married by this rite.

If the husband's younger brother is willing to perform leviration but the widow goes to someone else, the new husband has to pay compensation to the deceased husband's family. If the husband's younger brother is not agreeable to take over the widow, the new husband will pay nothing to the first husband's family. But the parents of the woman—if she has gone back to them—realise some *gonom*. Junki wife of Bhuria (Genealogy VI) was not levirated when her husband died. She went back to her parents and remarried. The parents realised Rs.50 as *gonom* this time. On the first occasion, they had received Rs.100 from Bhuria.

#### MARRIAGE BY EXCHANGE.

Sometimes two families exchange daughters in marriage, thereby saving payment of *gonom* on both sides. This custom was termed Aota Saota by Dharni informants and Sata Palta in the forest villages. Both expressions signify exchange.

#### ELOPEMENT.

If a boy and a girl run away, to get married, full *gonom* has to be paid. The ceremony is, however, abbreviated. The girl having already joined the boy, only an acknowledgement before the village assembly occurs, followed by a feast. An elopement may not, however, be followed by marriage. The parents may not agree and the girl may be brought back. When the marriage negotiations of Chotelal son of Nano (Genealogy VII) were in progress, the girl Raimai fled to the house of the boy she wanted to marry. But her parents dragged her back, as *mangni* had been done with Chotelal, and got her married to the bridegroom already selected. The form of marriage was Lokor and Rs.80 was paid as *gonom*.

#### INTRUSION MARRIAGE.

This is really a variant of elopement; but differs from it, in that it is socially recognised as a form of marriage. A girl who has run away, may be brought back, as in the case of Raimai. But a girl who has entered another man's house by the 'Boloen' form, is a wife and cannot be taken back summarily.

The Korku huts have two doors, one opening on the village lane between two rows of huts which face each other, and the second, opening on the yard of the house. Women go in and out for household work by this second door which may be termed 'private'. A girl who wants to become a 'boloen' (it means 'to enter') wife, will go into the house on a Tuesday or Friday by this private door, and start doing household work. Generally this is done with the connivance of the boy. It may be that the parents of the boy have

arranged for his marriage, not with the girl with whom he has an understanding, but elsewhere. The girl in such case may force herself on the family even though the other marriage may have taken place. In any case, only half the usual *gonom* is paid, and the marriage ceremony is of the abbreviated type—an acknowledgement before the village assembly followed by a feast. Khanai daughter of Andra (Genealogy XXXVI) did boloen and got married to Saligram. Her mother Sugai had forced herself by the boloen rite on her father Andra after he had married Kupai as his first wife. Hira daughter of Dadu (Genealogy XXI) forced herself by boloen on Rajibia although he was then already married to Mangrai. Ramji son of Hiraji, brother of this Hira had in his turn to accept Sonai as a boloen wife after he had married Kulai by the Lokor rite.

#### MARRIAGE FREQUENCIES.

An attempt was made to ascertain the relative frequency of the different forms of marriage by ascertaining the actuals for all marriages in the genealogies collected. The families covered in this way are those for whom the details of income in the timber yard, of the area of holdings and outturn of crops as well as ownership of cattle and carts have been discussed in the earlier paper on Economic condition of Korkus. Some of the genealogies have been printed in the appendix. Only those families for whom complete details could be obtained for the entire genealogy have been included. Families about whom incomplete details were available or where accurate reports were not obtainable have been left out. In all 131 marriages have been tabulated for the villages of Multanidhana, Gol Tikri, Harisal, Bori and 'aorakund. Marriages of some members of households in these villages naturally took place with persons from other areas. These have of course been counted. The marriages have also been tabulated by generation. The persons who have adolescent grandchildren or recently married grandchildren have been shown under generation I. Those with adolescent or recently married children are counted as of generation II. The next lower generation is shown as No. III.

TABLE I.  
*Marriage Frequencies.*

Generation	Beao	Lokor	Lemjena	Leviration	Pato	Boloen	Total
I	12	1	4		3	3	23
II	36	18	30	3	3	4	94
III	2	2	10	..		..	14
Total	50	21	44	3	6	7	131

TABLE II.  
*Marriage Percentage.*

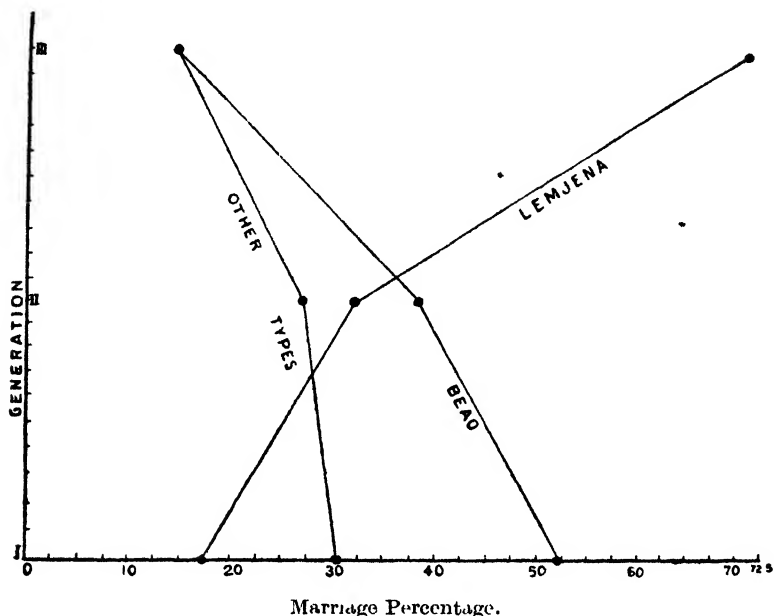
Generation	Beao	Lokor	Lemjena	Other types	Total
I	52.2	4.3	17.4	26.1	100
II	38.3	19.1	32.0	10.6	100
III	14.3	14.3	71.4	Nil	100

The size of the sample is somewhat small in generations I and III; this was inevitable as all the marriages in the three generations in each family surveyed, were obtained. The marriages in generation I represent those of heads of families, and occasionally their brother or sister; the next generation is of their sons and daughters; the third generation is of their grandchildren, only a small number of whom are old enough to be married. In view of the manner in which the data for different generations has been collected, it may be concluded that in spite of the small size of the sample, they reflect the change in frequencies of different types of marriage in the three periods.

In the first period, which will be about fifty years ago (counting from 1938-41 the period of survey) clearly the most popular form of marriage was Beao which included over 50 per cent of the total weddings in that generation. In the next generation the percentage had fallen to about 38, and in the present generation, to a little over 14 per cent. This is clearly in agreement with the economic deterioration of the Korkus indicated in the earlier paper. The definite decline in economic condition of the Korkus which set in about the end of the last century would lead to adjustments in expenses on marriage a little later. This will be reflected in the relative frequencies of the different forms of marriage in the next period, i.e. in the second generation. The further decline caused by recent measures came about in 1930-31 and thereafter. This would be reflected in the marriages which have taken place in the decade 1931-40. The marriages tabulated in generations I, II and III correspond approximately to (a) those that reflect the system based on conditions prior to the first decline, (b) the adjustments made after the first decline, and (c) the changes consequent on the recent economic deterioration.

In the Lokor form of marriage as well as Paṭo and Boloen, a smaller amount of expense has to be incurred. In the first generation there was only one case of Lokor which is less than 5 per cent. In the second generation (II), the frequency of Lokor form rose to 19.1 per cent. This shows clearly that members of families who had formerly been favouring the 'Beao' form, had adopted the cheaper Lokor type. The drop in percentage of Beao is in fact close to the rise in that of the Lokor form of wedding. The table shows, however that another form of marriage had also increased in frequency. This is Lemjena or marriage by service in which the bridegroom incurs no expenses. The frequency of this type was a little over 17 per cent in generation I, showing that there had been even then a fair proportion of poor Korkus who preferred thus to get a wife. In the next generation, the percentage rose to 32, coming close to the proportion of the orthodox 'Beao' type. This gain seems mainly to have taken place at the expense of Paṭo and Boloen types both of which cost some money—although less than Beao or even Lokor. It suggests that the Korkus of moderate circumstances had been reduced to the level of poor Korkus by this time. A more definite conclusion cannot be drawn in view of the small size of the sample. In the present generation, the Lokor type has lost some ground and is equal in frequency to that of Beao which has continued its steady decline, while the Lemjena form has become dominant type including over 71 per cent of the total marriages. The changes in frequency of the Lokor form and the steady and rapid increase of Lemjena marriages confirm the trend revealed by the frequency of the Beao form of wedding. This trend is brought out even more clearly if the cheaper forms of marriage—Lokor, Boloen, Paṭo are considered together as against the expensive Beao type and the marriage by service alone—

Lemjena. The changes are illustrated on the graph (fig. 1) for better visualisation.



No special social significance need be attached to the absence of Leviration in generation I. As Leviration occurred only in one marriage out of 31 in generation II, the absence of any example out of 22 and 14 marriages in generations I and III cannot be considered significant. The absence of Pato in generation III is natural. Young men who have only recently reached marriageable age have less chance of marrying widows than older men. Also, the two types Pato and Boloen together had a frequency of less than one in thirteen. The absence of these types in a total of 14 marriages in generation III cannot be considered significant.

#### DIVORCE.

For the sake of completeness a few notes are added regarding divorce and sexual irregularity.

If the husband runs after other women or is disliked for other reasons, the wife may go away to her father's house and seek a divorce. A divorce may occur also if the woman takes a fancy to some other man. Either party of the married pair may seek to dissolve the union. The Panch is usually called to hear such a case, but sometimes a less formal assembly of seniors of the village was reported to have taken its place. If the husband is held to have been to blame or if he wants to get rid of his wife, no compensation is paid. If the wife is to blame, then the man who marries the divorced girl has to pay to the first husband half the *gonom* originally paid for her. Sonai the third wife of Buca (Genealogy VIII) had been married to Jhole, who had paid Rs.60 for her. The woman left him for Buca but came there via her parents' house. Thereupon Jhole came with some men of his own village and claimed compensation. He received Rs.30 only. It would not be correct to treat this as a case of adultery.

When a woman leaves her husband's house notifying the village council or the husband sends her away after or with such notice the marriage bond is broken.

It sometimes happens that a man who has been working as a Lemjena and has been married to the girl, deserts her. In such case compensation cannot be claimed. A report is made to the village assembly. The girl then obtains the status of a divorced woman.

### INTRIGUE.

An intrigue of an unmarried girl with a bachelor or even a married man is not ordinarily treated as a serious offence. The man may marry her as a second wife or the girl may force herself on him by the Boloen rite. If unmarried, and unable to pay any *gonom*, the man may be asked to serve as Lemjena. Even if he runs away after serving for a very short time, the child born later on will be held to his child, and no special stigma attach to the girl, who will then have the status of a divorced wife.

If the boy and girl are of the same clan, marriage is not permissible. The parties are also held to have put themselves out of caste. If there has been no pregnancy, and the boy and girl agree to separate, they are readmitted on performance of a purification rite representing rebirth and purification by fire. This last rite is termed *cokhra*. A fine has also to be paid. In all these cases, the Panch assembles and gives its decision. For the *cokhra* an office holder known as the Pethia has to arrange for the ritual. These details are given in the next section. If the girl lives with a Gond or a Gaoli and refuses to leave him, she will be outcasted. This is termed 'atarkhet'. But if she leaves her lover, she will be readmitted after the usual *cokhra* rite. If there has been a pregnancy either in this case or when the parties are of the same clan, expulsion from the tribe invariably occurs. This step is also taken if the boy and girl refuse to separate, even though members of the same clan.

Mr. Batu stated that even if the girl became pregnant by a clansman she may remain in the tribe if someone else marries her, and the Panch accept her in society. This educated Korku informant further reported that in Dharni side, at Kusumkote there is a man called Mana who married long ago a girl of his clan and that both were (said in 1938) old people at the time. Mr. Batu stated that there had been an intrigue; but when the question of separation arose the boy and girl refused. Apparently they had influence. The Bhumka or Korku village priest altered the clan of the girl and thereafter they married. My other Korku informants vehemently stated that such a thing was not possible. I regret it was not possible for me to check the accuracy or otherwise of Mr. Batu's report, as the war upset my plans to visit Melghat after 1941.

In Harisal the writer came across a case of expulsion from caste of a girl who had broken these rules. Samle, daughter of Jhingu, of village Bori, in this area went to live with a Muhammadan named Farid who lived in Harisal. She was expelled from the family and the tribe (Genealogy XXIX).

A different treatment is accorded to a man if he lives with a Gond or Gaolan woman. Langra of clan Dikhar of Joarkund, a Korku by birth, had kept a Gaolan (a Gaoli woman). She bore him two sons Mahting and Loke. Langra was outcasted. But after his death, the sons performed *cokhra* and were admitted as Korkus into the tribe, retaining the clan of the father. The Panch assembled and fined the boys and agreed to a re-

admission. Buca was asked by them to perform the *cokhra*, as the Pethia for this area was not available. Buca is an old man now and well versed in Korku lore. The boys had also to give a feast to villagers of Joarkund, Sembadoh, Multanidhana and Gol Tikri, and also a few representatives from other neighbouring villages. In all they spent Rs.40 for readmission. Now they have married in Korku families (Genealogy II). Buca received Rs.1-4 as the fee for acting as Pethia. These details were related by Buca and confirmed by two other old men of Multanidhana.

### THE COKHRA RITE.

A Mukhia or Pethia among Korkus is the oldest man in the village who best knows the traditions. The office seems to run in families. In 1938 the writer was told that in the Sembadoh locality, the seniormost man, well-versed in traditions was one Nanu of clan Kasada, living in village Rau, or Rahu at some distance from Sembadoh. It is he who will officiate at *cokhra* and set fire to the hut as described below. In 1941 the writer was told that one Longe of Kasada clan, a patrilineal nephew of Nanu would officiate at *cokhra* if needed. Buca who helped to purify Loke and Mahting claimed to be related to Nanu of Rahu village. He is of the same clan. The fine imposed on offenders is termed 'Khaoka'. It is spent mainly on the ceremony. A small amount, Rs.1-4 is retained as the fee of the Pethia.

A small hut is erected with walls made of sticks and thatch of grass. It is just big enough for a person to get into and sit under the roof. The boy or girl has the head shaved. As the offender goes into and sits in the hut, the Pethia sets fire to it. He then asks the assembled seniors, 'We are readmitting so-and-so to society. Do you agree to it?' The assembly expresses its approval. As the fire blazes up (by this time it has done so) the boy or girl comes out. The culprit then bathes in the river and has to cook food for the Panch (including representatives from other villages as well as his own) and serve it to them. Acceptance of the same by the assembly readmits the offender into the tribe.

### POLYGAMY.

Polygyny is allowed. The custom is known as *sot*. The elder wife is referred to as Khat, and the younger as Sani. As elsewhere there are very few cases of polygyny except among those who have a sufficiency of material goods. Some cases of polygyny were found to be the result of Boloen by the girl. There are, however, a few cases of true polygyny in the villages visited. Mr. Batu also mentioned a rich Korku in Dharni area, by name Matang who has seven wives. He stated also that a Korku malguzar (landholder) in Betul district, by name Balaji (son of Rajaji) has ten wives.

There was no trace of polyandry.



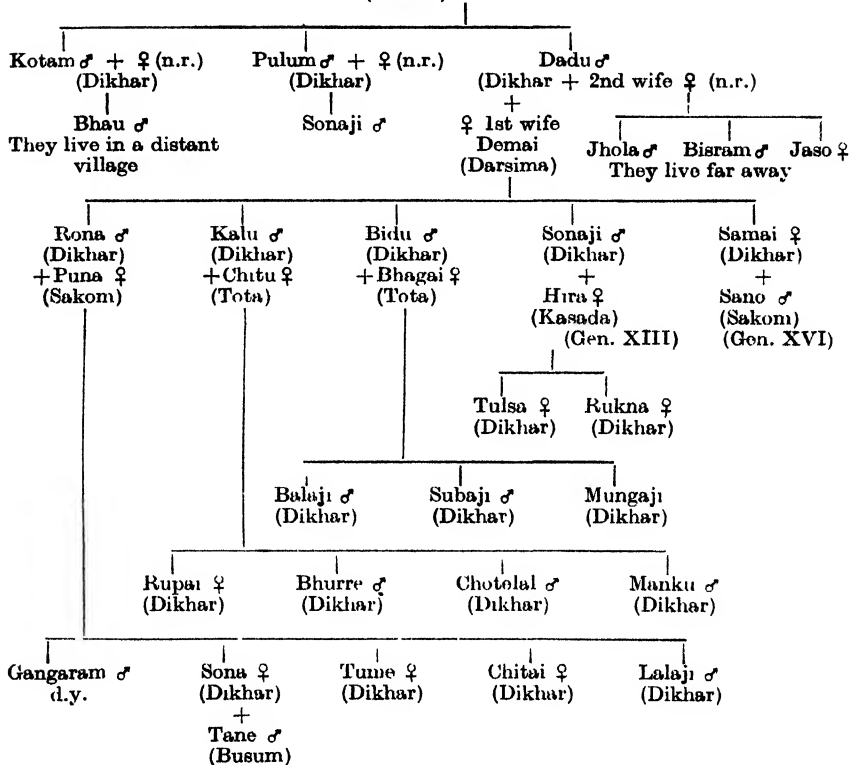
## GENEALOGIES

*Village—Sembadoh (mainly Multanidhana).*

n.r. = not remembered. ♂ = men. ♀ = women. clans shown in ( ). d.y.—died young. unm = unmarried.

## I.

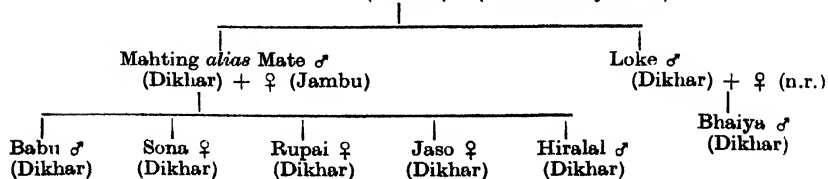
Bhonda ♂ + ♀ (n.r.)  
(Dikhar)



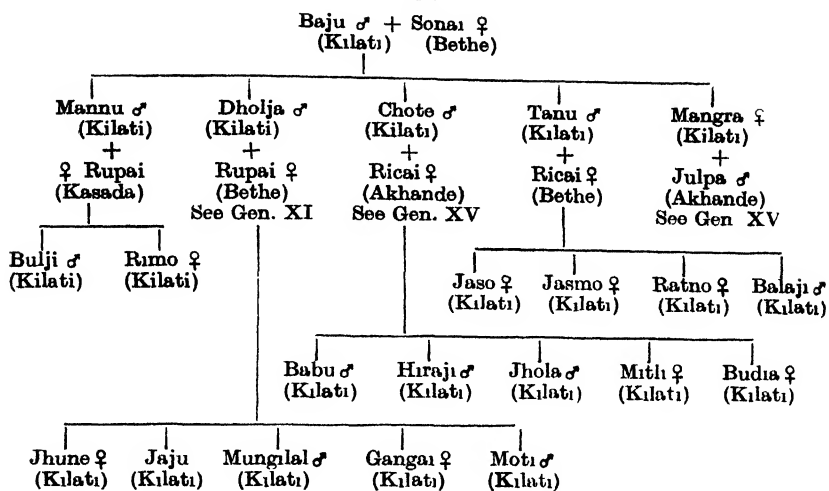
The women Chitu and Bhagai are daughters of two brothers.

## II.

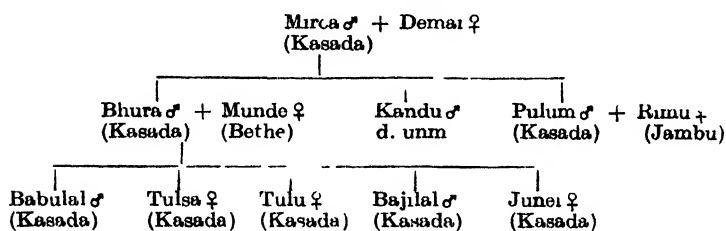
Langra ♂ + ♀  
(Dikhar) (A Gaolan by caste)



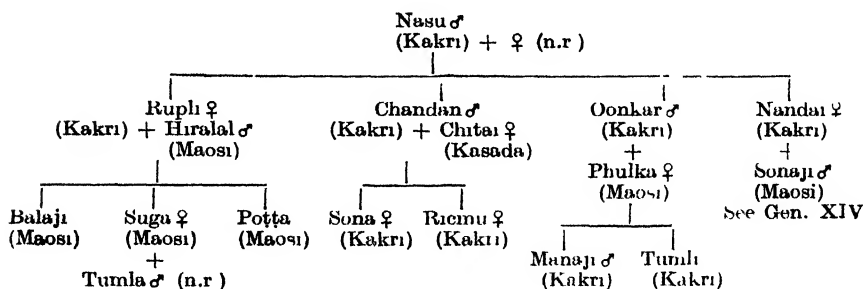
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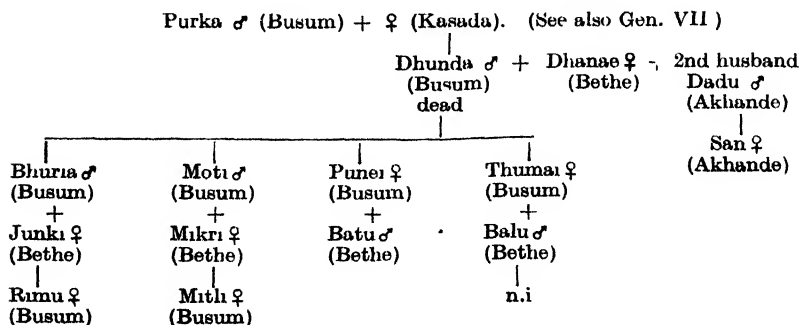
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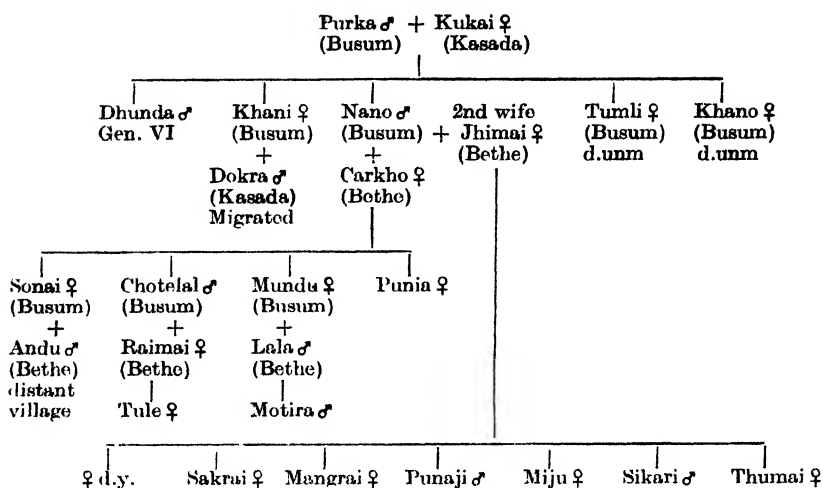
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## VI.

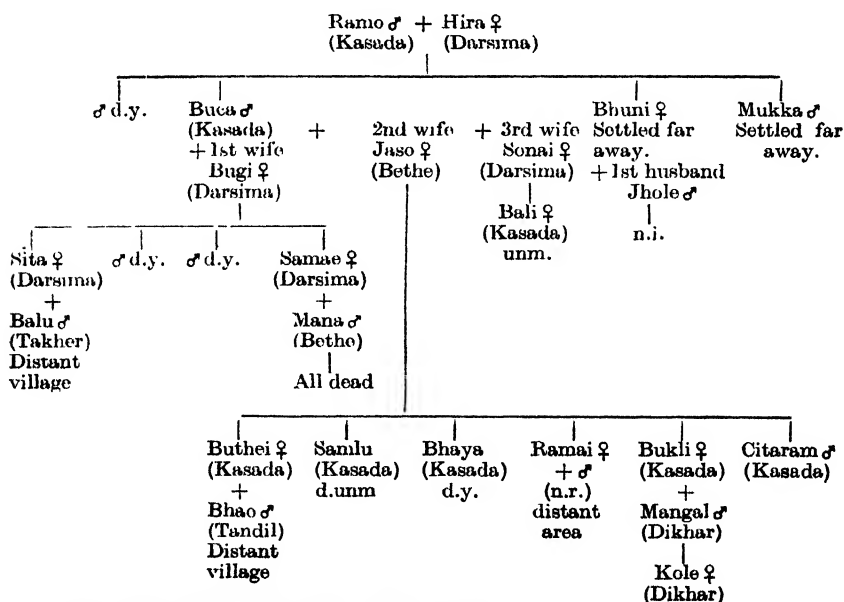


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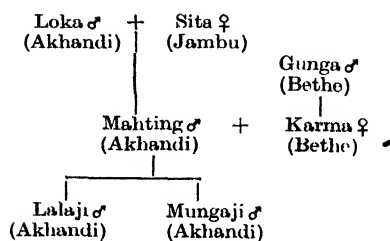
Dokra, husband of Khani, was a cousin (of same generation) of Dhanae, wife of Dhunda, in Gen. VI. Exact relationship could not be obtained, except that it was very close.

## VIII.

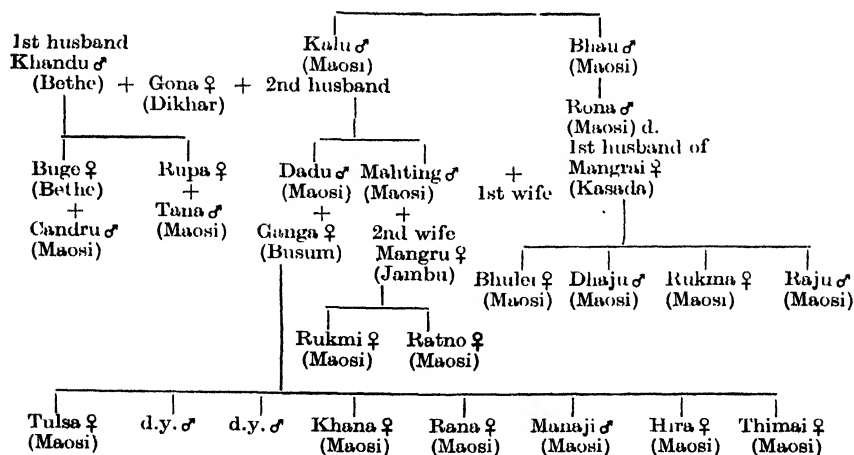


Buca married Sonai who was divorced by Jhole.

## IX.

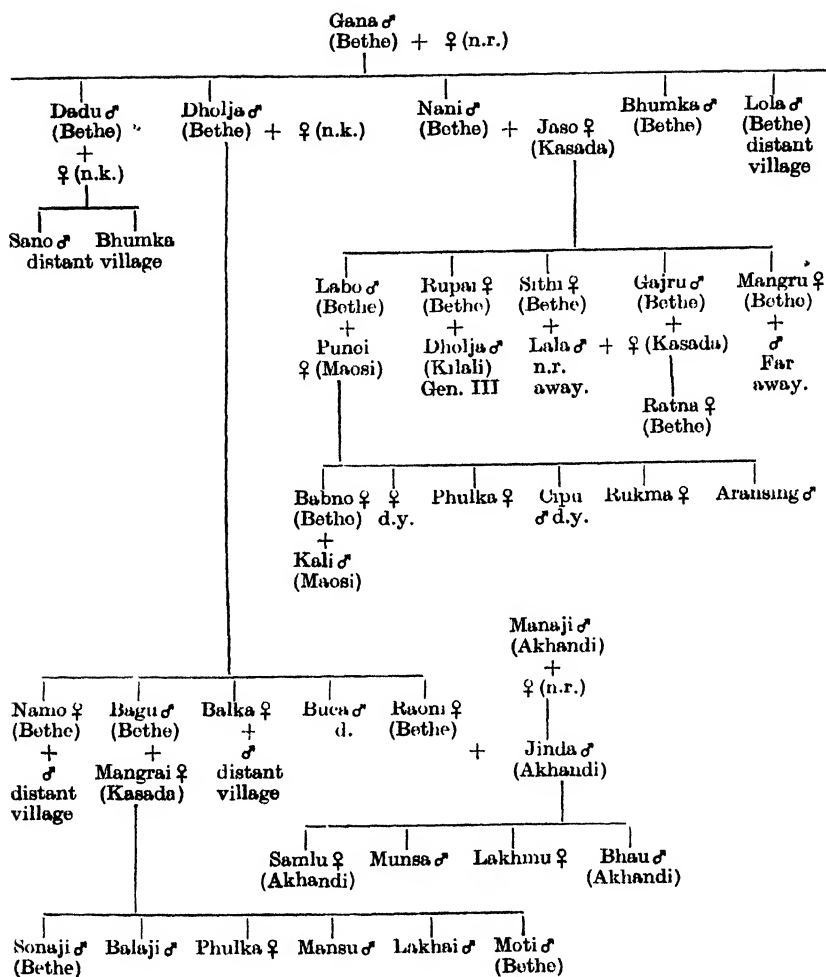


## X.

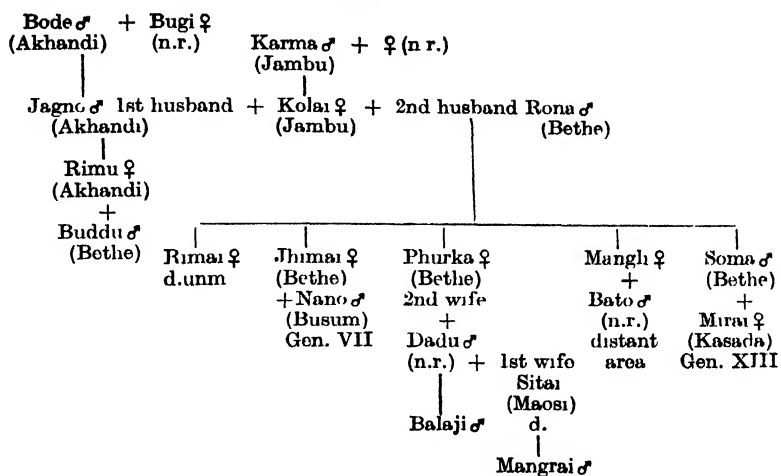


The widow of Khandu was married by Kalu and the two daughters of Khandu were brought home with Gona. Mahting married the widow of his F.B.Z. by leviration and took a second wife in her lifetime.

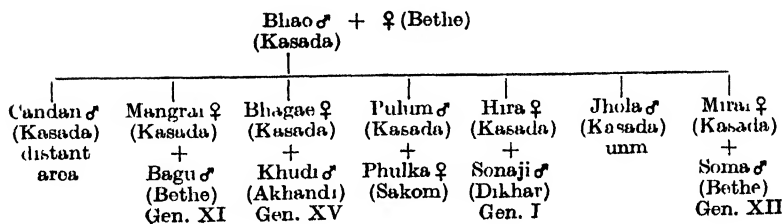
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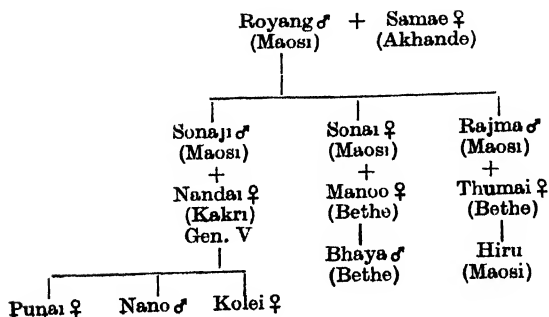
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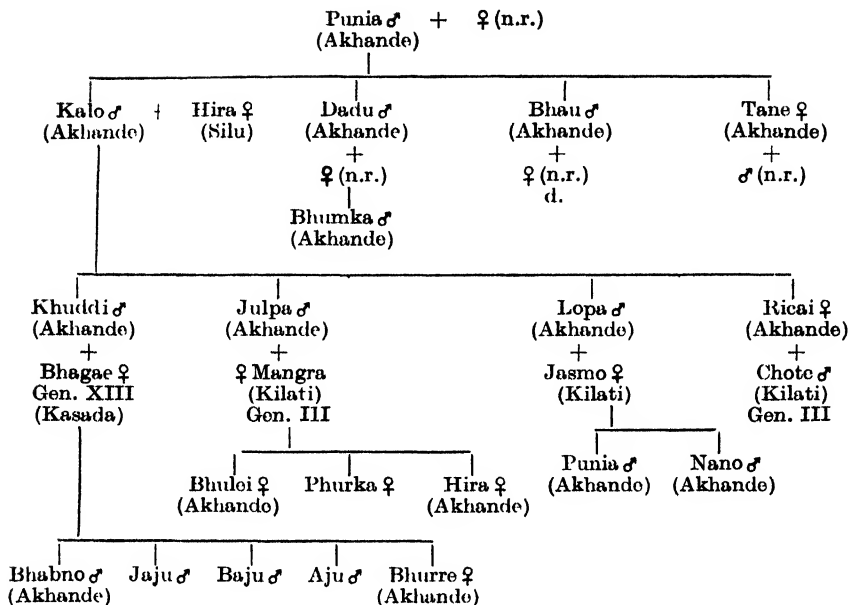
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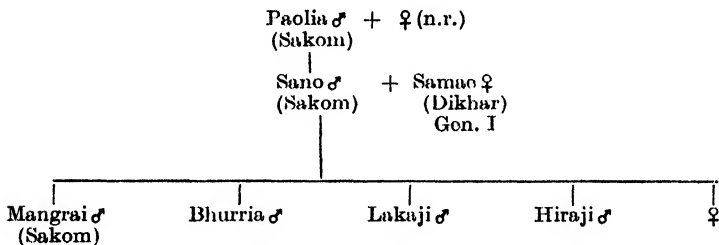
## XIV.



## XV.

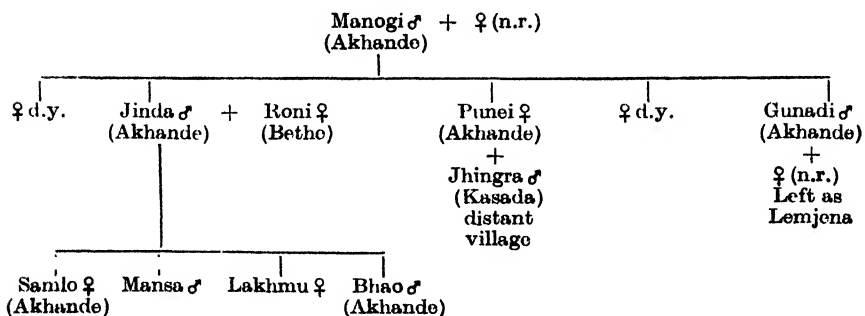


## XVI.

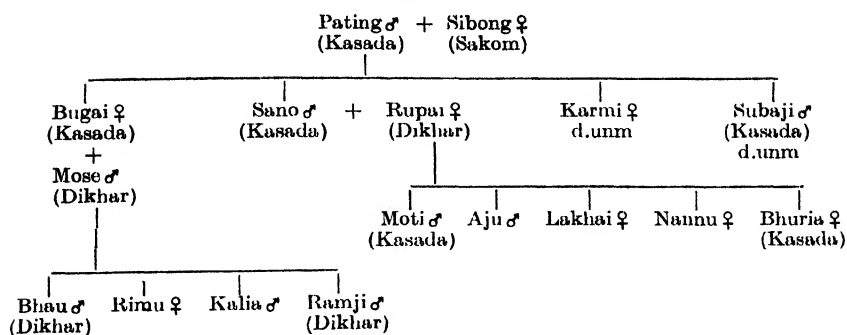


The last child, a daughter, was born on 30th January, 1941, during the period the writer was taking a village census of Multanidhana by the genealogical method.

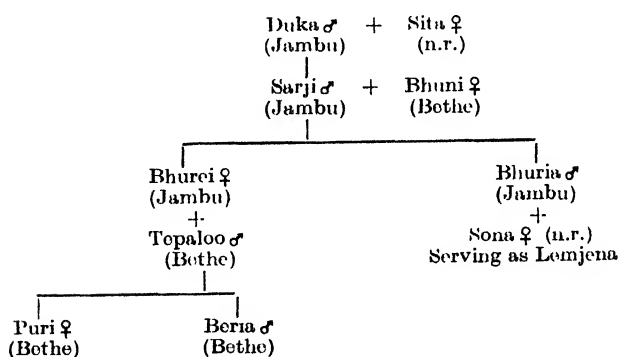
## XVII.



## XVIII.

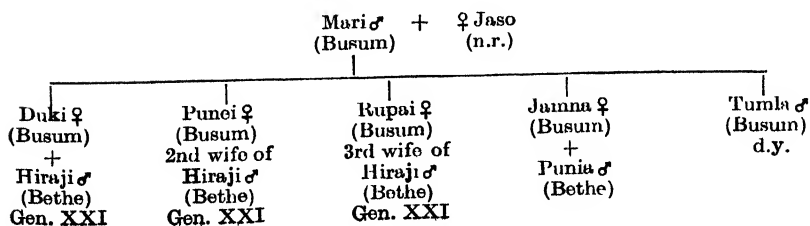


## XIX.



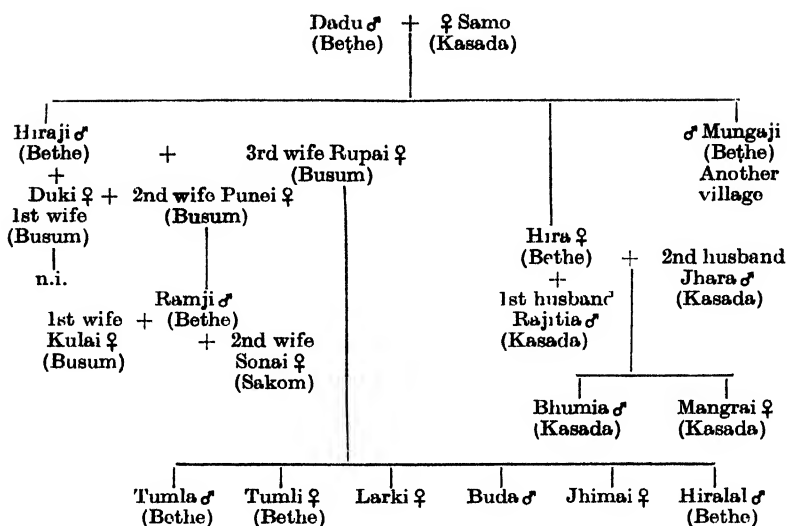
Villago Harisal.

## XX.



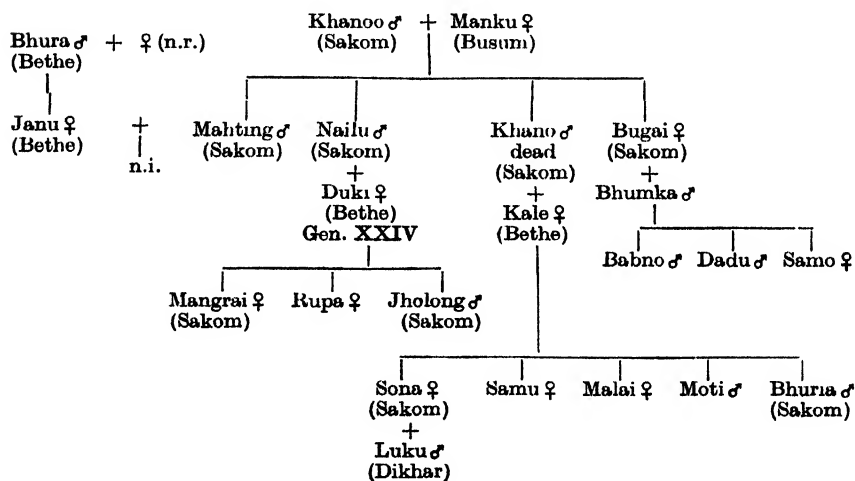


## XXI.

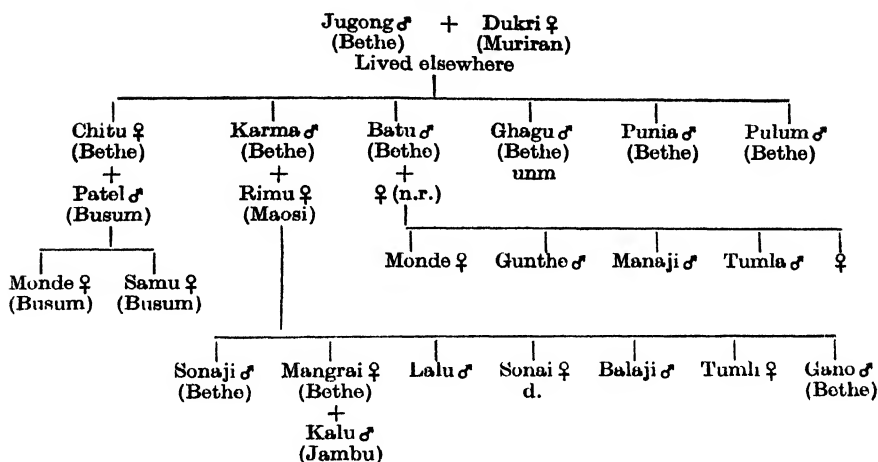


The man Mari (Gen. XX) was Patel of Harisal. Hiraji came to serve as Lemjena for Duki but the girl died shortly after marriage. He continued to serve and was given the sister Punai as wife. She died after giving birth to Ramji. Thereupon Rupai was given to him as wife. On the death of Mari he became Patol. Sonai became wife of Ramji after the latter had married Kulai. She forced herself on him by boloon.

## XXII.

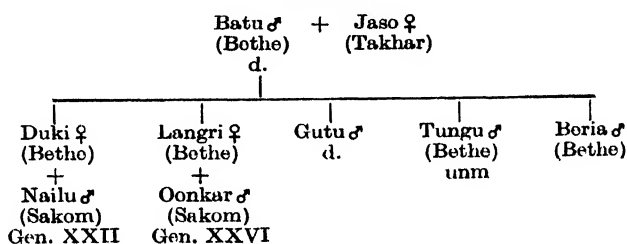


## XXIII.

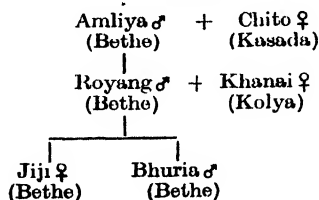


Sonaji was to marry Kalu's sister. Negotiations were in progress in February, 1941, when the writer visited this village. This will be a case of Sata Palta when completed.

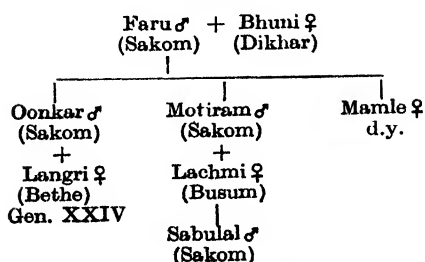
## XXIV.



## XXV.

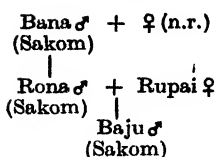


## XXVI.



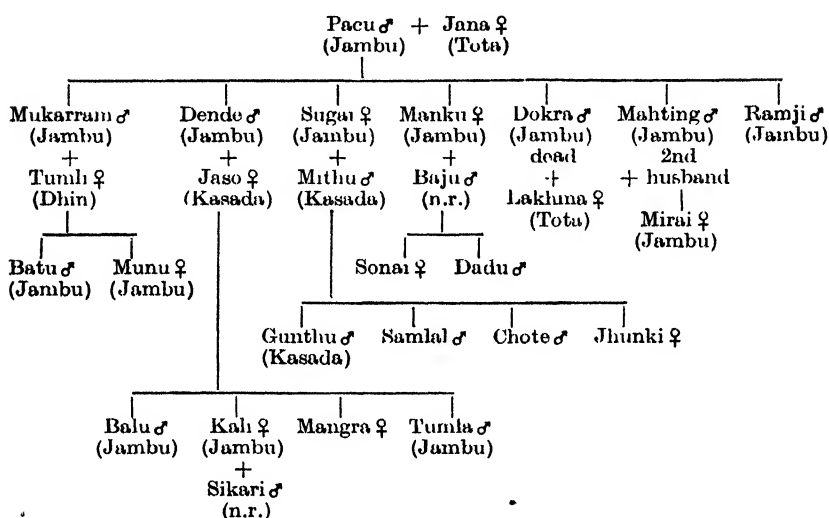
Village Bori (Harisal area).

## XXVII.



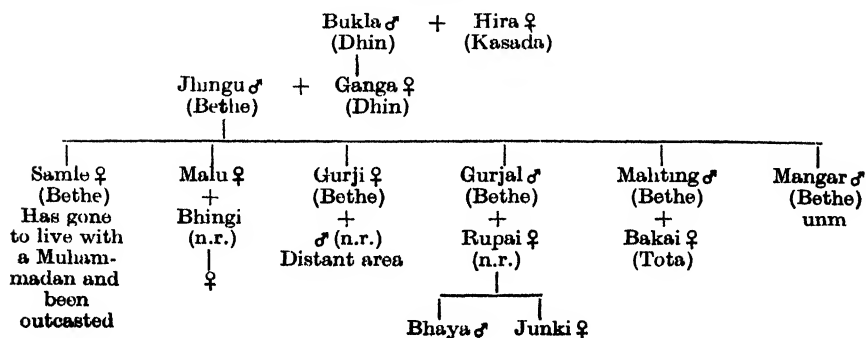
Information incomplete as noted. The family has recently left the village and details were obtained from neighbours.

## XXVIII.

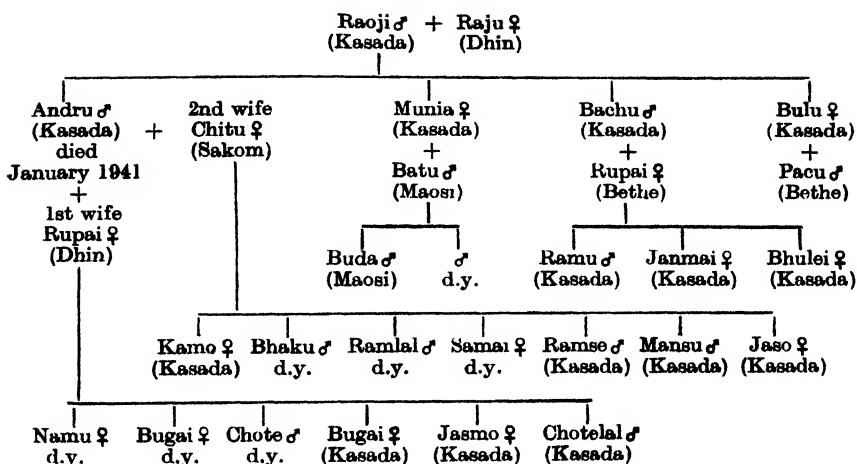


Dende is Patel of Bori. Ramji has gone to serve as Lemjena, one year now, and has not yet been married. Mahting has levirated his brother's widow Lakhna.

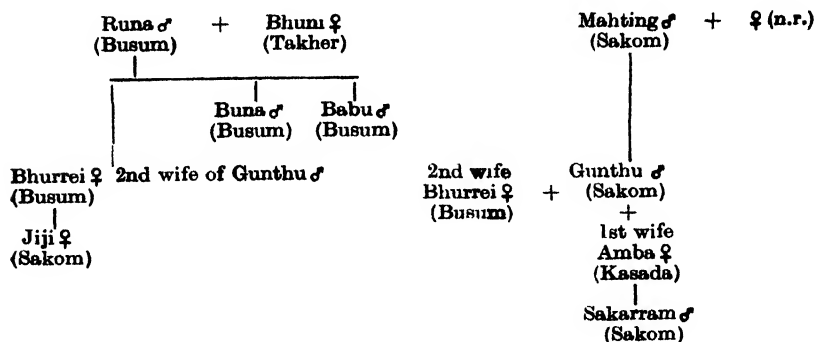
## XXIX.



## XXX.

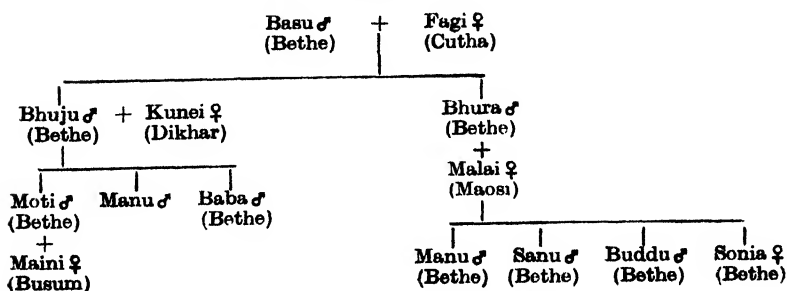


## XXXI.

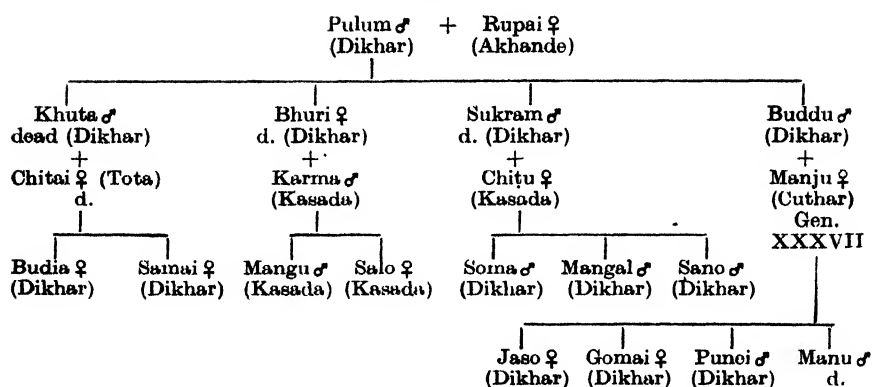


Village Caorakund

## XXXII.

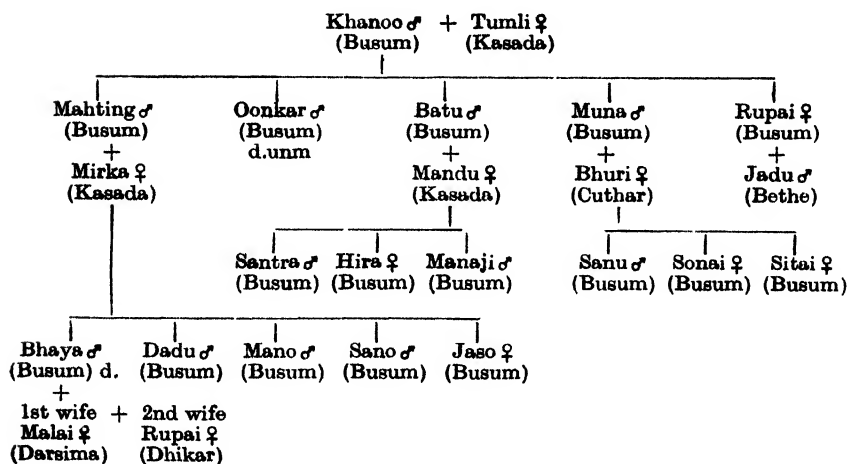


## XXXIII.

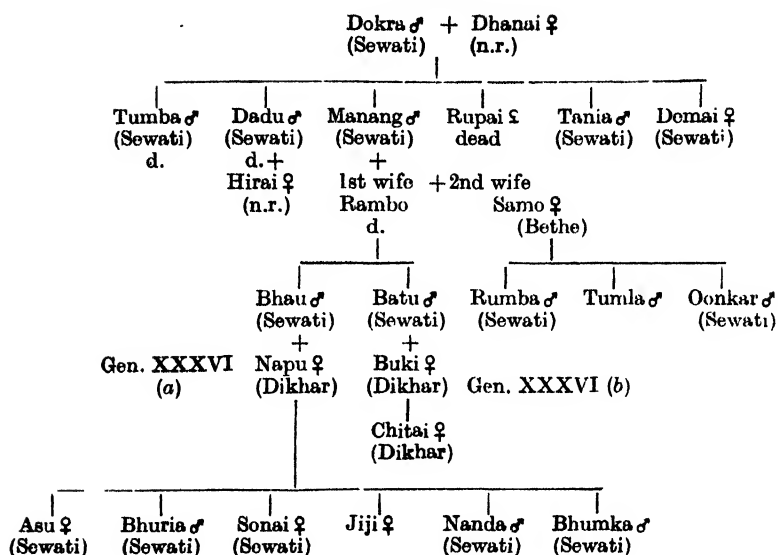


Buddu is Patel of Caorakund village.

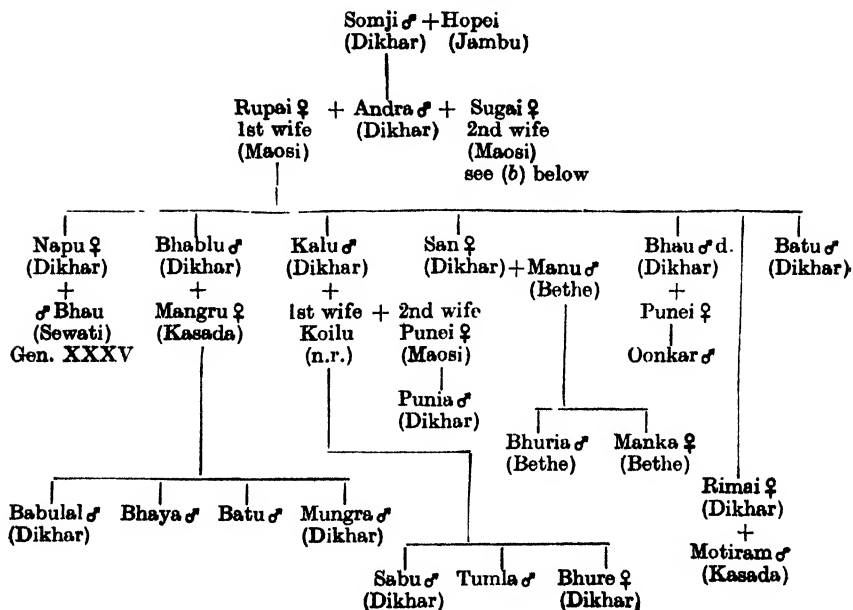
## XXXIV.



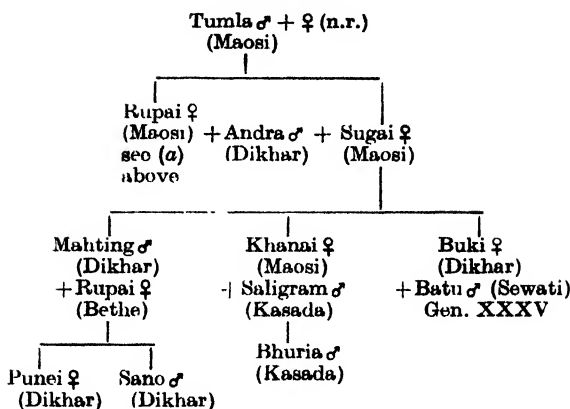
## XXXV.



## XXXVI (a).

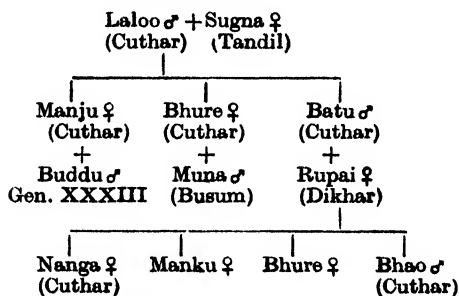


## XXXVI (b).



Note to XXXVI (a).—Punei wife of Bhau is the same as the 2nd wife of Kalu. On the death of Kalu she was levirated by Bhau.

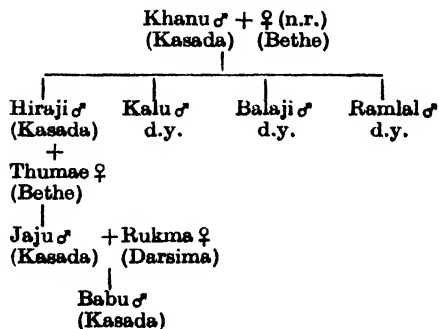
## XXXVII.



Rupai is daughter of Dadu (Dikhar) of the same village.

Ghatang village. (Informant—Hiraji).

## XXXVIII.



Hiraji is Patel of Ghatang.

### A Note on the Vākātakas.

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.

I have read with interest Dr. R. C. Majumdar's paper in *JRASBL*, XII, pp. 1-5, commenting on Prof. A. S. Altekar's views on Vākāṭaka genealogy and chronology contained in Chapter V of *NHIP*, VI. I am inclined to draw the attention of scholars to a few facts in regard to the points raised in this connection.

Dr. Majumdar has discussed the chronological difficulty in accepting the theory that Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, during the earlier part of his life and reign, lived under the influence of his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II who is supposed to have 'taken active interest in the training of his young grandsons'. There is a very strong evidence in favour of Dr. Majumdar's suggestions. We know that the early Vākāṭakas were Śaivas, while the Gupta emperor was a devout Bhāgavata and was at the root of the great popularity of the Bhāgavata form of Vaiṣṇavism in his age. Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II is generally believed to have been converted to Vaiṣṇavism and become a devotee of the god Chakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu) through the influence of his wife Prabhāvatīguptā, who was *bhagavat-pādānudhyātā* and *atyanta-bhagavad-bhaktā*, and of his father-in-law Chandragupta II. It is, however, usually ignored by scholars that Pravarasena II, son of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatīguptā, styled himself *śaṃbhoḥ prasāda-dhṛta-kārtayuga* and *paramamāheśvara* and was a devout Śaiva throughout his long reign. He, therefore, repudiated the religious policy of his parents and his maternal grandfather. This is utterly incompatible with the theory of his subservience to Chandragupta II. Prof. Altekar's view that Pravarasena II wrote on the achievements of Rāma in the *Setubandha* because he was a Vaiṣṇava (*NHIP*, p. 114) is unsupported by any evidence. If it is believed that a Śaiva could not have been the author of the *Setubandha*, we can hardly ascribe the authorship of the poem to the Śaivite Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II. For a criticism of the view that the Vākāṭakas were known as 'the lords of Kuntala', see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 253n.

With reference to the southern limit of the Vākāṭaka kingdom a tradition recorded in the *Sthala-māhātmya* of the Śrīśaila peak is often alluded to (cf. *NHIP*, p. 99). Chandragupta's daughter Chandrāvati, who according to the tradition daily offered a garland of jasmine to the god Śiva-Mallikārjuna on the Śrīśaila in the Kurnool district, is identified with Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II and queen of Rudrasena II. The highly improbable nature of the identification is, however, clearly demonstrated by the fact that the god on the Śrīśaila peak is Śiva, while Prabhāvatīguptā was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu.

Dr. Majumdar thinks that a person became 'major' in ancient India at the age of about 21 years. The suggestion, however, goes against the view of old writers on Indian law that 'one who has not reached his sixteenth year is called a minor' (Medhātithi on Manu, VIII, 148; Jha, *Manusmṛti*, IV, i, p. 176). The *Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra* (III, 3) has: *dvādaśavarṣhā strī prāpta-vyavahārā bhavati, shoḍaśa-varṣhaḥ pumān*; cf. also *aprāpta-vyavahāro=sau yāvat shoḍaśa-vārshikah*, quoted from Dakṣa in Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *a-prāpta*. The *Śabdakalpādrumapariśiṣṭa*, s.v. *a-prāpta-vyavahāra*, has: *bāla ā shoḍaśād=varṣhāt pauganḍo=pi nigadyate*,



*parato vyavahārajñāḥ sva-tantrāḥ pitarāv=ṛte*, quoted from Nārada in the *Vyavahāratattva*.

If Divākarasena was the eldest of the three sons (Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II, there being no reason to believe that two of the three names indicated a single individual) of the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II, as he seems to have been, it is not unnatural to believe that he was at least about five years old when his father died (cf. *NHIP*, p. 111). Consequently, it is probable that he had already attained majority before the time when the Poona grant was issued about 13 years after the death of his father. This would suggest that the cause of Divākarasena not being installed as *Mahārāja* even as late as the 13th year of his *Yauvarājya* was probably something other than his minority. It may have been due to his mother's love of power, or to some defect or deformity of the prince, or to some unknown political problem. While we know that Pallava Viṣṇugopavarman probably remained a *Yuvamahārāja* even during the reign of his son, *Mahārāja* Simhavarman (*Suc. Śāt.*, p. 205), the Ajanta inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, 1, p. 428) speaks of a Vākātaka prince, only eight years old, ascending the throne of Vatsagulma apparently as *Mahārāja*. Minority of a prince, therefore, was not regarded as bar to his attainment to the status of *Mahārāja* at least by the Vākātakas. We note that Prabhāvatiguptā styled herself 'mother of the *Yauvarāja*' instead of 'mother of the *Mahārāja* who is a minor'; but, considering the cases of minor *Mahārājas* in Indian history (cf. the numerous instances recorded, e.g. in the *Rājataranginī*), it is not easy to accept the usual theory about the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā during the minority of her eldest son as perfectly satisfactory.

A question difficult to answer is whether Rudrasena II had other queens older than Prabhāvatiguptā and other sons from them older than Divākarasena and whether the installation of Prabhāvatiguptā as the *agra-mahishī* of Rudrasena II and of Divākarasena as the crown-prince was due to their relation with Chandragupta II whose subordinate ally the Vākātaka king seems to have been. As regards the age of Prabhāvatiguptā when her husband died, it is unknown if the queen's first conception was late, or if her earlier children were all daughters, or if her earlier sons predeceased their father.

Dr. Majumdar suggests that Vindhyaśakti I, founder of the Vākātaka dynasty, began his career about 250 A.D. and that Prṥthivisena II, ninth in descent from Vindhyaśakti I, ascended the throne about 505 A.D. and ended his rule about 530 A.D. or 'somewhat later, say about 540 A.D.' Thus a period of 290 years between 250 and 540 A.D. has been assigned to nine generations of the Vākātakas from Vindhyaśakti I to Prṥthivisena II. This would give an average reign-period of more than 32 years per generation. As the average length of a generation can hardly be more than 25 years, it is difficult to believe that nine generations of the Vākātakas could have ruled for more than 225 years. Rudrasena II, son-in-law and contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (376-414 A.D.), was sixth in descent from Vindhyaśakti I who, therefore, may be assigned to the second half of the third century A.D. Thus Prṥthivisena II does not appear to have ended his rule long after 500 A.D. In any case, he did not very probably rule for any length of time after 528 A.D. It is, therefore, better to identify Vākātaka Prṥthivisena, overlord of Vyāghradeva of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions, with Prṥthivisena I, father of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya's contemporary Rudrasena II, than with Prṥthivisena II, because 'the princes of the region which intervenes between Nachna and Ganj and proper Vākātaka territory owned the sway of the Gupta emperors

down at least to 528 A.D.' Another important fact, not usually noticed by scholars, is that *the palaeography of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions is decidedly earlier* than that of any of the known records of the Vākāṭaka family including the copper-plate grants of Vindhyaśakti II, Prabhāvatiguptā and Pravarasena II. Although it has to be admitted that letters incised on stone sometimes exhibit earlier forms than those engraved on metal plates, it is almost impossible to believe that the Nachna and Ganj records are later than the age of Pravarasena II, grandson of Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) and grandfather of Prthivisena II. In this connection it may also be pointed out that the identification of Vyāghradeva of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions with Vyāghrarāja of the Allahabad pillar inscription, as suggested in *PHAI*, p. 456, is highly improbable, because the former was a ruler of Bundelkhand in Āryāvarta, while the latter ruled over Mahākāntāra, a region definitely located in Dakṣiṇāpatha in Samudragupta's inscription.



**Comments on the Note of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar.**

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.

Dr. D. C. Sircar has referred to two points in my article on the Vākātakas which require further discussion.

(1) In my attempt to show that Prabhāvati-guptā did not become a widow during the reign of her father Candragupta II, I assumed that her son, for whom she acted as regent, did not attain majority and take up the reins of government till he was about 21 years of age. Dr. Sircar has cited some passages to indicate that in ancient India majority was attained in the 16th year. This would strengthen my case, for the date of Prabhāvati-guptā's widowhood would then, according to the line of argument followed by me, have to be placed five years later still. In any case it is not a very material point for my main thesis, and if we accept his view, the chronology may have to be shifted by a few years. Nevertheless, I must point out that it is not perhaps very safe to rely merely on the passages cited by Dr. Sircar to conclude that the kings attained majority at the age of 16. The Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela seems to indicate that this prince became a *Yuvarāja* at the age of 16 and held this office for nine years till he obtained coronation as a *Mahārāja*, 'in the state of manhood', in his twenty-fifth year<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jayaswal, from whose translation I have quoted, adds in a footnote that 'evidently the throne had been vacant and Khāravela ascended it after completing his 24th year'. He also cited the authority of Bṛhaspati to the effect that 'for a prince playing and learning were enjoined up to the 25th year and after that age politics.'<sup>2</sup> I do not imply that Mr. Jayaswal's views are decisive on this point, but merely draw attention to other possibilities.

Dr. Sircar's own argument shows that the rule of majority at the age of 16 was not actually observed, at least in the case of Divākara-sena. To overcome this difficulty he has suggested 'that the cause of Divākara-sena not being installed as *Mahārāja* . . . . . was probably something other than his minority'. Of this, however, we have no evidence whatsoever. Dr. Sircar refers to 'a Vākātaka prince, only eight years old, ascending the throne, apparently as *Mahārāja*'. But the Ajantā inscription, on which he relies, merely notes the fact that he succeeded to the throne at the age of eight, and we do not know whether he was a *Mahārāja*, or a regency ruled in his name. The latter is more probable as we can hardly expect a boy of eight to be allowed to carry on the administration on his own authority alone. Dr. Sircar points out in support of his view, that Prabhāvati-guptā styled herself 'mother of the *Yuvarāja*' instead of 'mother of the *Mahārāja* who is a minor.' But this is exactly what we find in the case of Khāravela also, for as noted above, he is said to have changed his office of *Yuvarāja* for that of *Mahārāja*. On the whole, I do not think we need lay much stress on the *śāstric* injunction about the age of majority, which probably varied in different ages and countries.

(2) Dr. Sircar has pointed out that according to the scheme of chronology adopted by me nine generations of Vākātaka kings ruled for about 290 years, giving nearly 32 years for each generation as against the usual

<sup>1</sup> *Ep Ind* XX, 86

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, fn 3

average of 25 years. I have explained in detail, in my paper, the grounds on which I have assigned dates to different kings. The date of Pravara-sena II's accession has been fixed by me at c. 450 A.D. on independent grounds. If this be accepted, then no valid objection can be raised against the date of Prthivī-sena II, and if necessary, the reign-periods of the early kings may be somewhat reduced. It may be observed, however, that the reign-period suggested by me for the Vākāṭaka dynasty gives more or less the same average as that of the contemporary Gupta dynasty. The accession of Candragupta I is placed by many scholars before 320 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and Budhagupta, who died about 500 A.D., was probably succeeded by his brother Narasimha-gupta. Thus six generations of kings ruled for more, perhaps considerably more, than 180 years, giving an average of more than 30 years. Hence the chronology suggested by me cannot be objected to on the ground of average reign. The accession of Vindhyaśakti I and Pravara-sena I may be placed about a quarter of a century later, as Dr. Sircar suggests, but in view of the fact that Narendra-sena did not possibly come to the throne before 480 A.D., it is not reasonable to hold that his son Prthivī-sena II 'does not appear to have ended his rule long after 500 A.D.', and it is not unlikely that his reign-period extended to the thirties of the sixth century A.D. Whether he is to be identified with the suzerain king mentioned in the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions, must depend on other factors; all that I contend is that such identity cannot be rejected off-hand merely on the presumption that Prthivī-sena's reign ended before 528 A.D. or very shortly after that.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *New History of the Indian People*, VI, 132, 158-9.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

**THE WARLIS.** By K. J. SALVE, M.A., LL.B. Pages x+280. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay, 1945. Price Rs.10.

The Warlis have lately been in the news as they have been attempting to better their economic situation and there has been a trial of strength. They are an aboriginal tribe living mostly in the Thana district of Bombay Province. The 1931 Census returned 207,051 Warlis of whom 118,849 resided in Thana district. In 1941 they numbered 124,847 in the same district, while the total population of the district was returned as 932,733. They formed 48.5% of the aboriginal population.

The book was completed about 1935. It is well illustrated, but it is a pity that the pictures are so small. Some could have been dropped and enlargements of others would have given a better view of the subjects. The author gives a very informative account of their Social Organization, Religion and their Marriage Customs. There is an interesting chapter on Ritual Songs and Mythology. Other subjects dealt with are Dialect; Property *versus* Poverty; the Drink Problem; Indebtedness and forced Labour; and Music and Dance.

The concluding chapter faces frankly the problems as he sees them. He finds them 'backwards' socially, educationally and economically. Ignorance and poverty are seen to be their greatest handicaps. Any 'improvement', he believes, is an uphill task, but nonetheless he is still hopeful as he feels there is a real change going on slowly but surely. He finds that they 'are gradually adopting, consciously or unconsciously, Hindu customs and rituals'. He believes that 'after all, Warlis and Hindus stand on a common ground'.

The book is an able attempt to bring before the public these intensely interesting people. He aims to help them on their way in attaining a fuller and a better life. The book is to be commended to all those interested in primitive life and outlook and in the problems of administration of aboriginal peoples.

W. G. GRIFFITHS.

**THE PURUMS.** By TARAKCHANDRA DAS, M.A. Pages xvi+336. University of Calcutta, 1945. Price Rs.10.

This is another valuable monograph on a little-known people of north-eastern India. The Purums are an old Kuki tribe of Manipur State. The author has had constantly before him, as he has collected his facts, the ultimate improvement of these people. The work is illustrated by twenty plates.

There are a large number of Kuki tribes in Manipur State and at the Census of 1931 they totalled 78,346. The Purums returned only 303 persons: 145 males and 158 females. They constitute one of the smallest groups among the Kuki tribes. The author made a study of their physical characters and practically every adult male member of the tribe (60) was measured. The results obtained are in turn compared with 60 adult Thadou Kukis.

The author presents a complete study of their Economic Life, Social and Political Organization, Religion, Festivals, Scientific Knowledge, etc.

The complete life cycle of an individual is carefully studied. There is a chapter on Music and Dance. There are three Appendices and an Index. The author does not claim this to be a final study of these people. Like all workers in this field he is keenly aware of the gaps in the information which he has secured and of the vast area of experience yet to be explored. A study of this book will not only help one to understand the Purums but also lead to a better appreciation of other Kuki and allied tribes. His recommendations for the future are realistic and well-balanced and reveal his insight into the life of the people and their essential needs.

W. G. GRIFFITHS.

IDEOLOGY OF THE FUTURE. By MUHAMMED RAFI-UD-DIN, M.A. Pages v+561. Published by the Author, Prince of Wales College, Jammu, 1946. (Price not stated.)

The author states that 'the theory sketched in this book aims at being a complete and coherent philosophy of life and a unified explanation of the Universe'. It is based on the well-known hypothesis that consciousness, and not matter, is the ultimate reality. His approach is founded on Bergson's general philosophic outlook, although the author develops certain phases differently and seems to avoid some of the difficulties inherent in the Bergson viewpoint.

The book discusses such questions as Creation and Evolution; the urge of Instinct and the urge of Self; Ethics; Politics and War; Marxism; Education and Art, etc., relating each to the main point of view. He deals very critically with the psychology of McDougall and the School of Psychoanalysis. He logically develops the premises of Bergson. For those who cannot accept such premises the book is nevertheless a valuable and interesting example of the struggle of the human mind and spirit 'to see life steadily and see it whole'.

W. G. GRIFFITHS.

JAGADVIJAYACCHANDAS OF KAVINDRĀCĀRYA. Edited by C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., Ph.D. Ganga Oriental Series No. 2, Bikaner, 1945. (Price not stated.)

The *Jagadvijayacchandasa* is an invocation to Śiva in Sanskrit *Daṇḍaka* metre. It is believed to have been a work of Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī, the renowned Benares scholar (of the seventeenth century), who was held in high esteem by the Mughal court of Delhi. The present text contains two recensions of the work along with commentaries and a long introduction. The verses in the longer recension, though addressed to Śiva, contain an allusion to a powerful monarch (*jagad-vijaya* = conqueror of the world), while those in the shorter recension are in praise of a king who was, according to the present editor, Emperor Jahangir (= *jagad-vijaya*). The poem is rich in rhythm and melody but poor in substance and poetic imagination. Its importance lies in the fact that it represents a period in Indian cultural life when Sanskrit scholarship enjoyed the patronage of the Muslim rulers. The editor deserves thanks for his valuable introduction and careful edition.

NALINAKSHA DUTT.

**A PLAN FOR TIRUCHENDUR.** By J. M. SOMASUNDARAM PILLAI, B.A., B.L. Pages 30. Printed at Gordon & Co., Ltd., Madras, 1946. (Price not stated.)

The Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Board has done a real service to the public by issuing pamphlets in English and vernaculars describing the important shrines in South India and the one on Tanjore by Mr. J. M. Somasundaram is the best known of them all. It is a good guide for the pilgrim as well as for the layman interested in knowing something of the antiquity and archaeological importance of the temple. The present book by the same author, though quite suggestive of improvements and possibilities in the development of the temple as an institution at Tiruchendur, does not deal at any length with either the antiquity or the importance of the place, the artistic and architectural features of the temple or its epigraphical wealth. This would have been relevant even in the plan of development of Tiruchendur if only to draw attention to its place among the other well-known shrines in South India, important both as temples of art and institutions of culture with infinite possibilities of development for the better life of Hindu society. The suggestions, however, of amenities for pilgrims, of educational and cultural activity, specially the Veda-Sivagama Pathshala envisaged in the Theological University, are most welcome.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI.

**SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION (IN PLANT PERSPECTIVE).** By GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR, M.Sc., Ph.D. Pages v+447. Published by the Author. Calcutta, 1938. (Price not stated.)

This book is somewhat novel in conception. As the author himself says, he has 'sought to present certain aspects of Indian civilization' in order to 'shew its indebtedness in all its various aspects to plants and plant-life'. After a preliminary dissertation on the knowledge of botanical science in ancient India, the author proceeds to discuss the food and drinks, dress and other personal requisites, toilet, furniture, conveyances, trade and commerce, health and hygiene, dwelling places including palaces, parks and hermitages and various domestic rites and rituals. The author has discussed these various aspects of Indian life with reference to original sources. In spite of his prefatory remarks, quoted above, he has by no means confined himself to those features of life and society which are associated with, and conditioned or influenced by, plants. He has treated all the items in a general way, but has always taken care to emphasize the part played by plants in the various habits and activities of man. The author is a botanist and his special knowledge of plants and plant-life has enabled him to elucidate and occasionally throw new light on many points of contact between man and his arboreal surroundings. He has succeeded in bringing into prominence the large extent to which plants have contributed to our social and economic welfare and plant-life has dominated our thoughts, ideas, social ceremonies and even religious conceptions.

In a work of this character we cannot expect either exhaustive treatment or absolute accuracy in historical details. The author is not a professed student of history, and had to deal with a large variety of topics. It is no wonder, therefore, that one comes across, here and there, errors of both omission and commission. But the credit of the author lies in his broad vision of the subject. He has turned his scientific mind to the study



of the culture and civilization of India and has brought his store of botanical knowledge to bear on its inner meaning and significance. He has shown an extensive acquaintance with Indian literature bearing on the subject and his profuse quotations and detailed references have enhanced the value of the book. We are sure the book would prove both useful and interesting not only to the general public but also to serious students of Indian history and culture.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

SNOW BALLS OF GARHWAL. By Various Authors. Pages xiv+87. The Universal Publishers, Ltd., Lucknow, 1946. Price Rs.3-12-0.

This book is one of the 'Folk Series Culture' edited by Professor D. N. Majumdar. It contains two parts. In the first there are four sections. Prof. Majumdar discusses the *malaise* of culture; Sir Sitaram has four pages on Indian folklore. The rest of Part I is taken up with Santal Marriage Songs and Folk-songs of the Dangi Bhils by W. G. Archer and D. P. Khanapurkar respectively.

Part III (pages 20-87) contains a series of songs entitled 'Snow Balls of Garhwal' as collected by N. S. Bhandari. The various parts are not of equal value, but the whole forms a valuable collection of folk poetry and song, and adds to the many examples which have been published in recent years. Through these songs here included, there shines a wealth of feeling and they show how experience of daily living finds its reflection in popular song. There are five well-executed lino-cuts by L. M. Sen. This is a valuable book for those who would properly evaluate the deep significance of folk-songs.

W. G. GRIFFITHS.

FOLK-SONGS OF CHHATTISGARH. By VERRIER ELWIN, D.Sc. (Oxon). Pages lxi+466. Oxford University Press, 1946. Price Rs.15.

This is another valuable volume in the series called *Specimens of the Oral Literature of Middle India*. There is a previous volume of poetry: 'Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills'.

This volume on the songs of Chhattisgarh is more than a mere collection of songs. There is the throb of a living organism about it. It is an attempt to interpret the deep place poetry has in the life of the people of this varied and interesting plain of Central India. He shows how 'poetry even in what at first may not seem a specially poetical part of India can bless with beauty every aspect of human life . . .' Keys to the interpretation of poetic symbolism are given and illustrated with striking examples. There is usually a short introduction to each collection which gives a vivid insight into the intent and significance of the songs.

All who appreciate the meaning of folk-songs and their symbolisms and would have a deeper understanding of the thought of the people of these parts would do well to obtain this book. There is a striking 'Comment' by W. G. Archer which introduces the book. All in all, it is one of the books which will help to a better understanding of Indian life.

W. G. GRIFFITHS.

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE HINDUS. By CHANDRA CHAKRABERTY.  
375 pages. Vijayakrishna Brothers, Calcutta.

*This book has disappointed us. It covers a large field, treating of such diverse subjects as arts, philosophy, morals, law, domestic rites, medicine, astronomy, religious festivals, the Epics and the Puranas, dramas, the economic life, Indo-Iranian contacts, Indo-Chinese relation, sex-life, and the cultivated plants. But the book is a mere haphazard collection of a mass of data which are largely irrelevant and unauthentic. The author belongs to the class of writers who do not like to narrate sober facts but love to indulge in so-called new discoveries and sensational revelations, not unoften based on pure imagination. He is singularly deficient in literary gifts and critical faculty. His book would be dangerous to those who do not possess a general knowledge of the subject and dry and tedious to others who know it. It is regrettable that money, energy, time and, not the least important in these days, paper should be wasted over a book of this kind. The book is full of errors, has no table of contents and an index of one page. The year of publication is nowhere mentioned.*

R. C. MAJUMDAR.



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## PRINCIPLES OF JAINISM.

By DR. B. C. LAW.

(Received for publication May 30, 1947).

Researches in Jainism have made sufficient progress to leave no room for doubt that Jainism is a distinct form of religion with a philosophy of its own. It is true that the final redaction of the Jain Canon was made at Vallabhi as late as the sixth century A.D. and that its language too is later than Pāli, which is the language of the Theravāda Buddhist Canon. There are many ideas and passages common to both the scriptures. Jainism has nevertheless many distinctive characteristics of its own, and historically it occupies a place midway between Brahmanism on the one hand and Buddhism on the other. It cherishes a theory of soul as an active principle in contradistinction to the *Vedānta* or *Sāṃkhya* doctrine of soul as a passive principle. Buddhism repudiates it. The Jain notion of *karma* is rather physical while the Buddhist idea of the same is psycho-ethical. In Jainism rebirth takes place by way of transmigration of soul. Buddhism rejects the theory of transmigration. According to Jainism, soul is vitally interested in our actions, since it has to bear the brunt of all of them. As a substance it does not undergo any change. Its changes are all due to the circumstances in which it is placed. It is generally maintained that the *yoga* method of Jainism is obscure but in the following exposition of the principles we may find that in Jainism too the *yoga* practice is equally important. In Jainism as in Buddhism the bodily functions cease in the process of *yoga* after the vocal, and the mental after the physical. The different kinds of knowledge attained through *yoga* are substantially the same in both the religions. Like the *Sāṃkhya* doctrine Jainism stands for a dualistic conception of soul and matter and in this respect it differs from the Vedāntic pantheism. The Jain dualism may also be interpreted as a pluralistic doctrine like the realism of the *Vaiśeṣika* system by which it was influenced. Jainism maintains a hylozoistic notion of nature in which all compound things are different forms of life in varying stages of evolution. The lowest form of life possesses the sense of touch and the highest form all the six senses. This is at the back of tender regard for all forms of life which characterizes the religious life of a Jain who retreats in fear of causing harm. The Jain motto of life is ascetic or stoic. The path to happiness and progress lies through self-denial, self-abnegation and self-mortification. All the rules of conduct and religious practices are therefore designed to that very end. The chain of reasoning followed in Jainism to establish the universal religion of non-harming is generally missed. Here an attempt has been made to set it out as clearly as possible and to compare it with that in Buddhism as far as we have thought it necessary.

*Ahimsā* or non-harming is the first principle of higher life which Mahāvīra inculcated to his disciples and followers. Its visible effect was sought to be shown how even such brute creation as the beasts and birds, reptiles and fishes, happily responded to the non-harming and compassionate attitude of men.

The doctrine of *karma* which Mahāvīra taught, went to make men conscious of their responsibility for all their acts, mental, vocal or bodily. *Karma* may be worked off by austerity, service rendered to ascetics or to the poor, the helpless and the suffering by giving them food, water, shelter

or clothing. A man's action becomes an obstacle to the progress of soul, if greatly influenced by such *Kaṣāyas* as anger, pride, deceit or greed. *Karma* may be divided according to its nature, duration, essence and content. It is intimately bound up with the soul. There are eight kinds of *karma*. The first kind hides knowledge from us (*jñānāvaraṇīya*), the second kind prevents us from beholding the true faith (*darśanāvaraṇīya*), the third kind causes us to experience either the sweetness of happiness or the bitterness of misery (*vedanīya*), the fourth kind bemuses all the human faculties (*mohanīya*), the fifth kind determines the length of time which a *jīva* must spend in the form with which his *karma* has endowed him (*āyu*), the sixth *karma* (*nāma*) decides which of the four states or conditions shall be our particular *gati* (destiny), the seventh *karma* is *gotra karma* which determines a man's life, his occupation, the locality in which he may live, his marriage, his religious observances and even his food.<sup>1</sup> The last and the eighth kind is the *antarāya karma* which always stands as an obstacle. It prevents a person from entering the path leading to eternal bliss.<sup>2</sup> The karmic matter keeps the soul confined to the world of attachment and bondage. According to Mahāvīra the painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action and not by any other cause (fate, chance, creator or the like). Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls and individually he rises. His passions, consciousness, intellect, perceptions and impressions belong to the individual exclusively. All living beings owe their present form of existence to their own *karma*. The sinners cannot annihilate any work by new work, the pious annihilate their work by abstention from work.<sup>3</sup> *Karma* consists of acts, intentional and unintentional, that produce effects on the nature of soul. Soul is susceptible to the influences of *karma*. The categories of merit and demerit comprehend all acts which keep the soul bound to the circle of births and deaths. *Nirjarā* consists in the wearing out of accumulated effects of *karma* on the soul by the practice of austerities (*tapasā nirjarā ca*). In short Mahāvīra's great message to mankind is that birth is nothing, that caste is nothing, and that *karma* is everything, and on the destruction of *karma* the future happiness depends. There are four kinds of destructive *karma*<sup>4</sup> (*ghātiyakarma*) which retain the soul in mundane existence. Jainism as a practical religion teaches us to purge ourselves of impurities arising from *karma*.

The Jains do not deny the existence of the soul as an eternal substance with consciousness as its fundamental attribute.<sup>5</sup> It is an active principle since it has to bear the whole brunt of actions. The road to final deliverance lies in four-fold means of right knowledge, faith, conduct, and austerities. Final deliverance or *mukti* is the freedom from pain. It is perfection. It is the safe, happy and quiet place which is reached by the great sages. It is

<sup>1</sup> S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Uttarā*, XXXIII, 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12, 15. In Buddhism *karma* is defined as volition expressed in action (*cetanāhaṃ bhikkhave kammaṃ vadāmi—Atthasālinī*, pp. 88ff.). An action is no action until the will is manifested in conduct. *Karma* means consciousness of good and bad, merit and demerit (*kammaṃ nāma kusālākusalacetanā—Visuddhimagga*, II, p. 614). *Karma* produces consequence, retribution is born of action, action is the cause of rebirth, in this way the world continues. No action passes from the past life to the present nor from the present to the future (*Visuddhimagga*, II, p. 603). Regarding the relationship between *Karma* (action) and *vipāka* (consequence), there is no action in consequence and there is no consequence in action. Each of them by itself is void, at the same time there is no consequence. An action is void of its consequence which comes through action and consequence comes into existence on account of action (*Visuddhimagga*, II, p. 603).

<sup>4</sup> B. C. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12, 21; *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 483; *Sūtrakṛ.*, I, 6, 27; I, 10, 17.

the eternal place, difficult of approach.<sup>1</sup> *Dharma*, *adharma*, space, time, matter and soul are the six substances. They are imperishable and eternal by their very nature.<sup>2</sup> Each of them is a substance but time, matter and souls form an infinite number of substances. The characteristic of *dharma* is motion. That of *adharma* is immobility<sup>3</sup> and that of space (*ākāśa*) is to make room. The characteristic of time is duration, that of soul is the realization of knowledge, faith, conduct, austerities, energy and realization of its developments. Soul (*jīva*), the inanimate things (*ajīva*), the binding of the soul by *karma*, merit (*puṇya*), demerit (*pāpa*), that which causes the soul to be affected by sins (*āśrava*), the prevention of sins by watchfulness (*saṃvara*), annihilation of *karma* (*Karma-kṣaya*) and final deliverance (*mokṣa*) are the nine truths.<sup>4</sup> The doctrine of nine terms (*navatattva*) represents the main system of Jainism.<sup>5</sup> *Jīva* and *ajīva* comprehend the world of existence as known and experienced. The world of life is represented by six classes of living beings, while the movable things are the fire lives, wind lives, and those with an organic body. *Samvara* is the principle of self-control by which the influx of sins is checked. The category of *Samvara* comprehends the whole sphere of right conduct. *Samvara* is an aspect of *tapas*. *Mokṣa* is the essential point in the teachings of Mahāvīra, which is generally understood as emancipation. It really means the attainment of the highest state of sanctification by the avoidance of pains and miseries of worldly life. It is the *summum bonum* or the state of perfect beatitude as attained. It may also mean final deliverance or liberation from the fetters of worldly life and total annihilation or extinction of human passion.

Faith is produced by nature (*nisarga*), instruction (*upadeśa*), command (*ājñā*), study of the *sūtras*, suggestion (*bija*), comprehension of the meaning of the sacred lore (*abhiḡama*), complete course of study (*viśtāra*), religious exercise (*kriyā*), brief exposition (*saṃkhepa*) and reality (*dharma*).<sup>6</sup>

He who truly understands by a spontaneous effort of his mind the nature of soul, inanimate things, merit and demerit and who puts an end to sins (*āśrava-saṃvara*) believes by nature. He who believes the four truths taught by the Jinās believes by nature. He who believes these truths

<sup>1</sup> *Uttarādhyayana*, XXIII, 81-84.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūtrakṛtīṅga*, I, 1; I, 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 1, 2, 3; I, 1, 4, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 14. The actions which lead to the good *karma* which brings peace of mind are called *puṇya*. *Puṇya* is of various kinds: *annapuṇya* (merit acquired by giving food to the deserving people), *pānapuṇya* (merit acquired by giving water to the thirsty), *vastrapuṇya* (merit acquired by giving clothes to the poor especially to the monks), *layanapuṇya* (merit acquired by building or lending a house to a monk), *śayana-puṇya* (merit acquired by providing seats and beds), *manapuṇya* (merit acquired by thinking good of every one), *kāyapuṇya* (merit acquired by saving a life or rendering service), *vacanapuṇya* (merit acquired by speaking without hurting anybody's feelings) and *namaskārapuṇya* (merit acquired by reverent salutations). There are various kinds of *pāpa* or sin. *Jivahimsā* (life-slaughter) is the most heinous of all the crimes according to Jains. Sins are also acquired by speaking falsehood, dishonesty, dishonesty, covetousness, anger, conceit, attachment and avarice.

<sup>5</sup> *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXVIII, 14.

The nine main terms of Jainism which became current and widely known as early as the time of the Buddha include *nijjarā* and *mokkha* (*Devadaha-sutta*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, p. 214:

'*purāṇānaṃ kammānaṃ tapasā vyantibhāvā,*  
*navānaṃ kammānaṃ akaraṇā āyatinaṃ anavassavo,*  
*āyatinaṃ anavassavā kammakkhaya, kammakkhaya*  
*dukkhakkhaya, dukkhakkhaya vedanākkhaya,*  
*vedanākkhaya sabbāṃ dukkhāṃ nijjinaṇaṃ bhūvissati.'*

Here the term *nijjinaṇaṃ* occurs, which implies the idea of *nijjarā*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 16.



having learnt them from somebody else believes by instruction. He who has got rid of love, hatred, delusion and ignorance believes by command. He who obtains righteousness by the study of the *sūtras* believes by the study of the *sūtras*. He who knows the sacred lore believes by the comprehension of the sacred lore. He who understands the true nature of all substances believes by a complete course of study. He who sincerely performs all duties by right knowledge, faith, etc., believes by religious exercise. He who is not versed in the sacred doctrines believes by brief exposition. He who believes in the truth of the realities, believes by reality. There is no right conduct without right belief, it must be cultivated for obtaining the right faith; righteousness and conduct originate together or righteousness precedes conduct.<sup>1</sup> Without right faith there is no right knowledge, without right knowledge there is no virtuous conduct, without virtues there is no deliverance and without deliverance (*mokṣa*) there is no perfection.<sup>2</sup>

Austerities are two-fold: external and internal. By knowledge one knows things, by faith one believes in them, by conduct one gets freedom from *karma* and by austerities one reaches purity.<sup>3</sup> Great sages whose object is to get rid of all misery proceed to perfection having destroyed their *karma* by control and austerities.

Mahāvira has given instructions regarding exertion in righteousness. Those who believe in it, accept it, practise it, comply with it, study it, and understand it, have obtained perfection, enlightenment, deliverance and final beatitude. He has dealt with the following subjects:—

(1) *Longing for liberation*: By longing for liberation, the soul obtains an intense desire of the Law. By an intense desire of the Law, he quickly arrives at an increased longing for liberation. He destroys anger, pride, deceit and greed. He becomes possessed of right faith and by the purity of faith, he will reach perfection after one birth.

(2) *Disregard of worldly objects*: By disregard of worldly objects, the soul quickly feels disgust for pleasures enjoyed by men, gods and animals. He becomes indifferent to all objects; thereby he ceases to engage in any undertaking with the result that he enters the road to perfection.

(3) *Desire of the Law*: By the desire of the Law, the soul becomes indifferent to pleasures. He abandons the life of a householder and as a houseless monk, he puts an end to all pains, mental and bodily.

(4) *Obedience to the co-religionists and to the guru*: By obedience to them, the soul obtains discipline. By discipline and avoidance of misconduct he avoids being born as a denizen of hell; by devotion to the *guru*, he obtains truth as a good man and gains perfection and beatitude.

(5) *Confession of sins before the guru*: By this act the soul gets rid of the thorns of deceit, wrong belief, etc. He obtains simplicity and annihilates *karma*.

(6) *Repenting for one's sins to oneself*: By this act, the soul obtains repentance and becoming indifferent by repentance, he prepares for himself an ascending scale of virtues by which he destroys *karma*.

(7) *Repenting for one's sins before the guru*: By this act the soul obtains humility. He will leave off all blamable occupations and apply himself to praiseworthy callings.

(8) *Moral and intellectual purity of the soul*: By such purity the soul ceases from sinful occupations.

(9) *Adoration of the 24 Jinas*: By this adoration, the soul arrives at purity of faith.

<sup>1</sup> *Uttarādhyaṇa*, XXVIII, 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 30.

(10) *Paying reverence to the guru*: By this act the soul destroys such *karma* as leads to birth in low families. He wins the affection of the people and brings about general good-will.

(11) *By expiation of sins*, the soul obviates transgressions of the vows; thereby he stops the *āśravas* or influx of sins.

(12) *By a particular posture of the body (kāyotsarga)*, the soul gets rid of past and present transgressions which require *prāyaścitta* (expiatory rites).

(13) *By self-denial* the soul shuts the doors against the *āśravas*<sup>1</sup> and prevents desires arising in him.

(14) *By praises and hymns*, he obtains wisdom consisting in knowledge, faith and conduct.

(15) *By keeping the right time*, he destroys *karma* which obstructs right knowledge.

(16) *By practising penance*, he gets rid of sins and commits no transgressions.

(17) *By begging forgiveness*, he obtains happiness of mind.

(18) *By study*, he destroys *karma* which obstructs right knowledge.

(19) *By the recital of the sacred texts*, he obtains destruction of *karma* and preserves the sacred lore.

(20) *By questioning the teachers*, he arrives at a correct comprehension of the *sūtra* and its meaning.

(21) *By repetition*, he reproduces the sounds or syllables and commits them to memory.

(22) *By pondering on what he has learnt* he loosens the firm hold which the seven kinds of *karma* have upon the soul; he shortens their duration and mitigates their power.

(23) *By religious discourses*, he obtains destruction of *karma*, he exalts the creed and by exalting the creed he acquires *karma* for the future bliss.

(24) *By the acquisition of sacred knowledge*, he destroys ignorance.

(25) *By concentration of his thoughts*, he obtains stability of the mind.

(26) *By control*, he obtains freedom from sins.

(27) *By austerities*, he cuts off *karma*.

(28) *By cutting off karma*, he obtains freedom from actions.

(29) *By renouncing pleasures*, he obtains freedom from false longing.

(30) *By mental independence*, he gets rid of attachment.

(31) *By using unfrequented lodgings and beds*, he obtains *gupti* or conduct. He will be steady in his conduct.

(32) *By turning away from the world*, he will strive to do no bad actions.

(33) *By giving up collections of alms in one district only (ekamaṇḍalyāṃ āhārakaraṇaṃ)*, he overcomes obstacles.

(34) *By abandoning articles of use*, he obtains successful study.

(35) *By not taking forbidden food*, he ceases to act for the sustenance of his life.

(36) *By conquering his passions*, he becomes free from passions.

(37) *By renouncing activity*, he obtains inactivity. By ceasing to act, he acquires no new *karma*.

(38) *By renouncing his body*, he acquires the pre-eminent virtues of the *siddhas* (perfected ones).

(39) *By shunning company*, he obtains singleness and avoids disputes, quarrels, passions, etc.

(40) *By giving up all food*, he prevents his birth many times.

(41) *By perfect renunciation*, he enters the final stage of pure meditation wherefrom there is no return.

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<sup>1</sup> *Āśrava* is that which causes the soul to be affected by sins.

(42) *By conforming to the standard of a monk's life, he obtains ease and will be careful. He will inspire all beings with confidence and practise austerities.*

(43) *By doing service, he acquires karma which brings about for him the name and family name of a Tirthakara.*

(44) *By fulfilling all virtues, he will not be born again.*

(45) *By freedom from passions, he destroys the ties of attachment and desire.*

(46) *By patience, he overcomes troubles.*

(47) *By freedom from greed, he obtains voluntary poverty.*

(48) *By simplicity, he will become upright.*

(49) *By humility, he will acquire freedom from self-conceit.*

(50) *By sincerity of mind, he will obtain purity of mind.*

(51) *By sincerity in religious practice, he obtains proficiency in it.*

(52) *By sincerity of action, he will become pure in his action.*

(53) *By watchfulness of his mind, he concentrates his thoughts.<sup>1</sup>*

(54) *By the guarding of speech, he is free from prevarication.*

(55) *By watchfulness of the body, he obtains samvara (restraint).*

(56) *By discipline of the mind, he obtains concentration of his thoughts.*

(57) *By discipline of the speech, he obtains development of faith.*

(58) *By discipline of the body, he obtains development of conduct. He may obtain perfection, enlightenment, and deliverance.*

(59) *By possession of knowledge, he acquires an understanding of words and their meanings.*

(60) *By possession of faith, he destroys wrong belief.*

(61) *By possession of conduct, he obtains stability.*

(62) *By subduing the organ of hearing, he overcomes his delight in all pleasant or unpleasant sounds, he acquires no new karma and destroys the old one.*

(63-66) All these apply also to his subduing the organs of sight, smell, taste and touch with regard to pleasant colours, smells, tastes and touches.

(67) *By conquering anger, he obtains patience.*

(68) *By conquering pride, he obtains simplicity.*

(69) *By conquering deceit, he obtains humility.*

(70) *By conquering greed, he obtains content.*

(71) *By conquering love, hatred and wrong belief, he exerts himself for right knowledge, faith and conduct. After destroying various kinds of karma, he obtains absolute and complete knowledge and faith.*

(72) *By the motionless state of the self (śaileśi),<sup>2</sup> he first stops the functions of his mind, then the functions of the speech, then those of the body, at last he ceases to breathe. During the time required for pronouncing five short syllables, he is engaged in the final pure meditation in which all functions of his organs have ceased and he at the same time destroys the four remnants of karma.<sup>3</sup>*

(73) *Freedom from karma.* The soul after having got rid of his *audārika kārmaṇa* bodies takes the form of a straight line, goes in a moment without touching anything and taking up no space, and then the soul develops into the real form and obtains perfection.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Uttarādhyayana*, XXIX, 1-53.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. the state of a mountain. *Uttarādhyayana*, XXIX, 54-72.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. Law, *Jain View of Karma*, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, VI, 7 and 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Uttarādhyayana*, XXIX, 73: Every *jīva* has two bodies, *kārmaṇa* and *taijasa*, and also a third which may be *audārika* or *vaikreya*. Every *jīva*, save and except a Perfected One, forms round it through its *karma* a body which is called its *kārmaṇa* body and another invisible body, *taijasa*, which at its death will enable it to assume a

A person becomes free from sins by abstaining from life-slaughter, falsehood, theft, and sexual indulgence. He becomes free from sins by possessing five *samitis* and three *guptis*, by freedom from passions, by subduing the senses, by conquering conceit, and avoiding delusion.<sup>1</sup>

Hurtful acts (*daṇḍa*) are three-fold as referring to thoughts, words and acts. Conceited acts (*gārava*) are pride of riches, of taste and of pleasure or fashion. Delusive acts are *māyā*, *nidāna*, and false-belief (*mithyādarśana*). A monk who well bears calamities will not be subject to transmigration. He who always avoids the four different kinds of praises, passions, expressions of the emotions, and of the four meditations, will not be subject to transmigration. He who always exerts himself with regard to the five vows, the five objects of sense, the five *samitis* and the five actions, will not be subject to transmigration. He who always exerts himself with regard to the six *leśyās*,<sup>2</sup> the six kinds of bodies and the six regular functions as eating, will not be subject to transmigration. He who always exerts himself with regard to the seven rules of accepting alms and the seven causes of danger to others, will not be subject to transmigration. He who always exerts himself with regard to the eight objects of pride, and the ten-fold Law of the monks, will not be subject to transmigration. The eight objects of pride are: caste, family, beauty, etc.<sup>3</sup>

By the teaching of true knowledge, by the avoidance of ignorance and delusion, and by the destruction of love and hatred one arrives at deliverance which is nothing but bliss.

Obstruction to knowledge is five-fold: (a) obstruction to knowledge derived from the sacred books (*sūtra*), (b) obstruction to perception (*ābhini-bodhika*), (c) obstruction to supernatural knowledge (*avadhiññāna*), (d) knowledge of the thoughts of other people (*manaḥparyāya*), (e) the highest, unlimited knowledge (*kevala*).<sup>4</sup> The following are the different kinds of obstruction to right faith: sleep, activity, very deep sleep, a high degree of activity, a state of deep-rooted greed. *Vedanīya* is two-fold: pleasure and pain. *Mohanīya* is two-fold as referring to faith and conduct. The three kinds of *mohanīya* referring to faith are right faith, wrong faith and faith, partly right and partly wrong. The two kinds of *mohanīya* referring to conduct are: (1) what is experienced in the form of the four cardinal passions, and (2) what is experienced in the form of feelings different from them.<sup>5</sup> *Ayuṣka* is four-fold: denizens of hell, brute creation, men and gods. *Nāma* is two-fold: good and bad. *Gotra* is two-fold: high and low. *Antarāya* is five-fold as preventing gifts, profits, momentary enjoyment,

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new form. These two unseen bodies are indestructible. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 206. Cf. the Brahmanical conception of the *sthūla* (gross), *śūkṣma* (subtle, or also called *liṅga*) and *kāraṇa* bodies assumed by the soul.

<sup>1</sup> *Uttarādhyayana*, XXX.

<sup>2</sup> *Leśyā* is said to be that by means of which the soul is tinted with merit and demerit. It arises from *yoga* or *kaṣāya*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 2, 17.

<sup>4</sup> The first kind of knowledge corresponds to what the Buddhists call *Sutamaya-paññā*; the second kind to what they call *cintāmayāpaññā*; the third kind to what they call *viśokana*; the fourth kind to what they call *cetopariyāññāna*; and the fifth kind to what they call *sabbāññutā* or omniscience consisting in three faculties: of reviewing and recalling to mind all past existences with details, of perceiving the destiny of other beings according to their deeds, and of being conscious of the final destruction of sins. Cf. *Tattvārtha-Sūtra*, i, 9. *Kevala* means that which is limited by the object, that which is sufficient to survey the field of observation. Cf. *Kalpasūtra*, 15. *Manaḥparyāyaññāna* is defined in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (II, 15, 23) as a knowledge of the thoughts of all sentient beings. *Kevalaññāna* is defined in the same text as omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects and to know all conditions of the world of gods, men and demons (II, 15, 25).

<sup>5</sup> *Uttarādhyayana S.*, XXXIII, 5-10.

continuous enjoyment, and power. The number of atoms of every *karma* is infinite. The *karma* in the six directions of space binds all souls.

The *leśyās* are different conditions produced in the soul by the influence of different *karma*. They are, therefore, not dependent on the nature of the soul, but on the *karma* which influences the soul. They are named in the following order: black, blue, grey, red, yellow, and white.<sup>1</sup> The black *leśyā* has the colour of a rain-cloud, a buffalo's horn. The blue *leśyā* has the colour of the blue *aśoka* (*Jonesia-aśoka*) having red flowers. The grey *leśyā* has the colour of the flower of *ataśi* (*Linum usitatissimum*) having blue flowers. The red *leśyā* has the colour of vermillion. The yellow *leśyā* has the colour of orpiment. The white *leśyā* has the colour of conch-shell. The taste of the black *leśyā* is more bitter than that of *tumbāka* (*Lagenaria Vulgaris*). The taste of the blue *leśyā* is more pungent than black pepper and dry ginger. The taste of grey *leśyā* is more pleasant than that of ripe mango. The degrees of the *leśyās* are three or nine or twenty-seven or eighty-one or two hundred and forty-three. Each of these degrees is three-fold: low, middle and high. A man who acts on the impulse of the five sins, who commits cruel acts, who is wicked and mischievous, develops the black *leśyā*. A monk who has anger, ignorance, hatred, wickedness, deceit, greed, carelessness, love of enjoyment, etc., develops the blue *leśyā*. A man who is dishonest in words and acts, a heretic, a deceiver, a thief, etc., develops the grey *leśyā*. A man who is humble, well-disciplined, restrained, free from deceit, who loves the law, develops the red *leśyā*. A man who controls himself, who is attentive to his study and duties, develops the yellow *leśyā*. A man who controls himself, who abstains from constant thinking about his misery, who is free from passion, who is calm, and who subdues his senses, develops the white *leśyā*. The black, blue and grey *leśyās* are the lowest *leśyās*, through them the soul is brought into miserable courses of life. The red, yellow and white *leśyās* are the good *leśyās*, through them the soul is brought into happy courses of life. In the first and last moment of all these *leśyās*, when they are joined with the soul, the latter is not born into a new existence.<sup>2</sup>

Things without life are: (1) possessing form, and (2) formless. There are ten kinds of formless things, e.g. *dharma*, *adharma*, space, division, time, etc.<sup>3</sup> *Dharma*, *adharma* and space are ever without beginning and end. The four kinds of things possessing form are compound things, their divisions, their indivisible parts and atoms. Subtile things occur all over the world. Living beings are of two kinds: those still belonging to the *samsāra*, and the

<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist idea of contamination of mind by the influx of impurities from outside, illustrated by the simile of a piece of cloth dyed blue, red, yellow or the like, would seem to have some bearing on the Jain doctrine of the six *leśyās*, which is merely hinted at in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I, 4, 21), where a Jain saint is described as a person whose soul is in a pure condition (*leśyā*) and fully explained in the *Uttarādhyāyana* (XXXIV). The Jaina religious efforts are directed towards the acquisition of pure *leśyā* (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 10, 15); cf. *Uttarādhyāyana*, XXXIV. *Kṛṣṇa leśyā* is the worst of the three bad emotions colouring soul. *Nīla leśyā*—this emotion is less evil than the last. *Kāpota* (grey) *leśyā* may lead men to do evil. A man under its command becomes crooked in thought and deed. *Teja leśyā* removes all evil thoughts from the *jīva* under its sway. *Padma leśyā* is a good emotion; through its power a man controls anger, pride, deceit and avarice. *Sukla leśyā*—when a man is under its influence, love and hatred disappear. There are three bad emotions and three good emotions—black, blue and grey are the three bad emotions; yellow, pink and white are the three good emotions. Cf. Maskarin's division of souls into six colour types (*abhijātīs*) reduced in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 279, 33–68) into the Sāmkhya division of souls into three colour types, namely, the white, the red and the dark.

<sup>2</sup> *Uttarādhyāyana*, XXXV.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVI.

perfected souls. The perfected souls have no visible form. They are developed into knowledge and faith and they possess paramount happiness. Living beings are of two kinds; movable and immovable. The earth-lives are of two kinds; subtle and gross. The subtle earth is but of one kind as there is no variety. Plants are of two kinds: subtle and gross. There are three kinds of immovable living beings and three kinds of movable beings. The fire-lives are of two kinds: subtle and gross ones. Denizens of hells are of seven kinds according to the seven hells. Animals are of three kinds: aquatic, terrestrial, and aerial. Those souls who cherish wrong views, who commit sins and kill living beings, will not reach enlightenment at the time of death. Those who cherish right views, do not commit sins and are enveloped in white *leśyā*, will reach enlightenment at the time of death. Those who love the creed of the Jinas and piously practise it, will be pure and free from passions and will in due time get out of the circle of births. Miserable men who do not know the creed of the Jinas will many times commit unholy suicide and die against their will. Those who are well versed in the sacred lore and possess much knowledge, who awaken piety in others and appreciate the good qualities, are worthy to hear the doctrine of salvation. Those who practise spells and besmear their bodies with ashes for the sake of pleasure realize the *ābhiyogika-bhāvanā*.<sup>1</sup> Those who use weapons, eat poison, throw themselves into fire and water and use things not prescribed by the rules of conduct, are liable to be born and to die again and again.

A person who owns a small property in living or lifeless things or consents to others holding it, will not be delivered from misery.<sup>2</sup> If he kills living beings or causes other men to kill them or consents to their killing them, his iniquity will go on increasing. A sinner who makes the interest of his relations and companions his own, will suffer much. His wealth and his nearest relations cannot protect him from future misery. According to atheists the five gross elements, earth, water, fire, wind, and air, are the original causes of things, from them emerges *ātman*; on the disintegration of those five elements, living beings cease to exist. Every body has an individual soul. These souls exist as long as the body exists but after death they are no more. There is neither virtue nor vice, there is no world beyond, on the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be.<sup>3</sup> Some hold that when a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act. The fatalists hold that pleasure and pain, final beatitude, and temporal pleasure and pain are not determined by the souls themselves but by external causes. It is the lot assigned to them by destiny. According to Mahāvīra, those who hold this view do not understand that things depend partly on fate and partly on human exertion. The doctrine of the *akriyāvādins*<sup>4</sup> augments the misery of wordly existence. He who

<sup>1</sup> The *ābhiyogidevas* are genii who serve the gods. This *bhāvanā* leads one to birth as an *ābhiyogī deva*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 11, 12, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Both Mahāvīra and Buddha declared themselves as *kriyāvādins* or upholders of the doctrine of action. The doctrine of action which Mahāvīra taught makes men conscious of their responsibility for all their acts, mental, vocal or bodily. This doctrine has also awakened the consciousness that salvation is not a gift of favour but an attainment within human possibility. In the teachings of Mahāvīra *kriyāvāda* is sharply distinguished from *akriyāvāda* (doctrine of non-action), *ajñānavāda* (scepticism) and *vinayavāda* (formalism), precisely as in the words of the Buddha. Buddhism has been promulgated as a form of *kriyāvāda* or *karmavāda*. In order to arrive at a correct understanding of the doctrinal significance of *kriyāvāda* in Jainism it is necessary not only to see how it has been distinguished from *akriyāvāda*, *ajñānavāda* and *vinayavāda* but also from other types of *kriyāvāda*.

intends to kill a living being, but does not do it by his bodily act, and he who unknowingly kills one, both are affected by that act. There are three ways of committing sins: by one's own action, by commission, and by approval of the deed. One reaches *Nirvāna* by the purity of heart. The world is boundless. In this world living beings suffer individually for their deeds. A learned or a virtuous man will be punished for his deed when he is given to actions of deceit. Men who are drowned in lust and addicted to pleasures will be deluded for want of control. One should exert and control oneself and follow the commandments proclaimed by the *Arhats* (the elect). Heroes of faith who do not commit sins, and exert themselves aright, who subdue anger and fear, will never kill living beings. A worthy and wise man should be careful in this world. He who has entered the road leading to the destruction of *karma*, who controls his mind, speech, and body, who has given up his possessions and relations, should walk about subduing his senses. A sage bears pleasant and unpleasant things. He also bears three kinds of calamities arising from beast, men and gods. He does not fear for his life. A wise man should not quarrel, should possess right conduct, should be guarded in his words and thoughts. He should adopt for his welfare the best and the highest law proclaimed in this world by the Jina. A person should look at beatitude as the end in view. Virtuous men regard pleasures as equal to diseases. The unhappy suffer again and again from delusion. When calamity befalls a man or the end of his life draws near, he must go. The wise believes that there is nothing to protect him. All living beings owe their present form of existence to their own *karma*. The wicked suffering latent misery err about in the circle of births, subject to birth, old age and death. One should not kill living beings in the three-fold way (by thoughts, words, and acts), being intent on spiritual welfare and abstaining from sins.<sup>1</sup>

A wise man should neither himself commit violence nor order others to do so nor consent to the violence done by somebody else. A clever man should not be defiled by sin. All beings are fond of life, like pleasure, hate pain, shun destruction, and desire to live. To all life is dear.<sup>2</sup> The clever one who adopts the true faith stands in the right place. The world is greatly troubled by women. He is called a hero who is not vexed by the hardships caused by control. The hero does not tolerate discontent and lust; he is not careless; he is not attached to the objects of the senses. A sage who adopts the life of wisdom should treat his gross body roughly. He who has right intuition uses mean and rough food. A wise man who knows the world and has cast off the idea of the world should prudently conquer the impediment to righteousness. Giving up all gaiety, circumspect, and restrained, one should lead a religious life. The liberated conquers wrath, pride, deceit, and greed. He who conquers one passion, conquers many and he who conquers many, conquers one. A wise man should avoid love, hatred, delusion, birth, death, hell, animal existence, anger, pride, deceit, and greed. For the liberated there is no passage from birth to birth. The greatest temptation in this world is woman. When strongly vexed by the influence of the senses he should mortify himself, stand upright, wander from village to village, take no food at all, and withdraw his mind from women. The self is the knower or experiencer and the knower is the self. Some who embrace the law will practise it, being careful about its

<sup>1</sup> *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Sabbe taṇanti dandassa, sabbe bhāyanti macanno, attānam upamaṇ katvā na haneyya, na ghātaye . . . Sabbesaṃ jīvitaṃ piyaṃ*. (*Dhammapada*, *Dandavagga*, vv. 129-130).

outward signs, not giving way to worldliness, but being firm. Quitting all worldliness, one should bear all disagreeable feeling being possessed of the right view (*samyak-darśana*).<sup>1</sup> Those who deserve to be called fools, are born again and again. The learned, wise, and steadfast hero will always be victorious in right faith. A saint with right intuition, who cherishes compassion for the world, should preach, spread and praise the faith, knowing the sacred law (*vedavid*). He should proclaim it among those who exert themselves, not neglecting tranquillity, indifference, patience, liberation, purity, uprightness, gentleness, and freedom from worldly cares. One should preach the law of the mendicants to all kinds of creatures. A man who exerts himself is of a steady mind without attachment, unmoved by passion; having no worldly desires he should live the life of an ascetic. The noble ones having impartially preached the law, those who are awakened, should not wish for pleasure. One who is free from passions is self-controlled, knowing birth in the upper and nether regions. One who is free from desire, cherishes piety.

The first great vow of the Jains is abstinence from killing living beings.<sup>2</sup> A Jain is careful in his walk. He searches into his mind and speech. He is careful in laying down his utensils of begging. He eats and drinks after proper inspection. The second great vow is avoidance of falsehood.<sup>3</sup> A Jain speaks after deliberation. He comprehends and renounces anger, greed, fear, and mirth. The third great vow is avoidance of theft.<sup>4</sup> A Jain begs after deliberation for a limited space. He consumes his food and drink with the permission of his superior. He who has taken possession of some space should always take possession of a limited part of it and for a fixed time.<sup>5</sup> He should constantly have his grant renewed. He may beg for a limited ground from his co-religionists after deliberation. The next vow is avoidance of sensual pleasures.<sup>6</sup> He should not continually discuss topics relating to women. He should not eat and drink too much. He should not drink liquor or eat highly seasoned dishes.<sup>7</sup> He should not occupy a bed or a couch belonging to women. The last great vow is freedom from possessions.<sup>8</sup> If a living being with his ears hears agreeable or disagreeable sounds,<sup>9</sup> he should not be attached to them. If he with his eyes sees agreeable or disagreeable forms, he should not be attached to them.

<sup>1</sup> *Samyak-darśana* or right faith consists in an insight into the meaning of truths as proclaimed and taught, a mental perception of the excellence of the system as propounded, a personal conviction as to the greatness and goodness of the teacher and a ready acceptance of certain articles of faith for one's guidance. It is intended to remove all doubt and scepticism from one's mind, and to establish or re-establish faith. It is such a form of faith as is likely to inspire action by opening a new vista of life and its perfection. Right faith on the one hand, and inaction, vacillation on the other, are mutually incompatible. Cf. the Buddhist idea of right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*) which conveys the sense of faith or belief. It is precisely in some such sense that the Jains use the term *sammādaṃsana*. *Sammādiṭṭhi* suggests an article of faith which consists in the acceptance of the belief that there is such a thing as gift, that there is such a thing as sacrifice, etc. (Cf. *Sāleyyaka Sutta*, *Majjhima*, I, pp. 285ff.) There cannot be right faith unless there is a clear pre-perception of the moral, intellectual or spiritual situation which is going to arise. Right faith is that form of faith which is only a stepping stone to knowledge (*paññā*). It is the faith, or conviction acquired by a Buddhist stream-attainer (*sotāpanna*) who is sure to reach the goal.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the first precept of the Buddhists, *pāṇātipātā-veramaṇi*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Musāvādā-veramaṇi* of the Buddhists.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Adinnādānā-veramaṇi*.

<sup>5</sup> This is known in Theravāda Buddhism as *nigaṇṭhūposatho*, *Aṅguttara*, I. 205.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Buddhist Abrahmacariyā-veramaṇi*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Surāmerayamajjappamādaṭṭhānā-veramaṇi*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Buddhist Jātarūparajatatapiggahanā-veramaṇi*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Naccagāvādītavīsūkadassanā-veramaṇi*.



If he with his nose smells agreeable or disagreeable smells, he should not be attached to them.<sup>1</sup> If he with a tongue tastes agreeable or disagreeable things, he should not be attached to them. If he with an organ of feeling feels agreeable or disagreeable touches, he should not be attached to them.<sup>2</sup>

There are five *samitis* and three *guptis* which constitute eight means of self-control.<sup>3</sup> The *samitis*<sup>4</sup> are the following: (1) going by paths, trodden by men, beasts, carts, etc., and looking carefully so as not to cause the death of living beings; (2) gentle, sweet and righteous speech; (3) receiving alms in a manner to avoid forty-two faults; (4) receiving and keeping things necessary for religious exercises, and (5) performing the operation of nature in an unfrequented place. The three *guptis*<sup>5</sup> are the following: (1) preventing mind from sensual pleasures by engaging it in contemplation, study, etc.; (2) preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence; and (3) putting the body in an immovable posture. The walking of a well-disciplined monk should be pure in respect to the ends, time, road and effort. Knowledge, faith and right conduct are the ends; the time is daytime; the road excludes bad ways; the effort is four-fold as regards substance, space, time, and condition of mind. A well-disciplined monk should work carefully. He should avoid anger, pride, deceit, greed, laughter, fear, loquacity and slander. He should use blameless and concise speech at the right time. He should avoid while begging faults in the search, in the receiving, and in the use of three things, namely: food, lodging, and the articles of use. There are sixteen *Udāma doṣas* (inherent faults) by which food becomes unfit for a Jain monk, e.g., the fault inherent in food which a layman has prepared for religious mendicants, the fault in a kind of food which a layman has prepared for a particular monk, the food which has been prepared for festivities, which has been reserved for a monk, when he has to open locks before he gets at the food, when a monk calls while the dinner is being cooked, and for his sake more food is put in the pot which is on the fire, etc.<sup>6</sup> There are ten faults in receiving, e.g., when a monk accepts alms from a frightened layman (*Ṣaṅkita*), when the food is soiled by animate or inanimate matter (*mrakṣita*), when a layman mixes up pure with impure food (*unmiśrita*), etc. A zealous monk should wipe the thing after having inspected it with his eyes, then he should take it up or put it down. Excrements, urine, saliva, mucus, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanapṭhānā veramaṇi*.

<sup>2</sup> So cakkhunā rūpaṃ diṣvā na nimittagāhī hoti nānuyayaṇjanaggāhī, yatvādhikaranam enaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhiññhā domanassa pāpakā akusala dhammā anvāssaveyyuṃ tassa saṃvārāya paṭipajjati, rakkhati cakkhundriyaṃ cakkhundriye saṃvāraṃ āpajjati. Sotena suḍḍaṃ suttvā ghānena gandhaṃ ghāyitvā . . . jivhāya rasaṃ sāyitvā kāyena phoṭṭhabbaṃ phusitvā . . . manassā dhammaṃ viññāya na nimittagāhī hoti nānuyayaṇjanaggāhī . . . *Anguttara*, III, pp. 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Dīgha*, I, p. 172—where the ideas of *Gutti* and *Samiti* are found to be the same.

<sup>4</sup> Bhikkhu abhikkante paṭikkante sampajāna-kārī hoti. Ālokitē vilokite sampajāna-kārī hoti. Sammiñjite paṣārite sampajāna-kārī hoti. Saṅghāṭi-patta-civara-dhāraṇe sampajāna-kārī hoti. Asite pite khāyite sāyite sampajāna-kārī hoti. Uccāra-passāva-kamme sampajāna-kārī hoti. Gate pite nisinne sutte jāgarite bhāsīte tuṇhī-bhāre sampajāna-kārī hoti. *Dīgha*, II, p. 292.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Vacīguti* in Asoka's R.E. XII, *Dhammapada*, V, 375: *Indriyagutto* or *Indriya-gutti*. *Gutti* = Vedic *Gupti* protection, defence, guard, watchfulness; cf. *Ang.*, IV, 106 ff.; *Līṭha*, III, 148.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Dīgha*, I, p. 166: . . . na-ehi-bhadantiko, na-tiṭṭha-bhadantiko, nābhihaṭṭaṃ na uddassa-kaṭaṃ na nimantanam sādīyati. So na kumbhi-mukhā paṭigunhāti, na kaḍopi-mukhā paṭigunhāti, na eḷakamantarāṃ na duṇḍamantarāṃ na musulamantarāṃ, na dvinnam bhuñjamānānaṃ, na gabbhinīyā na pāyamānāya na purisantara-gatāya, na saṃkittisū, na yattha sū upaṭṭhito hoti, na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍacārīnī, na macchaṃ, na mamsaṃ, na sūraṃ, na merayaṃ, na thusodakaṃ piṇḍaṃ.

uncleanliness of the body should be disposed of in the way described. In a place neither frequented nor seen by others, which offers no obstacles to self-control, which is not covered with grass or leaves, which is spacious, in such a place he should leave his excrements, etc.<sup>1</sup> There are: (1) truth, (2) untruth, (3) a mixture of truth and untruth, and (4) a mixture of what is not true and what is not untrue. A zealous monk should prevent his mind from desires for the misfortune of somebody else, from thoughts on acts which cause misery to living beings and from thoughts on acts which cause their destruction. In standing, sitting, lying down, jumping, going and in the use of his organs, a zealous monk should prevent his mind from intimating evil desires, etc. These are the *samitis* for the practice of the religious life and *guptis* for the prevention of everything sinful.

The correct behaviour of monks consists in ten posts: *āvaśyikā* is required when a monk leaves a room for some urgent business; *naśēdhikī* asking permission to enter a place; *āpricchanā* or asking the superior's permission for what he is to do himself; *pratipricchanā*, asking permission for what somebody else is to do; *chandanā* or placing at the disposal of other monks the things one has got; *icchākāra* carrying out one's intention by oneself or somebody else; *mīhyākāra*, blaming oneself for sins committed; *tathākāra*, assenting to make a promise; *abhyutthāna*, rising up from one's seat as a mark of respect for those who deserve it, and *upasampad*, placing oneself under another teacher.<sup>2</sup>

A worthy monk should have no intercourse with women considering the consequences. He should avoid them. Those who have intercourse with women, have ceased to practise meditation.<sup>3</sup> One should not mind the entreaties of women, but abstain from their friendship and company. The pleasures which are derived therefrom are causes of blameable actions. A wise and learned monk whose soul is in a pure condition (*leśyā*) will abstain from doing work for others<sup>4</sup>; he will bear all troubles in thoughts, words and actions.

A virtuous monk should never keep company with the wicked. He should not stay in the house of a householder except by constraint. He should obey and serve a wise and pious teacher. If beaten he should not be angry. With placid mind he should bear everything.

A true monk should not say that this is meritorious and this is not meritorious. He should guard his soul, bring his senses under his control and put a stop to the current of the *samsāra*. He should be free from sins. He is entitled to expound the pure, complete and unparalleled law. He should try to reach beatitude.

If a monk is attached to vanities and makes his monkhood a means of sustenance, he will suffer again and again.<sup>5</sup> A monk who is eloquent, who has bright ideas and possesses high intellect, has purified his soul. He should combat pride of genius, pride of sanctity, pride of birth,<sup>6</sup> and pride of good living. A monk having conquered aversion to control and delight in sensual objects, should silently repeat to himself: a man must come and go according to his own *karma* alone. The pious are not given to blamable

<sup>1</sup> *Uttarādh.*, XXIV, 17, 18; cf. *Ācārāṅga*, II, 10; cf. *Buddhist Vinaya Piṭaka*, III, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Uttarādh.*, XXVI.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vinaya P.*, I, p. 96: *Yo bhikkhu methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevati, assamaṇo hoti, asakyaputtiyo.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Dīgha*, I, p. 5—*Dūteyya-paṇiṇa-gamanānuyogā paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, pp. 57ff. Buddha takes a monk to task because he makes his monkhood a means of easy life and sustenance (*udārassa kāraṇā*).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Vibhaṅga*, p. 345—*Jātimado, Gottamado*, etc.

sinful practices. Avoiding all evils, monks should without embarrassment and passion preach the law.

A monk who complies with the rules for the *yatis* as regards postures, lying down, sitting and exertion, who is thoroughly acquainted with the *samitis* and *guptis*, should explain each single point of conduct. He should not allow himself to be influenced by pleasant sounds. He should persevere in control. A novice who has not mastered the law does not know the law, but he will know it afterwards through the words of the Jinas. A well-conducted monk will explain the conduct of the virtuous. A monk by hearing the desired truth, gets bright ideas and becomes a clever teacher; desiring the highest good and practising austerity he will obtain final liberation. Those, who having investigated the law, are awakened and they put an end to mundane existence. They do not conceal the truth or falsify it. They do not cherish desire for fame. A monk should be honest and fearless. He should expound the *syādvāda*,<sup>1</sup> he should use permitted kind of speech and should be impartial and wise. He should utter pure speech which is in accordance with the creed of the Jinas. He should well learn the sacred text, endeavour to teach the creed and should not speak unduly long. He should deliver faithfully what he has learnt. He should not pervert or render obscure the truth.

A monk who does not act nor kill, who is free from anger, pride, deceit and greed, who is calm and happy, will never entertain such wish that after his departure from the world he will become a god or a perfected saint.<sup>2</sup> He does no actions arising from sinful causes, nor has them done by another person nor does he consent to another doing them. A monk should not take food or drink when he knows that a householder to satisfy him or for the sake of a co-religionist has brought it. One should eat when it is time for eating, seek cover when it is time for seeking cover and sleep when it is time for sleeping. When a monk preaches the law he should preach it indefatigably for no other motive than the annihilation of *karma*. Such a monk searches the law, knows the law and endeavours to gain liberation. He knows and renounces action and worldly occupation, he is free from passion, possesses the *samitis*, being wise, virtuous, and liberated, living on low food, desiring to get to the shore of the *saṃsāra* fulfilling the general and particular virtues.

A monk abstains from the five cardinal sins, slaughter of living beings, etc. He does not clean his teeth with a tooth brush, he does not accept perfumes, emetics and collyrium. Such a monk does not act nor kill; he is free from anger, pride, deceit and greed; he is calm and happy. He is well controlled and restrained, avoids and renounces sins, is not active but careful and thoroughly wise.

A monk, who has achieved his religious perfection through the instruction of the Awakened One and stands firm in it, who guards himself in the three-fold way with regard to thoughts, words and acts, and who possesses the things requisite for crossing the immense ocean of existence, may preach the law.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept as alms whatever herbs they recognize. He or she should accept things which are pure

<sup>1</sup> Vide B. C. Law, *Mahāvīra : His Life and Teachings*, pp. 72ff. *Syādvāda* consists of seven *nayas* or viewpoints from which assertions are made as to truth. According to the doctrine of *Syādvāda* there are seven forms of metaphysical propositions and all contain the word *syāt*, e.g., *syād asti sarvaṃ*, *syād nāsti sarvaṃ*—*syāt* means 'may be' and it is explained as *Kathampit* (somehow). Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 7, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Samyutta*, IV, p. 180; *Ang.*, IV, p. 461.... *devo vā bhaviṣṣāmi devaññataro vāti*....

and acceptable. He or she should not accept food which has been prepared for brahmins, guests, beggars, etc. He or she should not accept food which does not belong to the giver. He or she may accept food from noble families, distinguished families, and royal families. He or she should not attend any festive entertainment. He or she should not accept such food of which he or she has some doubts in his or her mind. A monk or a nun desirous of entering the abode of a householder should not do so when they see that the milch cows are being milked, or the food is being cooked, and that it is not yet distributed.

A monk or a nun on a begging tour should not accept flattened grains, grains containing such chaff.

A mendicant should not stay in halting places, garden houses, family houses and monasteries, which are much frequented by fellow-ascetics.

A monk shall not beg pointing with a finger at the householder or moving him with a finger, threatening or scratching him with a finger, praising or cursing him.<sup>1</sup>

He or she should speak with precision.<sup>2</sup>

If a single mendicant borrows for a short time a robe from another mendicant, the owner of it should not take such a robe for himself nor should he give it to somebody else. A monk or a nun should not make coloured clothes colourless or colour colourless clothes.

The Jain rules of conduct and decorum, agreeing in their essential features with the Buddhist rules, were broadbased upon careful considerations and keen observations.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing exposition of the principles of Jainism may be made more explicit in the light of Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*. According to Umāsvāti, right belief, right knowledge, and right conduct constitute the path to liberation and they are called three gems in Jainism. Each of them can be considered in its three-fold aspect, e.g. the subject, the object and the means. In right belief there is the believer, that which is believed, and the means of believing. In right knowledge there is the knower, the known and the means of knowing. In right conduct there is the pursuer of conduct, conduct itself and the means of conducting. The right belief is the basis upon which the other two rest. It is the cause and the right knowledge is the effect. Right conduct is caused by right knowledge and implies both right knowledge and right belief.

The five kinds of knowledge are: Knowledge through the instrumentality of sense, knowledge derived from the study of scriptures, direct knowledge of matter within the limits of time and space, direct knowledge of others' thoughts, and perfect knowledge.

The five kinds of conduct<sup>4</sup> are: Equanimity, recovery of equanimity after a downfall, pure and absolute non-injury, all but entire freedom from passion, and ideal and passionless state.

Right belief, right knowledge, right conduct, and right austerities are called the *ārādhanās*.

The right belief is the belief or conviction in things ascertained as they are.<sup>5</sup> *Samyakdarsana* is of two kinds: (1) belief with attachment, the signs of which are the following: calmness (*prasaṃsa*), fear of mundane existence in five cycles of wanderings (*saṃvega*), substance (*dravya*), place

<sup>1</sup> *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, II, 1, 6, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 4, 1.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. Law, *Buddhist Rules of Decorum*, published in *Dr. R. K. Mookerjee Volume (Bhārata-Kaumudī)*, I, pp. 381ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1, 4, 10-13.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Uttarādhyaṅga sūtra*, XXVIII, 28, 29.

(*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*), thought activity (*bhāva*), and compassion towards all living beings (*anukampā*); and (2) belief without attachment (the purity of the soul itself).

The right belief is attained by intuition, acquisition of knowledge from external sources. It is the result of subsidence (*upaśama*), destruction-subsidence (*kṣayaopaśama*) and destruction of right belief deluding *karmas* (*darśana mohaniya karma*).

Right belief is not identical with faith. It is reasoned knowledge. *Adhiḡama* is knowledge which is derived from intuition, external sources, e.g. precepts and scriptures. It is attained by means of *pramāṇa* and *naya*. *Pramāṇa* is nothing but direct or indirect evidence for testing the knowledge of self and the non-self. *Naya* is nothing but a standpoint which gives partial knowledge of a thing in some of its aspects.

Right knowledge<sup>1</sup> is of five kinds: (1) knowledge through senses—knowledge of the self and the non-self through the agency of the senses of mind; (2) knowledge derived from the study of the scriptures; (3) direct knowledge of matter in various degrees with reference to subject-matter, space, time and quality of the object known; (4) direct knowledge of others' thoughts, simple or complex; and (5) perfect knowledge. Knowledge, (*antarāya*),<sup>2</sup> belief, charity, gain, enjoyment, re-enjoyment, power, faith and conduct are the nine kinds of energies (*vīrya*).

Passions (*kaṣāyas*)<sup>3</sup> are four in number: anger, pride, deceit and greed.

Sense faculties are of two kinds: (1) *Labdhi*: It is the attainment of the manifestation of the sense faculty by the partial destruction. (2) *Upayoga*: The conscious attention of the soul directed to that sense.

The bodies are of five kinds: (1) *audārika* (gross), (2) *vaikriyaka* (fluid), (3) *āhāraka* (assimilative), (4) *aijasa* (caloric), and (5) *kārmaṇa* (karmic).

The special attributes of jīva-soul are the following: Knowledge (*jñāna*), belief (*darśana*), bliss (*sukha*), energy (*vīrya*), right belief (*samyak darśana*), right conduct (*samyak cāritra*), etc. *Samyaktvakriyā* (right-directed action) is that which strengthens right belief; *mithyārtvakriyā* (wrong-directed action) is that which strengthens wrong belief; *prayoga-kriyā* is bodily movement; *samādāna-kriyā* is the tendency to neglect vows: *iryāpathakriyā*<sup>4</sup> (actions relating to behaviour) is walking carefully by looking at the ground; tendency to accuse others in anger; a wicked man's readiness to hurt others; weapons of hurtfulness, the thing which may cause mental pain to oneself or others; depriving another of vitalities of age, sense-organs, powers and respiration; infatuated desire to see a pleasing form; frivolous indulgence in touching; inventing new sense-enjoyments; answering calls of nature in a place frequented by men, women and animals; indifference in dropping things or throwing oneself down upon the earth; undertaking to do by one's own hand what should be done by others; admiration of hurtful or unrighteous thing, proclaiming sins of others; misinterpreting the scriptural injunctions which we do not want to follow; disrespect to scriptural injunctions out of vice or laziness; expressing delight in other's misdeeds; trying to persevere in one's attachment to worldly belongings; deceitful

<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist Saṅgītisuttanta of the *Dīghanikāya* (Vol. III, p. 271) recognizes *sammā-ñāṇa* or right knowledge as one of the additional factors in the Noble Eight-fold Path.

<sup>2</sup> *Tatthvārthādhigama sūtra* (Jacobi Ed.) p. 536—Jacobi's note.

<sup>3</sup> Passions or *kaṣāyas* are the things which tie one down to this world.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Buddhist idea of the ways of deportment, *Paṭisaṃbhīdāmagga*, II, 225; *Vinayapiṭaka*, I, 39; II, 146; *Saṃyutta*, V, 78, etc., etc.

disturbance of someone's right knowledge and faith; praising actions due to wrong belief; not renouncing what ought to be renounced.

The causes of bondage (*bandha*) are the following: (1) wrong belief; (2) perverse belief; (3) doubt, scepticism; (4) veneration; (5) wrong belief caused by ignorance; and (6) inborn error.

The ten virtues are the following: forgiveness (*uttama kṣamā*), humility (*uttama mārḍava*), honesty (*uttama ārjava*),<sup>1</sup> purity (*uttama śauca*), truthfulness (*uttama satya*), restraint (*uttama saṃyama*), austerities (*uttama tapa*), renunciation (*uttama tyāga*), selflessness (*uttama ākīñcanya*), and chaste life (*uttama brahmacarya*).

Twelve meditations <sup>2</sup> are the meditations on transitoriness, helplessness, mundaneness, loneliness, separateness, impurity, inflow, stoppage, relinquishment, universe, rarity of right path and nature of right path.

<sup>1</sup> *Uttama ārjava*—*Ārjava* has been understood by some as that simplicity which is opposed to cunningness.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Buddhist *asubha-bhāvanā*, *Vinaya*, III, p. 68, on *impurity*; *Visuddhimagga* (PTS.), I, 84ff., 178ff.



**A CORPUS OF ORIGINAL SOURCES OF LATER BENGAL HISTORY.**

*By* SIR JADUNATH SARKAR.

*(Received for publication August 1, 1947.)*

Requested by Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S., President, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (1945), I submitted the following scheme for the best way of commemorating the 200th birth-year of Sir William Jones (1946). It would be a mistake to publish a Festschrift to mark the occasion, because such a bundle of detached essays on a variety of subjects and of diverse value, is of no use except to be consulted by some minute specialist once in two years, and the progress of research will render it obsolete in a decade or two. The only tribute worthy of Sir W. Jones and of the Society's gratitude to its founder would be the publication of a book or books of enduring value and very wide appeal, which every earnest student of Indian history would feel bound to keep at his elbow. *Riyāz-us-Salātin* is the sole refuge of enquirers into Bengal History in the Muslim age, but it is a very derivative, recent, and useless authority.

I suggest that instead of a Festschrift, a number of volumes forming a corpus of the original sources of Bengal-Bihar history during the Muslim times be published; it would, in the main, include material not yet printed; but also a few sources, which are now available only in corrupt translations, should be printed in order to complete the series. The material should be mainly published in English translations, enriched with notes and corrections from Marathi records and from other Persian authorities like those used in J. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. The Gaekwad Oriental Series prefers to publish English translations and not Persian texts, as the sale and use of the former is a hundred times that of the latter.

**A. The first stage of the scheme :—**

1. Persian despatches and news reports (*ākhhbārāt*) relating to Murshid Quli Khan—MNS. and English translation with Sir J. Sarkar, supplemented by a few from Khan Sahib Askari (Prof. Patna College), 200 pages.

2. A new, correct, and complete translation of Salimullah's *Tārīkh-i-Bangāla*, replacing Gladwin's unreliable version 'A Narrative of Transactions . . .' (Calcutta 1788), and correcting the proper names. With additional information from Marathi sources, 100 pages.

3. An English translation of Yusuf Ali's *Tārīkh-i-Mahābat Jang* (the full history of Alivardi Khan). Persian text with J. Sarkar. Probable size, octavo 350 pages.

**B. Second stage :** Planning publication five years ahead, the following historical undertakings are suggested in the order of their urgency :

4. An English version of *Fathīyya-i-Ibrīyya* (or Mir Jumla's conquest of Assam and Kuch Bihar) with its supplement preserved in the Bodleian MS. and treating of Shāista Khan's conquest of Chatgaon. See *J.A.S.B.*, 1872, Pt. 1, No. 1 (Blochmann) and 1906-7 (J. Sarkar). Full translation ready with J. Sarkar (requires revision and typing), 300 pages.

5. (a) Description of Bengal in 1608-9 by Abdul Latif (translated by Sarkar in *Bengal, Past and Present*).

(b) Bengal-Orissa official letters written by Abul Hasan, 1656-1667. (Rampur MS. copy with J. Sarkar). (a and b) 150 pages.



6. An English translation (abridged by omitting the verses and ornamental rhetoric) of the *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri* (the full history of Aurangzib) made by Sarkar. Typed copy ready. Such a book will have a good sale. Size 460 octavo pages. Printed by October, 1947.

7. A new translation of Namatullah's *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, Bengal-Bihar history only, replacing Dorn's incorrect and clumsily arranged version (of 1829), MSS. with R.A.S.B. and J. Sarkar. The longer recension of the original must be followed.

8. A new English translation of the most authoritative and interesting portion of *Siyar-ul-Mutākhharin*, namely from Alivardi's accession to the fall of Sirāj-ud-daulah,—with elucidations and corrections from the Marathi records, English factory correspondence, French despatches (printed), and other Persian sources—(for the importance of the last, see Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*). The printed Persian text of the entire book, *Seear-ool-Mutakh-reen*, edited by Hukeem Abdool Mujeed, Calcutta Medical Press, in 1833, contains 420 plus 115 pages, 36 lines per page, each line 7 inches long. The portion selected by me covers, pp. 100–233 of the first section. The translation of it would occupy 550 octavo pages in print.

9. A reprint of Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, first published by the Society in 1834 and 1835 in two parts (pp. 92 plus 187, small type). Add corrections and notes on recent advances in research from the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and modern works on the history of mathematics. Bring the chronology up to date and greatly expand it. The editing on these lines will take some years and requires the co-operation of three or four real scholars. But the book will have an immense and steady sale, 280 pages.

The original Persian text of No. 1 deserves to be printed, but only after the English version (80 pages). The Persian text of No. 4 may be printed later, as a first rate specimen of Indo-Persian prose, no way inferior to Abul Fazl's style. Text with variants, in Sarkar's hand (200 pages).

Economise paper by forbidding all hypercritical notes and notices of obvious copyist's errors and useless variants in the text. These latter must be silently ignored.

*Siyar* (Calcutta 1833 edition).

Book I, pp. 1–99, Delhi History, 1707–1739.

„ pp. 100–233, Alivardi and Siraj.

„ pp. 233–420, Delhi and Bengal history down to 1785.

Book II, pp. 1–115, Delhi, Nizam, Marathas, etc., 1740–1884.

The third section of Book I, pp. 233–420 is also important and interesting, but its translation should be taken up last of all.

[The above scheme was accepted by the Council of the R.A.S.B. and the work has been started. Most fortunately, the then Governor Mr. Richard Casey, sanctioned an annual grant of ten thousand rupees for five years from the Bengal revenue, to carry the scheme to completion. In spite of disturbances the work is being steadily pushed on. The English Translation of *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri*, the original source for the history of Aurangzib, has been prepared and already seen through the press with the assistance of Prof. N. B. Roy, M.A., who has been engaged by the Society for work on the series. A new edition of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (English Translation) revised by Sarkar is also being brought out, and one-half of volume III has been already printed. The other items are being attended to and with peace and honest Government in Calcutta, we hope to print three more volumes of the series in 1948.—Gen. Secy., R.A.S.B.]

# MATHURĀ IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By DR. B. C. LAW.

(Received for publication September 9, 1947.)

Mathurā was the capital of the Śūrasena country. It was built by Rāma's brother Śatrughna after killing the Yādava Lavana at the site of

## Importance.

Madhuvana by cutting down the forest there.<sup>1</sup> This was the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa. It is mentioned in the *Milinda Pañha* as one of the most famous places in India.<sup>2</sup> Here Mahākaccāyana, an eminent disciple of the Buddha, was actively engaged in preaching Buddhism.<sup>3</sup> Upagupta also lived here, who acted as the guide of Aśoka, while on pilgrimage, to Buddhist holy places.<sup>4</sup> He is also credited to have converted many people of Mathurā.<sup>5</sup> Guṇaprabha, a disciple of Vasubandhu, is said to have lived here in the Agrapura monastery.<sup>6</sup> Here-existed the hermitage of Dhruva.<sup>7</sup> The famous courtesan Vāsavadattā lived in this city.<sup>8</sup> Here various religious sects flourished side by side. It was a city of the Pāṇḍavas whose power extended westwards. To the Hindus, its sanctity was and is still very great.

Mathurā was known to Pāṇini (IV. 2, 82). The Greeks were acquainted with this city by the name of Methorā and Modoura (the city of the

## Name and antiquity.

gods). The Chinese pilgrim Fā-Hien called it Ma-t'au-lo or the Peacock city.<sup>9</sup> Hiuen Tsang named it Mo or (Mei)-t'u-lo.<sup>10</sup> This name has been translated in some Chinese glossaries as peacock (*mayūra*). Madhurā was named after the demon chief Madhu,<sup>11</sup> who and whose son Lavana reigned here before it was conquered by Rāma's brother Śatrughna.<sup>12</sup> The country of Śūrasena was named after its founder Śūrasena, son of Śatrughna.<sup>13</sup> According to the *Mahābhārata*<sup>14</sup> this city was known as Madhupurī (derived from *Madhu* meaning honey), which is the present Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the modern city of Muttra. Madhuvana is also situated near Maholi.<sup>15</sup> In the Pali texts the city is called Madhurā. The Jains knew it as Śauripura or Śūryapura.<sup>16</sup> The name of Saurypura was derived from Kṛṣṇa, *śauri* being one of his epithets.<sup>17</sup>

There is no mention of Mathurā in Vedic Literature. According to the Brahmanical tradition the Kāṃsa territory was the kingdom of Mathurā.<sup>18</sup> The ancient city of Mathurā has been noticed by Arrian in his *Indica* (viii)

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Trenckner Ed., p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> *Anguttara*, I, 67; *Majjhima*, II, 83.

<sup>4</sup> V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā*, 72nd Pallava.

<sup>6</sup> Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, p. 191n; Vassilief, *Bouddhisme*, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> *Skanda Purāṇa*, Kāśī Khaṇḍa, Chap. XX.

<sup>8</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, p. 352.

<sup>9</sup> *Travels of Fa-Hien*, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 301.

<sup>11</sup> It seems that Madhurā (a feminine form of Madhura) was a Prakrit abbreviation of Madhupura.

<sup>12</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa, XXV, cviii; *Harivaṃśa*, LV, 3061-3, 3083-96; XCV, 5243-7.

<sup>13</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 70, 6-9.

<sup>14</sup> *Sabhaparva*, XXX, 1105-6.

<sup>15</sup> Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 53 f.n.

<sup>16</sup> *Jaina Sūtras*, XLV, p. 112.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 112.

<sup>18</sup> Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 119.

on the authority of Megasthenes as the capital of the Śūrasenas. Śūrasena was the grandfather of Kṛṣṇa and from him Kṛṣṇa and his descendants, who held Mathurā after the death of Kāṃsa, were known as the Śūrasenas. Ptolemy also mentions this city (VII. I, 50).

Mathurā which is on the Jumna is included in the Agra division of the United Provinces. It lay on the Upper Jumna, 270 miles in a straight line, north-west of Kauśāmbī.<sup>1</sup> The river Jobares (Jumna) flowed through the country of the Śūrasenas (Sourasenoi), an Indian tribe, possessing two large cities of Mothora and Klisobora. Pliny (*Natural Hist.*, VI, 19) calls the river the Jomanes which flowed into the Ganges through the Palibothri between the towns of Methora and Chrysobara.<sup>2</sup> Lassen transcribes Chrysobara as Kṛṣṇapura.<sup>3</sup> He locates it at Agra. Cunningham identifies it with Kośavapura mahallā of Mathurā.<sup>4</sup> S. N. Majumdar suggests that Gokul on the left bank of the Jumna and five miles S.S.E. of Mathurā may be identified with it.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Greeks Methora (Mathurā) was situated on the banks of the Jumna higher up than Agra from which it was 35 miles distant. This city was situated to the south of Indraprastha.<sup>6</sup> The way from Śrāvastī to Mathurā lay through an important locality called Verañjā.<sup>7</sup> Mathurā was situated on the right bank of the Jumna and it stood midway between Indraprastha and Kauśāmbī. Strictly speaking it is the Uttara-Madhurā<sup>8</sup>, which is identified with Maholi<sup>9</sup>, five miles to the south-west of the modern town of Mathurā.

From Saṅkissa<sup>10</sup> (Sanskrit Saṃkāśya) on the Ganges the distance of Northern Madhurā is said to have been four yojanas only.<sup>11</sup> There was a bridge of boats between Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra.<sup>12</sup> Modern Mathurā is not on the ancient site. It has moved to the north owing to the encroachment of the river.

Fā-Hien who visited Mathurā saw many monasteries there full of monks.<sup>13</sup> Buddhism was then growing in this city.<sup>14</sup> Hiuen Tsang who also visited it found it to be above 5,000 li and the capital about 20 li in circuit. The soil, according to him, was very fertile and agriculture was the chief industry. Mango

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 526.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, S. N. Majumdar Ed., p. 98. The statement of Pliny does not seem to be correct if by Palibothri he meant the city of Pāṭaliputra.

<sup>3</sup> *Indische Altertumskunde*, I, p. 127, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, XX, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, S. N. Majumdar's Ed., p. 707.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, XXX, 1105-6.

<sup>7</sup> Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, p. 930.

<sup>8</sup> Mathurā of Northern India as distinguished from Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā (modern Madura), the capital of the Pāṇḍyas in South India.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. H. Waddington excavated a mound near Maholi on a site about 1½ miles to the south-west of Muttra Junction Railway station. The pottery and other archaeological finds unearthed could not be dated later than the Kuṣāṇa age. Hands, feet, knees, and pieces of drapery from Bodhisattva figures of colossal size along with fragments of stone umbrellas, miniature stūpas, and a torana gateway were found there (*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, pp. 135 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> The Pali *Saṅkassa* is Sanskritised in the later Buddhist works as *Saṃkāśya* but it may as well be equated with *Saṃkarṣa*.

<sup>11</sup> Kaccāyana, *Pali Grammar*, S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Ed., Book III, Chap. I, p. 157.

<sup>12</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, p. 386—*Yāvaca Mathurāṃ Yāvaca Pāṭaliputraṃ antarāṃ nausaṃkramo' vasthāpitaḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> Legge, *Fā-Hien*, p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. xvi.

trees were grown there in orchards. The country also produced a fine stripped cotton cloth and gold. The climate was hot. The manners and customs of the people were soft and complacent. They esteemed virtue and honoured learning. They believed in the working of *karma*. There were Buddhist monasteries and deva temples and the professed adherents of different non-Buddhist sects lived pell-mell.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Varāha Purāṇa* there was in this city a bathing place called *Viśrānti ghāt* (*Viśrāma ghāt*) where Kṛṣṇa took rest after his victory over Kāṃsa.<sup>2</sup> At *Kāṃsa-kā-tilā* outside the southern gate of the present city of Mathurā Kṛṣṇa killed Kāṃsa. The *Yōg-ghāt* marks the spot where Kāṃsa is said to have dashed Māyā to the ground. The temple of Bhūteśvara is identified with the *stūpa* of Sāriputra, a disciple of Buddha. It is one of the seven *stūpas* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. Within this temple there is a subterranean chamber containing the image of Pātāleśvari, a form of Mahiṣamardini. There also existed three topes built by Aśoka.

Cunningham says, 'the old city of Mathurā is said to have extended from the Nabi Masjid and fort of Rājā Kāṃsa on the north to the mounds called Tila Kāṃsa and Tila Sat Rikh on the south'.<sup>3</sup>

#### Prosperity.

This city is surrounded by many high mounds which are mostly the remains of extensive buildings. Mathurā was a rich, flourishing and populous city. It was the metropolis of king Suvāhu<sup>4</sup> of the race of the valiant Kāṃsa. There lived in Mathurā many rich men and big merchants. Upagupta, the teacher of Aśoka and the son of Gupta, was one of its rich men.<sup>5</sup> The two brothers named Nāṭa and Bhaṭa were the well-known merchants of this place.<sup>6</sup> We also hear of a rich banker at Mathurā having an unlucky daughter who was made over to a wandering ascetic who brought her up at the banker's expense.<sup>7</sup>

This city had some disadvantages. The roads were uneven (*visamā*), they were full of dust (*bahurajā*), there were ferocious dogs (*candāsunakhā*), wild animals and *yakṣas* (*vāṭāyakkhā*)<sup>8</sup> and the alms were not easily procurable (*dullabhapiṇḍā*).<sup>9</sup>

#### Disadvantages.

Quoting the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Nikāya-Vinaya* Watters in his *Travels of Yuan Chwang* gives the same account with slight variations. He says that the ground of Mathurā was uneven and was covered with stones and brickbats. It contained prickly shrubs. The people took solitary meals and there were too many women.<sup>10</sup>

Mathurā which was the home of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, was attacked by demons.<sup>11</sup> The Vṛṣṇis and the Andhakas being afraid of the

#### Political History.

demons left Mathurā and established their capital at Dvārāvati.<sup>12</sup> It was also besieged by Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, with a huge army of 23 *akṣauhiniḥ*.<sup>13</sup> At the time of his

<sup>1</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 301; Cf. Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, p. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, S. N. Majumdar's Ed., p. 428.

<sup>4</sup> *Lalitavistara*, p. 21; Cf. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Aśokāvadāna*, R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, p. 349; Cf. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, (Nāṭa & Phata), p. 164.

<sup>7</sup> *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 389ff.

<sup>8</sup> Hare translates it as 'bestial yakṣas' (*The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vol. III, p. 188) but the word *Vāṭā* (Sanskrit *Vyāṭā*) means Boa-constrictors and other wild animals.

<sup>9</sup> *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, III, 256; *Pañc'ime bhikkhava ādinavā Madhurāyāṃ. Katame pañca? Visamā, bahurajā, caṇḍāsunakhā, vāṭāyakkhā and dullabhapiṇḍā.*

<sup>10</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 312.

<sup>11</sup> *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ch. XIV, śl. 54.

<sup>12</sup> *Harivamśa*, Ch. 37.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. 195, śl. 3.

great departure (*mahāprasthāna*) Yudhiṣṭhira installed Vajranābha on the throne of Mathurā.<sup>1</sup> On the eve of the rise of the Gupta power, seven Nāga kings reigned here.<sup>2</sup> Śatrughna reigned in this city with his two sons Suvāhu and Śūrasena.<sup>3</sup> Ugrasena and Kamsa were the kings of Mathurā, which was ruled by Andhaka's descendants down to them.<sup>4</sup>

Part played by  
Śatrughna.

Pargiter suggests that the conquest of Śūrasena and Mathurā by Rāma's brother Śatrughna a little earlier than the reign of Sudās, may have led some of the Vasiṣṭhas into other kingdoms.<sup>5</sup> Bhīma Sātвата expelled Śatrughna's sons from Mathurā and he and his descendants reigned there.<sup>6</sup> After attacking the Sātвата Yādavas on the west of the Jumna and killing Mādhava Lavana, Śatrughna built the capital city of Mathurā in the country thenceforward called Śūrasena.

Andhaka reigned at Mathurā which was the chief Yādava capital. He had two sons, Kukura and Bhajamāna. Kukura and his descendants

Andhaka and his  
descendants.  
Rival of Sudās and  
Jarāsandha.

formed the main dynasty there down to Kamsa, while Bhajamāna's descendants specially known as the Andhakas formed the princely line somewhere there.<sup>7</sup> Sudās drove out the Paurava king Saṃvarana of Hastināpura defeating him on the

Jumna. His conquests stirred up a confederacy of neighbouring kings to resist him, the Yādava king of Mathurā was one of them.<sup>8</sup> Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, rose to the highest power, extended his supremacy around and as far as Mathurā, where Kamsa, the Yādava king, who married two of his daughters, acknowledged him as overlord. The tyrant king of Mathurā, Kamsa, was killed by Kṛṣṇa. This roused Jarāsandha's wrath against Kṛṣṇa and the Bhojas of Mathurā. The Bhojas of Mathurā resisted him for some time but afterwards they migrated in a body to Gujrat and established themselves at Dvārakā.<sup>9</sup> The adherents of Kamsa, king of the Yādavas at Mathurā, were called Dānavas.<sup>10</sup> Madhu, the great king of the Yādavas, was styled a Daitya and king of the Dānavas. Madhu's descendant, Lavana Mādhava, was called Dānava, Rākṣasa, and Asura.<sup>11</sup>

According to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, the ruling family of Mathurā was the Yadu or Yādava family. The Yādavas were divided into various septs, e.g. the Vitihoṭras, the Sātवatas, etc.<sup>12</sup> The Sātवatas were subdivided into several

branches, e.g. the Daivāvṛddhas, Andhakas, Mahābhojas and Vṛṣṇis.<sup>13</sup> Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the *Rgveda* which states that Yadu and Turvaśa came from a distant land.<sup>14</sup> We learn from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5.4.21) that the Sātवatas were defeated by Bharata, and the horse, which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha sacrifice, was taken away by him. The Epic and the Pauranic tradition places the Sātवatas in the Mathurā district. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (p. 12) the

<sup>1</sup> *Skānda Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇukhaṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata mātmya*, Ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Vāyu P.*, 88, 185-6; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, III, 63, 186-7; *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 62, 6; *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 4, 46; *Bhāgavata P.*, IX, 11, 14; *Agni P.*, XI, 6-7; *Padma P.*, VI, 271, 9; *Varāha P.*, 178, 1; *Raghuvamśa*, XV, 2-30.

<sup>4</sup> Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80.

<sup>8</sup> *Mahābhārata*, I, 94, 3725-39; *Rgveda*, VII, 18; Cf. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 47, 1881-92; *Brahma P.*, 180-212; *Harivamśa*, 57-190.

<sup>10</sup> *Mahābhārata*, XII, 341, 12954.

<sup>11</sup> Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 291.

<sup>12</sup> *Matya P.*, 43-44; *Vāyu P.*, 94-6.

<sup>13</sup> *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 13.1; *Vāyu P.*, 96, 1-2.

<sup>14</sup> I, 36.18; VI, 45.1.

Vṛṣṇis are described as having a republican corporation (*saṃgha*). This fact is corroborated by the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 81.25).

In Buddha's time, a king of Mathurā bore the title of Avantiputra and was therefore related on the maternal side to the royal family of

#### King Avantiputra.

Ujjayinī in Avantī. King Avantiputra went to Mahākaccāyana, one of the most influential disciples of the Buddha, and discussed with him about the pride and superiority of the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1</sup> The *Dīpavaṃsa* tells us that the sons and grandsons of king Sādhina ruled the great kingdom of Madhurā or Mathurā, the best of towns.<sup>2</sup> In Uttara Madhurā, there was a king named Mahāsāgara who had two sons named Sāgara and Upasāgara. On his death the elder son became king and the younger crown prince.

Sādhina, Sāgara, Upasāgara, Kamsa, Upakamsa, Vāsudeva and his brothers.

Upasāgara quarrelled with Sāgara and went to Uttarāpatha in the Kamsa district and to the city of Asitañjana ruled over by king Mahākamsa who had two sons, Kamsa and Upakamsa, and one daughter Devagabbhā. There was a prophecy that this daughter would bear a son who would kill his maternal uncles. Believing this prediction, on the death of Mahākamsa, the two brothers kept their sister in a separate round tower specially built for her, so that she would remain there unmarried; but despite their precautions Devagabbhā and Upasāgara saw each other, fell in love, and contrived to meet. When her brothers discovered the intrigue, they gave Devagabbhā in marriage to Upasāgara and a daughter was born to them. The two brothers were pleased and allotted a village to their sister and brother-in-law. In course of time Devagabbhā gave birth to ten sons and her serving-woman named Nandagopā to ten daughters. Devagabbhā secretly exchanged her ten sons for the ten daughters. When the boys grew up they became plunderers, and their foster-father, Andhakaveṇhu, was often rebuked by king Kamsa. The secret of the birth of the ten sons was disclosed to Kamsa. An arena was then prepared for a wrestling match. When the ten sons entered the ring and were about to be caught, the eldest of the ten, Vāsudeva, threw a wheel which cut off the heads of Kamsa and Upakamsa.<sup>3</sup> The *Jātaka* story ends with the accession of Vāsudeva to the throne of Mathurā. The *Petavatthu Commentary* gives a different story.<sup>4</sup>

According to a Jaina account there was a powerful king named Vasudeva in the town of Śaurya-pura (Mathurā). He had two wives, Rohiṇī and

Rāma and Keśava and King Samudravijaya.

Devakī. Each of them had a beloved son named Rāma and Keśava. In the same town there was another powerful king named Samudravijaya. Śivā

was his wife whose famous son was the venerable Ariṣṭanemi. Vasudeva's son Keśava wanted to marry the beautiful daughter of Ugrasena<sup>5</sup> named Rājimatī. Keśava was married to Rājimatī and the marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp and festivities. Rājimatī entered the Jaina Order. Rathanemi wanted to have her love. She did not lose her presence of mind and maintained the honour of her family by telling him thus: 'Shame upon you, O famous Knight, I am the daughter of a Bhoja king and you are an Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi. If you fall in love with every woman

<sup>1</sup> *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 83ff.

<sup>2</sup> Oldenberg's Ed., p. 27; Cf. *Extended Mahāvamsa* (Ed. Malalasekera) P.T.S., p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 79 foll.

<sup>4</sup> *Paramatthadīpani on the Petavatthu*, pp. 111 foll.; See also B. C. Law, *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 2nd ed., 99ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ugrasena was placed on the throne of Mathurā by Kṛṣṇa on the death of Kamsa according to the *Vīṇupurāṇa* (V. 21).

you see, you will be without any hold. Let us practise self-control.' Both of them then practised severe austerities and reached the highest perfection.<sup>1</sup>

The Nāgas and the Yaudheyas reigned at Mathurā before they were subjugated by Samudragupta.<sup>2</sup> Menander, king of Kabul and the Punjab,

Nāgas, Yaudheyas,  
Menander, Śaka satraps  
and Kuṣāṇas.

occupied it.<sup>3</sup> The Hindu kings of Mathurā were finally displaced by Hagāna, Hagāmāsa, Rājuvula and other Śaka satraps who probably flourished in or about the first century A.D.<sup>4</sup> In the second

century A.D. Mathurā was under the sway of Huviṣka, the Kuṣāṇa king. This is confirmed by the evidence of a splendid Buddhist monastery which bears his name.<sup>5</sup> In the first century B.C. the region of Mathurā passed from native Indian to foreign (Śaka) rule. The daughter of Bṛhaspatimitra (presumably a king of Kauśāmbī according to Rapson) was married to a king of Mathurā.<sup>6</sup>

A Greek king<sup>7</sup> went back to Mathurā with his army in fear of any counter-attack on the part of king Khāravela of Kalinga while the latter was engaged in besieging the city of Rājagaha

Bactrian Greeks.

(Rājagṛha) (JBORS., XIII, 236). The Yonas, as Bactrian Greeks, founded principalities in India establishing their suzerainty even over Mathurā.<sup>8</sup>

When Megasthenes wrote about the Śūrasenas, their country must have been included in the Maurya empire, and after the Mauryas their capital Madhurā came under the sway of the Bactrian Greeks and the Kuṣāṇas. Whether Mathurā was included in the Śuṅga dominion or not is a matter of dispute.

Under the Mauryas.

According to the *Vinayavastu*, Śūrasena with Mathurā as its capital is the *ādirājya* or the first kingdom for the reason that the people elected by common consent a king with the descriptive name of Mahāsammata.<sup>9</sup>

The ādirājya.

In the city of Mathurā Śrīkṛṣṇa was born in the prison cell, where he was locked up by Kāṃsa. Here he killed a washerman, granted a boon to the

Part played by Kṛṣṇa.

garland-maker Sudāma, gave the celestial beauty to a hunchback, broke the bow of Indra, killed the elephant of Kāṃsa and at last put an end to Kāṃsa's life. He then took the sacred thread worthy of a Kṣatriya, and learnt the art from the sage Sandīpaṇi belonging to the city of Avantī. He was a bosom friend of the Pāṇḍavas. He sent Akṛura to Hastināpura to enquire about their welfare. He had a fight with Jarāsandha with the result that Jarāsandha fled being defeated.

In the Brāhmaṇas the centre of religious activity has been transferred to the adjacent country on the south-east, i.e. the upper portion of the Doab

Religious history—  
Brahmarṣideśa.

between the Jumna and the Ganges and the Mathurā district of the United Provinces. This was known as the *Brahmarṣideśa* or the country of the holy sages.

<sup>1</sup> *Uttarādhyaṃyana Sūtra*, XXII; *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., Pt. II, pp. 112ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 241 and f.n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 286-287; Cf. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, I, p. 238.

<sup>6</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 526.

<sup>7</sup> Sten Konow reads the name of the Greek King as Dimita and identifies him with Demetrios but the name of the Greek King cannot be completely made out from Khāravela's Inscription.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela: *Madhuram apayāto Yavanarājā*.

<sup>9</sup> *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. N. Dutt, Vol. III, pt. I, pp. 3ff.

Mathurā was the centre of Viṣṇu cult. The Bhāgavata religion, the parent of modern Vaiṣṇavism, also arose here. In the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period

A centre of Viṣṇu cult  
and Serpent worship.

the city ceased to be a stronghold of Bhāgavatism.<sup>1</sup> The paucity of Bhāgavata inscriptions at Mathurā probably indicates that Bhāgavatism did not find much favour at the royal court because from the first century B.C. to third century A.D. the people were usually Buddhists and Jains.<sup>2</sup>

The Mathurā-Nāga Statuette Inscription amply proves the prevalence of serpent-worship in Mathurā which is important in view of the story of Kāliyanāga and his suppression by Kṛṣṇa.<sup>3</sup>

Mathurā is considered as the birthplace of Vaiṣṇavism. During the reigns of Kuṣāṇa kings it was a well-known centre of Jainism. For

A centre of Jainism and  
Buddhism.

many years Buddhism was prevalent in this city which was hallowed by the dust of Buddha's feet. Buddhism was predominant in Mathurā for several centuries. Mahākaccāyana delivered one of the most important *suttas* on the subject of caste in this city.<sup>4</sup> When the Buddha was once proceeding from Mathurā to VERAṆJĪ, he halted under a tree and there he was honoured by many householders of either sex.<sup>5</sup> When the Buddha was at Sāvaththī, a woman of Uttaramadhurā was at the end of her life-term and was about to fall into hell. He saw her miserable plight, took pity on her and came to save her. The woman invited the Master to have his daily meal at her house. She fed him to his satisfaction with her own hands with the result that she after death was reborn in heaven.<sup>6</sup> At one time Mahākaccāna (Mahākaccāyana) lived at Mathurā in the grove called Gundā (Gundāvana). A Brahmin named Kaṇḍarāyana met him there and had a talk with him about the respect to be shown to the Brahmins and elders.<sup>7</sup>

According to the *Valāhassa Jātaka* (No. 196), the Bodhisatta was reborn as a flying horse, white all over, and beaked like a crow, with hair like *muñja* grass, possessed of supernatural power and able to fly through the air. On one side of a pillar in a Buddhist railing at Mathurā there appears a flying horse with people clinging to it.<sup>8</sup> It seems to have some connection with this *Jātaka*. An unlucky daughter of a rich banker of Mathurā was brought up by an ascetic at the banker's expense and was given religious instruction. She distinguished herself by her knowledge and cleverness in the discussion. She discussed the *Sāstras* with the ascetics. At this time a learned Brahmin came to Mathurā from the Deccan. The girl had a discussion with him for seven days but she was defeated.<sup>9</sup> At Urumuṇḍa, a hill in Mathurā, Soṇavāsi who was a propagator of the Buddhist faith at Mathurā converted two *nāgas* named Naṭa and Bhaṭa and erected two *vihāras* of the same name in commemoration of their conversion.<sup>10</sup>

The Buddha is said to have drawn attention of his chief disciple, Ānanda, to Urumuṇḍa hill, predicting that Naṭa and Bhaṭa, the two

A prediction of  
Buddha.

brothers, would erect a Buddhist monastery a century after his demise—the monastery which would become the favourite retreat of Upagupta and other peace-loving monks. There is also a prediction that Ānanda would ordain

<sup>1</sup> Ray Chaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Anguttara*, II, pp. 57ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, P.T.S., pp. 118-19.

<sup>6</sup> *Anguttara*, I, pp. 67-68.

<sup>7</sup> Anderson, *Catalogue of Indian Museum*, I, p. 189.

<sup>8</sup> *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 389ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*, 71st *Pallava*.

<sup>4</sup> *Majjhima*, II, pp. 83ff.



Upagupta and that by Upagupta Buddha's religion would be widely propagated. This is evidently an instance of anachronism.

When the Buddha was sojourning at Mathurā, he noticed five troubles in the city including the abundance of womenfolk. The city of Mathurā had a shrine of a terrible Yakṣa, known as Gardhava, who was tamed by the Master along with a retinue of five hundred.<sup>1</sup>

Upagupta, who was the teacher of Aśoka, while at Mathurā, was invited at the Natavaṭa vihāra. The Upagupta monastery at Mathurā is very important in the history of Buddhism, as he succeeded in converting in this monastery many thousands of people and through him eighteen thousand disciples attained saintship.<sup>2</sup>

One Padmaka became a hermit as he felt disgusted with the world after seeing a dead body. While at Mathurā he entered the house of a prostitute for alms. She became charmed with the hermit's appearance and sought his love.<sup>3</sup>

The Jains seem to have been firmly established from the middle of the second century B.C. onwards in the city of Mathurā. Numerous inscriptions from Mathurā which date mostly from the time of the later Kuṣāṇa kings, i.e. after 78 A.D. afford sufficient proof that the Jain community was not only established but had become subdivided into smaller groups at an earlier period.<sup>4</sup> The Jain nuns are frequently mentioned in the Mathurā Inscriptions, which inform us also about the sects, branches, and families of the Jain community. We also learn from them the names of teachers who under different titles acted as spiritual leaders of those sub-divisions and of the monks and nuns who practised austere life under them.<sup>5</sup> The Jain inscription on a broken slab at Mathurā refers to *caturvarṇasamgha* which means that the Jain community of the time consisted of monks, nuns, lay brothers, and sisters.<sup>6</sup>

Cast-coins were issued at the close of the third century by the kingdoms of Mathurā, Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī, some of which bear the names of local kings in the Brāhmī script. In the ruins of Mathurā many ancient copper coins along with many coins of the Greek and Śāka rulers were discovered.<sup>7</sup> The coins discovered at Mathurā contain the standing figures of kings, e.g. the coins of Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Hagāmasa, Rañjuvula and Soḍāsa.<sup>8</sup>

The steady growth of plastic art derives much light from the pre-Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathurā. These sculptures which are the most attractive may be divided into three main classes: the earliest belonging approximately to the middle of the second century B.C., the second to the following century, and the last being associated with the rule of the local satraps. The sculptures of the third class are more exceptional. Their style is that of the early school in a late and decadent phase, when its cut was becoming conventionalized and lifeless. A little before the beginning of the Christian era, Mathurā became the capital of a satrapy either subordinate to or closely associated with the Scytho-parthian kingdom of Taxila. As a result there was an influx there

<sup>1</sup> *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Ed. N. Dutt, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 3-17.

<sup>2</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 306-307.

<sup>3</sup> *Aśokāvadāna*, R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, XX, Insc. No. VI, Pl. xiii.

<sup>7</sup> R. D. Banerjee, *Prācīna Mūrā*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 538.

of the semi-Hellenistic art too weak in its environment to maintain its own individuality, yet still strong enough to enervate the older tradition of Hindusthan. The votive tablets of *Loṇasobhikā* are particularly significant of the close relationship that existed between Mathurā and the north-west.<sup>1</sup> The sculptural remains found at Mathurā indicate the presence of Graeco-Bactrian influence.<sup>2</sup> V. A. Smith remarks that Mathurā was probably the original site of the celebrated iron-pillar at Delhi on which the eulogy of a powerful king named Candrar is incised.<sup>3</sup> The most valuable monument of the Śaka satraps of Mathurā discovered by Bhagavanlal Indraji is, as pointed out by Rapson, in the form of a large lion carved in red sandstone and intended to be the capital of a pillar. The workmanship undoubtedly shows Persian influence. The surface is completely covered with inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhi characters, which give the genealogy of the satrapal family ruling at Mathurā.<sup>4</sup>

The artistic traditions of the north-west obtained a strong foothold in the Jain reliefs of Mathurā.<sup>5</sup> Many dated and undated Buddha and Bodhisattva images have been unearthed here. The temples of Mathurā struck Mahmud of Ghazni with such admiration that he resolved to adorn his own capital in a similar style.

The following sculptures belonging to Mathurā are worthy of notice:

- (1) Ten inscribed statues of Śvetāmbara Jinas of the Indo-Scythian period;
- (2) Thirty-four pieces of sculpture forming parts of a magnificent Śvetāmbara Jain temple of the

**Important Sculptures.** time of the Indo-Scythian king Huviṣka; (3) A statue of Mahāvira surrounded by 23 *tīrthaṅkaras*; (4) Two colossal statues of the Jina Padmaprabhānātha; (5) Six bases of Buddha statues of the time of Indo-Scythian rulers, Huviṣka, Kaṇiṣka and Vāsudeva; (6) An inscribed statue of the Bodhisattva Amoghasiddhārtha of the first century A.D.; (7) Nineteen Buddhist railing pillars; (8) Sixteen cross bars of Buddhist railings; (9) A richly sculptured door-jamb of a Buddha temple of the Indo-Scythian period; (10) A beautifully carved stone umbrella of a Buddhist stūpa; (11) A red sandstone umbrella; (12) A four-faced lion capital of the time of the Andhras; (13) A large slab inscribed in the so-called shelled characters; (14) Twenty-four exquisitely sculptured panels of the Indo-Scythian period representing Vardhamāna Mahāvira preaching to Royalty, the Jain ascetic Kaṇha and the gift of the wife of Dhanahastin, etc.<sup>6</sup>

There was a Jaina brick *stūpa* excavated at Mathurā. The *torāṇa* excavated there is exquisitely carved. The lotus flowers and buds are admirably executed. The string course is a good example of undercut leaf scroll work. In the bases of

**Architectural remains.** small pillars the carvings are well executed. Winged dragons, the *svastika*, the honey-sucker and the thunderbolt are found in them. *Svastika* is the emblem of the Jina Supārśvanātha and *Vajra* or thunderbolt, the emblem of Dharmanātha, the 15th Jina. The two images of Vardhamāna Mahāvira have been discovered here. In one of them the figure is seated under a sacred tree, there appears a *nāga* with a canopy of cobra's hood, the other image is seated under a small canopy.

In one of the Mathurā Buddhist Rail-pillar inscriptions, the name of Vādhapāla (?) Dhanabhūti, son of Dhanabhūti (?) and Vātsī, is recorded

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 633.

<sup>2</sup> Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 401.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient India*, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 641.

<sup>6</sup> *The Jain Stūpa and other antiquities of Mathurā*, by V. A. Smith, 1901, pp. 2-3.

as the donor of a railing (*vedikā*) and arches (*torāṇas*) at the *Ratnagriha* for the worship of all Buddhas.<sup>1</sup> The railing with

Inscriptions.

the arches was dedicated by him together with his parents and the four sections, the monks, nuns, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* of the Buddhist community. The name of the prince Vādhapāla, the son of king Dhanabhūti is recorded as the donor of a rail of the Barhut railing.<sup>2</sup> The name of Vādhapāla's father, king Dhanabhūti, the son of Āgaraju (Aṅgāraditya) and Vātsī, and the grandson of king Viśvadeva, figures prominently as the donor of the ornamental gateways of the *stūpa* of Barhut.<sup>3</sup> It is expressly recorded in the Barhut gateway inscriptions that the gateways were caused to be erected by king Dhanabhūti in the dominion of the Śuṅgas (*Śuṅgaṃ raje*).<sup>4</sup> If Prince Vādhapāla the son of king Dhanabhūti of the Barhut inscription be the same person as Vādhapāla (?) Dhanabhūti, the son of Dhanabhūti of the Mathurā Buddhist rail inscription, as it seems very likely, one cannot but be led to think that Mathurā was then placed in a territory contiguous to the dominion of the Śuṅgas. From the existing fragment of the inscription it cannot be made out if the epithet of king was affixed to the name of Vādhapāla (?) Dhanabhūti. Vādhapāla introduced as Vādhapāla (?) Dhanabhūti must have been a ruler; otherwise there is no reason why in the dedication he should have been associated with his parents (presumably aged) and a big retinue of all the four sections of the Buddhist community. Prince Vādhapāla's inscription at Barhut is written in Aśokan Prākṛit, while the language of Vādhapāla (?) Dhanabhūti's inscription at Mathurā marks a transition from the Aśokan Prākṛit to the typical mixed Sanskrit of the inscription of the Kuṣāṇa age. Its alphabet too stands midway between the Aśokan Brāhmī and that of the Kuṣāṇa period. The interval of time between the two inscriptions was not long enough to account for such a marked change in their languages. The difference can be easily explained on the supposition that Barhut and Mathurā were situated in two contiguous but slightly different linguistic areas. In the absence of any reference to the dominion of any other ruler or dynasty, it may be legitimate to assume that Vādhapāla (?) Dhanabhūti and his predecessors were local rulers of Mathurā and that prior to the Kuṣāṇa rule.

The inscriptions found at Mathurā give the dates in those old Indian numerals which have been the subject of much controversy. Some Mathurā inscriptions confirm values previously assigned to the old Indian numerals and they furnish some new and varying forms. The language of all the inscriptions is Sanskrit and not Pāli, but it shows some interesting deviations from the classical forms. The language of only one inscription from Mathurā bears strong signs of the transition from Sanskrit to Pāli.<sup>5</sup> A distinct form of Prākṛit dialect called Śauraseni has been named after the Śūrasenas or the people of Mathurā. Two Mathurā records of the first century A.D. are known to be written in classical Sanskrit and in the ornate metres called *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* and *Bhujāṅgaviṣṇubhita*.<sup>6</sup> The Sanskrit language employed by the Mathurā Pillar inscription of Candragupta II of the Gupta Year 61 (= A.D. 380) is influenced by Prākṛit, and the Brāhmī used by it resembles the Kuṣāṇa script of the second century A.D.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luders' List No. 125.

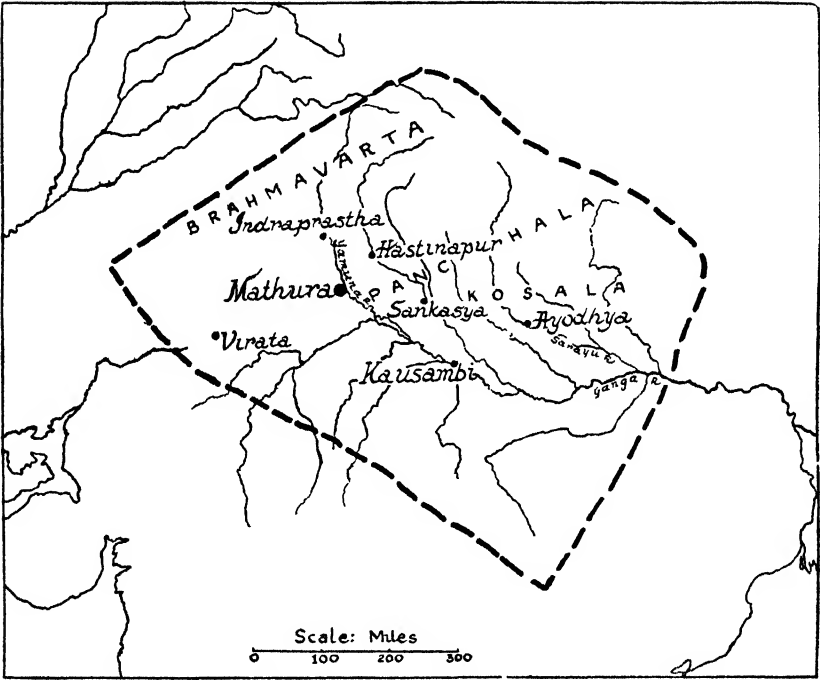
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 687-88; Cf. also No. 882.

<sup>3</sup> Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1ff.

<sup>4</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. V, New Series, 1871, pp. 182ff. The counter theory is that the language of the Mathurā inscriptions indicates a transition of the official language from Prākṛit to Sanskrit and that their language has its parallel in the mixed Sanskrit of the old gūthās in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Indica*, Vol. II, p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 96.



Ancient Mathurā and adjoining places.



# THE CENTRAL ASIATIC EXPEDITION OF CHANDRAGUPTA VIKRAMĀDITYA.

By BUDDHA PRAKASH.

(Received December 2, 1946.)

Nine miles due south of Delhi is a village named Mehrauli. In it there stands a tapering iron column near the well-known Kutub-minar in the ancient fort of Rai-Pithora. On the west side of this column is engraved an inscription<sup>1</sup> recording the installing of a Viṣṇu's standard, the present column, on the Viṣṇupāda hill by a king named Chandra. The inscription contains a grandiloquent account of his conquests but is completely silent as to his date, parentage or identity. On the ground of its paleography this inscription is relegated to the 3rd or 4th or to the 4th or 5th century A.D.

Chandra of this inscription is variously identified: with Chandragupta Maurya by Dr. H. C. Seth<sup>2</sup>; with Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty by Allan, Fleet, and others<sup>3</sup> with Chandravarma, son of Simhavarma of Pushkara by Haraprasād Shāstri and R. D. Banerjee<sup>4</sup>; with Bhavanāga's successor Sadāchandra Bhāraṣya by Aiyar; with Chandrāṃsa of the Nāga dynasty by H. C. Raychaudhuri<sup>5</sup>; with Kanishka by R. C. Mazumdar on the ground that his *biruda* is Chandra according to some Tibetan traditions; alternatively with a younger brother of Mihirakula by Fleet,<sup>6</sup> and with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty by Hoernle, Jayaswal, D. R. Bhandarkar, L. D. Barnett, and others.<sup>7</sup>

The following are the tests to be applied in examining the correctness of the identification of Chandra with Chandragupta II in preference to others.—

- (1) Whether Chandragupta II lived about the beginning of the 5th century, the probable date of the Mehrauli record;
- (2) Whether he was a Vaishnava by religion, such as 'Chandra' undoubtedly was;
- (3) Whether the findspot of the pillar was included in his dominion;
- (4) Whether he waged wars in Bengal as 'Chandra' is recorded to have done;
- (5) Whether he had influence in the south, which 'Chandra' perfumed with the breezes of his valour; and
- (6) Whether he conquered the Vāhlikas in Central Asia, as 'Chandra' did after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, No. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Chandragupta Maurya and the defeat of Alexander in India* (in Hindi).

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, p. xxvi; Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, pp. 13-18; Fleet, *Corpus No. 32* (introduction); Aiyangar, *Studies in Gupta History* (J.I.I.).

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 218; *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 449 f.n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Corpus No. 32* (introduction).

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVIII; *History of the Guptas*, p. 28; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1939, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 413 et seq.; *Antiquities of India*, p. 47; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, I, 255.

It is certain that Chandragupta II reigned from A.D. 380-81-412-13 as is evident from the dates recorded on his coins.

Chandragupta II is known from epigraphic and numismatic records as the first Gupta sovereign to adopt Vaishnavism as the imperial creed. In his stone inscriptions found at Mathurā and Gadhwā he is called 'Parama-Bhāgavata'.<sup>1</sup> The obverse of his horseman type of coins bears the circular legend *Paramabhāgavato Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandra Gupta* and on his silver types he is styled '*Paramabhāgavatah*'.<sup>2</sup>

As for the original location of the Meharauli pillar, there is a tradition that the pillar was erected at its present site by Anaṅgapāla, the founder of the Tomar dynasty,<sup>3</sup> though, as Fleet observes, 'the fact that the underground supports of the pillar include several small pieces of metal like "bits of bar-iron" is in favour of its being now in its original position.'<sup>4</sup> The location of the Viṣṇupāda hill on which the pillar was originally installed, however, lends weight to the tradition of its removal to Meharauli at a later date. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>5</sup> Viṣṇupāda is mentioned together with Vipāsā and Śālmali, which are said to be in the vicinity of the Vāhlika country. Dr. Bhandarkar maintains that 'Viṣṇupāda was a hill in the Punjab from which Kashmere was visible'.<sup>6</sup> Thus it is clear that the pillar was erected by Chandragupta somewhere in the North-Western regions of India as an emblem of his victory over the Vāhlikas. In any case, both Delhi, the findspot of the inscription, and the Bactrian territory were within the dominions of Chandragupta.

The *Allahabad Prasasti* of Samudragupta speaks of three eastern *Pratyantarājyas* of Samatata (South-East Bengal),<sup>7</sup> Davāka (Davakā, Nowgong district of Assam)<sup>8</sup> and Kāmarūpa (Lower Assam). Samudragupta probably carried his victorious arms into Bengal, 'for among the kings of Āryāvarta, who were according to the *Allahabad Prasasti*, uprooted by Samudragupta, we find the name of Chandravarman who may be reasonably identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Susunia inscription as ruler of Pushkarāṇa'.<sup>9</sup> As a consequence these kingdoms submitted to the sovereignty of Samudragupta and bought their existence by offering obeisance, paying tributes and making suitable presents.<sup>10</sup> But coming to the times of Kumāra Gupta I we find these states completely blotted out and their territories under the direct administration of the Crown.<sup>11</sup> Here the question arises as to when and why

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Corpus* Nos. 4, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Chakravarti, however, suggests that it was removed to its present site by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Corpus* (introduction to No. 32).

<sup>5</sup> Second *Kāṇḍa*, 68th Ch., 18-19 verses.

<sup>6</sup> *Indian Culture* (Jany., 1937).

<sup>7</sup> The Mehar-Copper-plate of Dāmodaradeva, edited by B. M. Barua and P. B. Chakravarti, leaves no room for doubt that Samatāṭamaṇḍala comprised the districts of Tipperah and Chittagong.

<sup>8</sup> Correctly identified by Kanak Lal Barua in his *Early History of Kāmarūpa* in preference to Dacca, Bogra, Dinajpur, Rajshahi or the hill tracts of Tipperah and Chittagong.

<sup>9</sup> R. C. Mazumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University), p. 48; vide also H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 4th ed., p. 448.

<sup>10</sup> *Of. Corpus* No. 1, Line 22—সমন্ততত্ত্বাকানরূপ.....সর্বকরদানান্নাকরষয়ানান-নমনবিনোবিনসব্রহ্মসমস্ব

<sup>11</sup> *Of. Damodarpur Copperplate inscriptions of the years 124, 129 GE (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, p. 130 et seq.) and the Baigram inscription of the year 128 G.E. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, p. 78).*

these states were annexed to imperial dominions. There is no evidence to show that Kumāra Gupta extinguished them. Samudragupta, as said above, only defeated them and did not extinguish their identity by annexing their territory to the Imperial Gupta realm. Hence the conclusion becomes almost irresistible that Chandragupta II accomplished this work of extirpation and annexation in Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Soon after the demise of Samudragupta the mighty structure raised by him began to fumble. The Śakas and Sassanians swooped down over India and brought Rāma Gupta to the knees. Their menace which tended to smash the thin-spun fabric of the Gupta empire was only staved off with the enterprise and perspicacity of Chandragupta II. Almost at the same time there was some upheaval in the south which compelled Chandragupta to conclude a matrimonial alliance with the Vākātakas. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the states of Bengal declared their independence. Chandragupta II after suppressing other fissiparous forces, turned towards them and uprooted them, leaving no chance of their future revival. This great struggle in which the Gupta monarch had to squash the joint resistance of the confederates of Bengal is described in the Meharauli inscription.<sup>2</sup>

The storm unleashed by the demise of Samudragupta shook the foundations of Gupta paramountcy in the south. Samudragupta had penetrated up to Karnatak, Khandesh and Madras in the Tamil land, but had reinstated the vanquished kings on their thrones.<sup>3</sup> The fire thus buried underground smouldered on until it burst into a conflagration after his death compelling Chandragupta II to quell it by conciliatory means. Accordingly he gave, it seems, the hand of his daughter Prabhāvatī Guptā to Rudrasena II son of Prithviṣeṇa I who greatly grew in power and considerably recouped the loss caused by the death and defeat of his father Rudrasena I by Samudragupta. Prithviṣeṇa extended his dominions in the south also and after annexing or subjugating Kuntala began to style himself Kuntaleśa. This marital alliance vastly strengthened and entrenched Chandragupta II's influence over the Vākātaka realm during the reign of Rudrasena II, the regency of Prabhāvatī Guptā and a considerable part of the period of Pravarasena II. The poet Kālidāsa acted as a go-between in these diplomatic dealings. A reference in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja shows that Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king who was most probably Pravarasena II.<sup>4</sup> Kshemendra in his *Auchitya-Vichāra-charchā* also mentions Kālidāsa's 'Kunteśvara Dautya'.<sup>5</sup> Pravarasena II Kuntaleśa also wrote a poem, *Setubandha*, which, as the commentator points out, underwent critical revision at the hands of Kālidāsa at the instance of Chandragupta II himself.<sup>6</sup> Similar matrimonial rela-

<sup>1</sup> It was really his father Samudragupta who did so before him as was pointed out by Miss Sakuntala Rao Shāstri (*J.C.*, Vol. X, pp. 78-9). The title Vikramāditya is also found attached to his name (*J. Numis. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 140) D.R.B.

<sup>2</sup> यक्षीद्वर्षयः प्रतीपमरसा शङ्खमेल्यागतान् ।

बह्व्याधवर्तिनोभिर्लिखितो बडगेन कीर्तिर्भुजः ॥ (*Corpus* No. 32, line 1.)

<sup>3</sup> B. A. Saletore, 'Samudragupta's conquest of Koṭṭūra' in *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1945, Vol. XXVI, pp. 139-141, discusses the entire evidence as to the location of Koṭṭūra and Erāṇḍapalli anew and has arrived at the above conclusions, which, it is submitted, are fairly reasonable.

<sup>4</sup> Heras believes that the Kuntaleśa referred to in the verse was the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman but by a critical study of the Tālagunda Pillar inscription and of several other records N. Lakshminarayan Rao shows that the date of Kākusthavarman must be A.D. 435-75 and that the Kuntaleśa here referred to was most certainly a Vākātaka (*J.H.Q.*) cited in Dandekar, *Hist. of the Guptas*, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings of the 3rd Oriental Conference* (1924), p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, p. 99.



tionships were also contracted by the Guptas with the Kādambas of Vijayanti for Kākusthavarma is said to have given his daughter in marriage to the Gupta who may have been Kumāragupta I.<sup>1</sup> A further important indication of Gupta influence on south-western Deccan is possibly afforded by the coins of Kumāragupta I found in the Satara district.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is clear that the Guptas under Chandragupta II wielded a great influence in the Deccan and he is the only king who can answer to the description of Chandra in the Meharauli inscription.<sup>3</sup>

Ever since the treaty of the Kushānas with the Sassanian sovereign Hormezd (A.D. 302-309) of Persia that was cemented by the marriage of the Kushāna princess with the latter, both the realms were virtually combined. By that time the menace of the invasion of the Roman emperor Marcus Orlicus Carcus had been staved off and mutual rivalries and internecine conflicts had abated. Hence this huge Kushāna-Sassanian bloc was on a look out for some opportunity to restore the fallen fortunes of the Kushānas in India. We have just now referred to their Indian invasion after Samudragupta and their defeat at the hands of Chandragupta. Yet the menace of their outbreak was not finally quelled and hence Chandragupta, at his early convenience, managed to beard the lion in his den and led a great expedition into the realm of the Kushāna-Sassanians. This expedition is clearly referred to in the Meharauli Pillar inscription<sup>4</sup> and in the *Kāliyuga-Rāja-Vṛttānta* of the *Bharishyottarapurāṇa* if the latter has any historical value.<sup>5</sup>

The details of this expedition are given in the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa so lucidly and picturesquely as to induce the belief that the author was an eye-witness to the whole train of events. The description of Raghu's *Digvijaya* in the 4th canto of the *Raghuvamśa* is a replica of the campaigns and conquests of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. The southern and eastern campaigns of Raghu are reminiscent of Samudragupta's expeditions, whereas the northern ones relate to those of Chandragupta. As a matter of fact, Samudragupta did undertake expeditions in the northern and western directions,<sup>6</sup> but they were mere triumphal marches. The real expedition was that of Chandragupta II which is clearly and quite unmistakably described by the Meharauli epigraph and immortalized by Kālidāsa in his classic account. We shall follow it in our narrative below.

The Gupta forces led by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya started by the land-route<sup>7</sup> and crossing the seven traditional tributaries of the Indus and the Indus itself at Ohind advanced towards Kabul.

All these regions were comprised within the dominions of the Kushānas as I have identified them with the Mlecchas mentioned in the *Purāṇas* as

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Tālaganda inscription: (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 33); *I.H.Q.* (1933), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Allan, *Catalogue*, CXXX.

<sup>3</sup> यस्याद्याधिवास्ये जलनिधिर्वीर्यामिलैर्दक्षिणः । *Corpus* No. 32, line 2.

<sup>4</sup> तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखाणि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता बाह्विकाः । *Corpus*, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> विज्रमादित्य इत्येव भुवनेषु प्रयां नतः ।

सप्तसिन्धून् समतीर्य बाह्वीकादीन् विजित्य च ॥

For comments, see *Journal of the B.*

*O. Research Society* (1944), Vol. XXX, pp. 1-4.

<sup>6</sup> See *Āryamañjunī-mūlakalpa*, Jayaswal's edition, p. 52:—

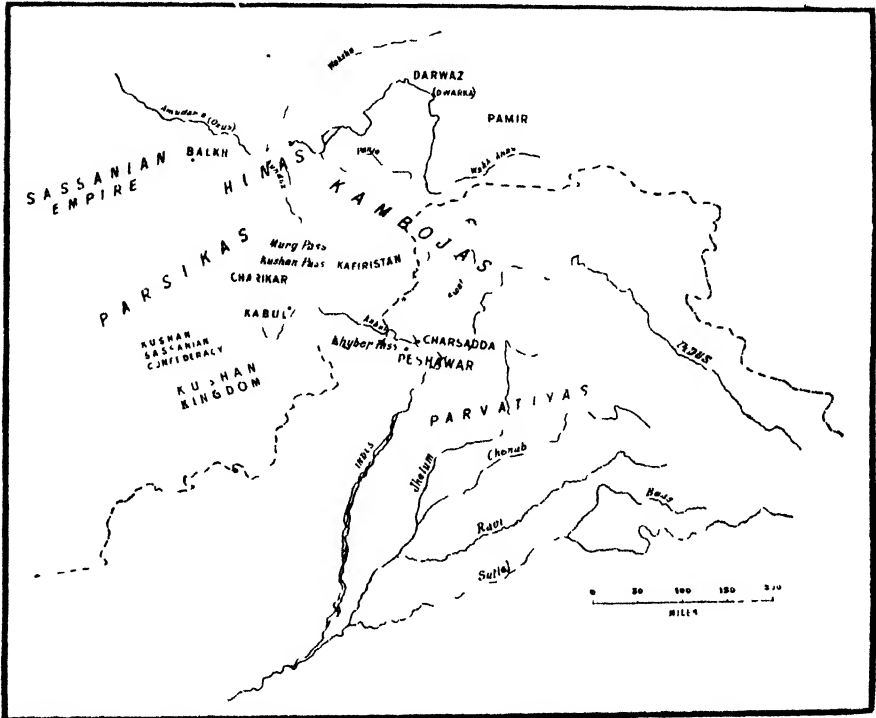
सोऽनुपूर्वेण गलासी पश्चिमां दिशि भूपतिः ।

काश्मीरद्वारपर्यन्तं प्राचीं दिशं समावृतः ॥

<sup>7</sup> पारसीकाक्षतो जेतुं प्रतखे स्वस्ववर्जना ।

इन्द्रियास्त्राणि च रिपून्सलज्जानेन सयनी ॥ *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 60.

inhabiting those territories.<sup>1</sup> Their paramountcy having shifted to the Sassanians, the chronicler omits to mention them and refers generally to the Persians. Perhaps the encounter with the combined forces of the Kushānas and the Sassanians took place near Kabul. There was a severe struggle in which the Persian cavalry, famous for its superiority, played an important part. The Indians, on their part, gave a fierce battle and wrought havoc and slaughter in the enemy ranks. 'The earth was littered with the bearded heads of the Persians like a honeycomb covered with bees.'<sup>2</sup> Ultimately the Indians won the day and finding no alternative, the remnants of the enemies, taking off their turbans, according to their local custom of capitulation, sought peace at the feet of the victor. The might of the Persians had been squashed.



Track of advance of Chandragupta Vikramāditya.

After this great victory, unprecedented in Indian history, the Indians gave themselves up to revelry and merry-making. These regions are

<sup>1</sup> See my paper *The Political Geography of India on the eve of Gupta Ascendancy in the Indian Culture*, Vol. XIII, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> संग्रामकुमुदलस्य पाश्यात्पिच्छसाधने ।  
 शार्ङ्गजितविज्ञेयप्रतिबोधं रजस्यभूत् ॥  
 भक्षायवजितैस्तेषां शिरोभिः श्लक्ष्णैर्मन्दैम् ।  
 तस्मात् सरबाद्यानिः स क्षीप्रपटलेरिव ॥  
 अथनौतशिरक्षायाः शेषास्तं शरणं ययुः ।  
 प्रधिपातप्रतीकारः संरक्षो हि महात्मनाम् ॥

*Raghuvamśa*, IV, 62-64.

famous for grapes, wines and flowers. Kautilya has also mentioned Kāpiśāyini wine as very rich and tasteful. Having thus drunk to the dregs the nectar of victory Vikramāditya advanced to the North, 'like a veritable sun piercing with his rays the waters of the North'.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty-seven miles to the North of Kabul is Charikar, near Opian, which is the site of Alexandria Opiane. Close by is Begram, the famous road-junction and the capital of Kāpiśi. From this place a road runs to the north-east by the Panjashir valley over the Khawāk pass to Andarab (Antarāp). Alexander followed this road on his march into Bactriana from the territory of Paropanisade. It was also taken by Taimur on his invasion of India and it was crossed by Lt. Wood on his return from the sources of the Indus.<sup>2</sup> Vikramāditya advanced along this route. Having reached the Andarab valley, he crossed the Murg pass and marching along the course of the Kunduz river reached the regions of Oxus. This was not a difficult path, for there are only two mountain-passes between Kabul and Oxus, which are not very hard to cross.<sup>3</sup>

The banks of the Oxus were inhabited by the Hūnas. Ever since their defeat at the hands of the Chinese Emperor Shih-Hwang Ti (246 B.C.) they were gradually moving westwards, though occasionally taking back-turns and attacking the Chinese, e.g. under Hwei-Ti (194-179 B.C.) and then in the 3rd century A.D. By the middle of the 4th century, however, they had settled themselves on the banks of the Oxus. In 350 A.D. they invaded the Persian empire but were beaten back by the great Sassanian monarch Shaphur (A.D. 304-379). This defeat completely cowed them down and they became so submissive as to accompany Shaphur in his advance against Rome.<sup>4</sup> Most probably they assisted the Persians against the Indians, as they did subsequently when they invaded India at the time of Skanda Gupta.<sup>5</sup> Hence Vikramāditya thought it worth while to proceed against the Hūnas in order to extirpate this menace lock, stock and barrel. The Hūnas could not withstand the tide of Indian advance and were swiftly swept off their feet. 'The valour of Vikramāditya expressing itself among the Hūna people, shone brightly through the roseate cheeks of their women. The victorious horses of the Hindus shook their saffron-smearred manes and removed their exhaustion by rolling freely on the banks of the Oxus.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> नतः प्रतक्षे कीवेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् ।

हरैरघोरिदीदीक्षानुहरिषम् रसानिव ॥ *Raghuvamśa*.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 25ff.

<sup>3</sup> Holdich, *The Gates of India*, p. 435.

<sup>4</sup> S. K. Aiyangar, *The Hūna problem in Indian History*, *Indian Antiquary* (1919), p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> The *Chandra-Garbha-Pariprichchhā-sūtra* quoted by Bu-ston in his *History of Buddhist-Doctrine*, cited by K. P. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 36

<sup>6</sup> *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 67-8—

नव क्लृप्तावरीधानां भर्तुषु व्यक्तविज्जमम् ।

कपोलपाटलादिभि बभूव रघुवेष्टितम् ॥

विनीताध्वजमाक्षय्य वञ्चनरिविष्टैः ।

दुधुवुर्वाजिनः क्लृप्ताक्षप्रकुम्भकेसरान् ॥

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, while commenting on this paper, observes:—'Where they were situated when Raghu invaded has not yet been made clear by any scholar. Everything depends upon Verse 67 of the *Raghuvamśa*, (anto IV. Two variants of the name of the river occur, namely, Sindhu and Vankshu. The reading accepted by Pathak is Vankshu which he identifies with the Oxus (*J.A.*, 1912, p. 266). On the other hand, a second reading of the river is Sindhu which is known to be another name

Thus crowned with victory and laurelled with glory the Hindus found themselves masters of a land as floral and fertile as their own Gangetic valley. But one more hurdle remained to be crossed. Adjacent to the Hūnas were the Kāmbojas. The region of Badakshān, embraced in the huge semi-circular bend of the Oxus and the territory of the Pamirs and Kafiristan were once inhabited and dominated by them. Darwaz higher up between Badakshān and Wakh-Khan is the present Persianized form of Dwārkā, which, according to the *Petavatthu Commentary*, was associated with Kāmboja-land. Ptolemy locates 'Tambioie', identified by Sylvain Lévi with Kāmboja, to the south of Oxus.<sup>1</sup> Al Idrisi mentions one Kanauj by the side of Badakshān, which is evidently Kāmboja.<sup>2</sup> Apparently in his time the boundaries of Kāmboja or Kambhoja shrank to a large extent.

The Kāmbojas had a strong admixture of Persian blood and culture. Yāska<sup>3</sup> says that the verb *śavati* is used among the Kāmbojas in the sense of going. This is a Persian word not used in Sanskrit. Moreover, a couplet contained in a Pāli *Jātaka* states that the Kāmbojas believed in the absurd principle that a man is purified by killing snakes, frogs, flies, ants and reptiles.<sup>4</sup> In the religious literature of the Persians all these creatures are counted as 'Ahrimani' animals, i.e. those which deserve to be killed. This vouches for cultural affinities between the two. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the Kāmbojas may have felt chagrined at the disaster of the Persians and thus precipitated their clash with Vikramāditya. The issue, however, was pre-determined. 'They were pulled down along with the Ankol trees to which the Indian elephants were tethered and soon propitiated the Indian monarch with presents of fine horses and rich minerals of their precious mines.'<sup>5</sup>

of Indus. The problem is therefore unsolved. Curiously enough the reading Vamkshu is accepted by the composer of the Nagpur Stone Inscription of Naravarmadeva. His brother Lakshmadeva is represented like Raghu as going from East to West and North to South conquering all the countries and settling down on the Vamkshu. Nevertheless, the second reading Sindhu cannot be ignored. And it is doubtful where Kālidāsa placed the Hūnas - on the Vamkshu or on the Sindhu. It is safer to say that Raghu's expedition of conquest did not go beyond the Indus and that the Vāhlikas were settled down round about the Chenab in the Punjab where the Mehrauli Inscription was composed.'

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1923, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Geographic de Al-Idrisi* traduite par M. Joubert Tome Ier, pp. 178-79.

The *Mahābhārata* locates the Kāmbojas near the Vāhlikas:

क्षतवर्मा तु सचितः काम्बोजवरचक्रिकैः ।

शिरस्त्रासौन्नरवेष्टः श्रेष्ठः सर्वधनुस्तताम् ॥

H. C. Seth in *Central Asiatic Provinces of the Maurya Empire in Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1937), No. 3, points out that the Kāmboja country is to be identified with the mountainous region between Oxus and Jexartes.

<sup>3</sup> *Nirukta*, 2, I, iii-iv. Grierson in *J.R.A.S.*, 1911, pp. 801f.; B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 1f. According to Buddhaghosa, they, together with the Yonas and others, were a Persianized people. Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Pt. I, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Bhūridatta *Jātaka*:

कीडा पतङ्गा उरगा च भेका चम्वा किंकि सुज्झति मविष्का च ।

एतो हि भन्ना अनरियरूपा काम्बोजकानं वितथा बज्झम् ॥

(*Jātaka*, Fausboll, VI, p. 208.)

<sup>5</sup> *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 69-70:

काम्बोजाः समरे सीढं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः ।

गजालानपरिक्रिष्टैरेङ्गोलैः सार्धमानताः ॥

तेषां सदृशधुविष्टास्तुङ्गद्विषणराशयः ।

उपदा विविधः शस्त्रोत्प्लवाः कोशनेश्वरम् ॥

It may be here pointed out that the Kāmboja country was known as 'receptacle of horses' (*ussānaṃ āyatanam*) in Buddhist literature.<sup>1</sup> As regards mines, it is noteworthy that Lt. Wood saw one such mine 20 miles from Ishikashm (Rshika ?) in the Ghagan region on the southern bank of the Oxus. In Arab-times there were silver mines in Anderab, Badakhshān and Wakh-Khan.<sup>2</sup>

After thus replenishing themselves with gifts and glory the Indians began to retreat. This time they took a different road, perhaps that followed by Alexander on his return from Baktiana. This road lay through the Hindukush, which it crossed through the Kushāna pass and ultimately met at Opian near Begram. This was a shorter route.<sup>3</sup> The crossing through the Kushān pass<sup>4</sup> was analogous to that of Alexander, which Strabo has described. From Opian they traversed the homeward path and marching through the mountainous country entered into the precincts of India. In the way they had skirmishes with wild people like the Kirātas, but they were negligible in the eyes of the great chronicler.

On entering into India, the Gupta forces met with warlike-reception at the hands of the Pārvatīya Republicans who inhabited the Jhelum-Indus Valley. Pāṇini places Parvata in the 'Takshashilādigaṇa'. The *Mahābhārata*<sup>5</sup> mentions the Pārvatīya people in the same region near Kashmir. Even as late as the time of Hiuen-Tsang this region was called 'Parvata'. Some time back these people had developed great power under monarchical constitution. As Dr. Seth has recently shown, Poros, the noted adversary of Alexander, and the compatriot of Chandragupta Maurya, hailed from this people.<sup>6</sup> After the murder of Poros and the decadence of the Pārvatīyas they again became Republicans. This time they were totally uprooted by Vikramāditya,<sup>7</sup> who by committing this political murder drove the last nail in the coffin of democratic India.

In the same campaign the *Utsarasaṅketa* republics were overrun and the Kinnaras so frequent in those territories were subdued.<sup>8</sup> The Kinnaras here referred to were not super-human mythological beings as depicted in Sanskrit literature. They were a timorous, idyllic and pastoral people

<sup>1</sup> B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, *Parkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 2311.

<sup>4</sup> ततो गौरौगुह शैलमावरोहान्नासाधनः ।

वर्धयन्निव तत्कूटानुद्धनैर्धामुरैणुभिः ॥ *Raghuvamśa* IV, 71

The crossing of the mountains here referred to just after the Kāmboja campaign signifies that Vikramāditya left the old route and took up a new one, which could only be through the Kushān pass.

<sup>5</sup> विजित्य चाहवे गुराण्यार्वतीयान्महारथान् ।

जिगाय सेनया राजन् पुर पौरवरजितम् ॥

पौरवं युधि विजित्य दस्युर्ध्वंतवासिनः ।

गवान्मुख्यसंकेतानजयत्यग्ने पाण्डव ॥

ततः काश्मीरकान्वीरान् क्षत्रियान् क्षत्रियवर्धः ।

अजयन्नोदितं चैव मण्डलैर्दंशभिः सह ॥ *Sabhāṣaṇṇan*, Ch. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June, 1941), p. 173 et seq.

<sup>7</sup> तच्च जन्वं रघोर्धोरं पर्वतीयेर्गणैरभूत् ॥

नारायणसेपथीयाम्निषेधोपनिगमनम् ॥ *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 77.

<sup>8</sup> शरैस्त्ववसंकेतान् स क्षला विरतोत्सवान् ।

अयोदाहरणं बाह्योर्गोपथाभास किन्नरान् ॥ *Ibid.*, 78.

who preferred to live in beautiful hilly regions along the banks of rivers and dwelt on the summits of hills during rains and the river banks during summers.<sup>1</sup> Thus it appears that they belonged to Kashmere, as the presents which they made to Vikramāditya revealed to him the real wealth of the Himalayas. Thus ended this great campaign and the poet summed it up as follows: तत्राक्षोभ्यं यशोराशिं निवेश्यावरोह सः<sup>2</sup> ॥

This campaign quelled for good the impending menace of the Kushāna-Sassanians. In India it greatly contributed to the growth of Gupta prestige. People almost deified Chandragupta and his favourite sobriquet—*Śakāri*—was on the tip of everybody's tongue. Poets<sup>3</sup> glorified him without measure and lexicographers<sup>4</sup> inserted *Śakāri* as a common synonym of Vikramāditya. Scholars have hitherto been thinking that the epithet *Śakāri* was obtained by Chandra Gupta II by defeating the Kshatrapas of Kathiawar. But as I have elsewhere shown, the annihilation of Kshatrapa power was the work of the Ābhīras<sup>5</sup>; the Guptas gave merely the final *coup de grace* to this expiring tragedy. It is highly presumptuous to assume that such a minor event could become so popular. In my opinion it is this central Asiatic expedition which won Vikramāditya the famous pet-name of *Śakāri*.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. स्त्रीकोऽयं हरिर्वाभिधानकविना देवस्य तस्यापत्नो  
यावदुयावदुदीरितः शकवधूवैधवदीक्षागुरोः ।

quoted in the *सदुक्तिकर्णामृत* from the works of अमर

<sup>4</sup> विक्रमादित्यः साहसिकः शकान्तकः

quoted by Kshīraswāmin in his comments on Amarakośa.

<sup>5</sup> See my paper *The Gupta Empire and the democratic Republics of India* (in Hindi), *Viśvavāṇī* (Allahabad), March, 1946, p. 203 *et seq.*



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A JAIN TALE—ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.\*

By KALIPADA MITRA.

(Received September 11, 1947.)

(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit., F.R.A.S.B.)

The following tale entitled *Kaḍārapīṅga-kathānakam* occurs in Hari-  
senācārya's *Bṛhatkathākośa* <sup>1</sup>:—

In the city of Kampilya reigned King Naraśiṃha. His queen was named Kamalā and Sumati was his minister. Sumati's son was Kaḍārapīṅga who was of immoral character. He often forcibly molested women. As he was a favourite of the king, the citizens dared not complain to the king of his misconduct. In that very city dwelt a rich *Śreṣṭhī* (banker) named Kuveradatta who was liked by the king. He had a beautiful, chaste and intelligent wife named Priyaṅgusundarī. As soon as he saw this lady of great beauty and grace, Kaḍārapīṅga was smitten with the arrows of Cupid; he lost all control over himself. Sumati asked him about the cause of his sorrowful mood. Kaḍārapīṅga then replied, 'Father, if I get Kuveradatta's wife, Priyaṅgusundarī, I live, otherwise not'. Dreading his son's death, Sumati, desiring to send the husband away, went to the king and said, 'Let *Śreṣṭhī* Kuveradatta immediately repair to Svarnadvīpa situated in the midst of the Lavana ocean and fetch the bird Kimjalpa; this bird has the power of averting famine, curing your maladies, and effecting the prosperity of the State.' On hearing the minister's words the king summoned Kuveradatta and asked him to go to Svarnadvīpa and quickly fetch the Kimjalpa bird. Kuveradatta assented, went home, and communicated the news to his wife. She saw through the plot and said, 'All this is certainly the device of Kaḍārapīṅga to break my virtue.' The merchant saw the truth in his wife's statement. He took leave of the king, boarded the boat bound for Svarnadvīpa, so that people knew that he was sailing for the island, but he returned home unperceived by anybody and stayed in his house secretly.

Led by passion, Kaḍārapīṅga came to the house of the *Śreṣṭhī*, was seen by five servants of Priyaṅgusundarī, was bound by them and cast down. Kuveradatta's men brought to the king the Kimjalpa bird which was none other than Kaḍārapīṅga adorned with bill and feathers and thus turned into the said bird. The king looked surprised at seeing before him the bird previously described, and asked it to speak (*jalpa, jalpa*). Kaḍārapīṅga in distress cried out, 'My Lord, ruler of the world, what should I say? I have nothing to say.' The King recognized Kaḍārapīṅga by his voice, although disguised. All in the court recognized him. Kuveradatta related the whole story. The king grew terribly angry, deprived the minister of all his wealth, disgraced Kaḍārapīṅga and banished him from his realm.

Dr. A. N. Upadhye, the editor of the *Kathākośa*, concludes that the work was finished in A.D. 931-932 in Kathiawar. It would be a mistake to

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\* This paper has been revised and edited by Dr. B. C. Law.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt. (No. 17 of *Singhī-Jaina granthamālā*, Sam. 1999).

suppose that the tale narrated above was of the same date as that of the composition of the *Kathākoṣa*. The tales narrated in the *Kathākoṣa* were traditional. Indeed our tale was very much earlier and is traced to Vasudevahiṇḍi of Saṅghadāsa (cf. the story of Karālapīṅga, p. 296).<sup>1</sup>

Other tales in the *Kathākoṣa* are found in earlier canonical literature of the Jains.

Now an original story looks simple, but contains nevertheless some motives in embryonic state which later get detached from one another, develop into independent themes, get accretion and embellishment at the hands of talented narrators and re-appear in different languages in different parts of the country in different complexion. The stories have migrated out of India into different parts of Asia and Europe. Tawney in his *Kathākoṣa* has pointed out analogies of Indian tales in the stories of Europe, e.g. Gozenbach's *Sicilianesque Märchen*, Kaden's *Unter den Olivenbaumen*, etc. Indian stories have re-appeared in the Italian novels which have indirectly supplied Shakespeare with materials for composing some of his dramas.

Some of these motives re-appear in more elaborate form in later narrations. Let us take, for example, the story of Upakoṣā, the chaste wife of Vararuci (who was at the time practising penance in the Himalayas) in Somadeva's *Kathāsarit-sāgara*. Here the husband's absence has not to be contrived. One day as she was returning from her bath in the Ganges, she was successively captured by the royal priest, the *daṇḍādhipati* (police prefect), and *kumārasaciva* (the minister) on the way, but she managed to secure her release by promising to fulfil the wishes of each one by making appointment to visit her in her house on the same *Vasantotsava* night in first, second, and third *prahara* (quarter) respectively. As she wanted some money, she sent her maid-servant to get it from the merchant Hiranyagupta, with whom as banker, Vararuci had deposited his money prior to his departure. The banker also wanted her. So she asked him to visit her in the fourth quarter of the same night. Now she wanted to punish all of them. She contrived with the aid of her female servants to get them all stripped and besmeared with an oily black paint, the first three kept in a huge chest securely fastened from outside, and the last cast out in the street neck and crop. The three persons looking like three black masses (*tamaḥ piṇḍa*) were later extracted from the chest in the court of the king who punished all the four. Thus the chaste wife got out of the ordeal through her cleverness.

The story of Devasmitā, wife of Guhasena of Tāmralipti, is also very interesting. In this story we find that some rogues wanted to blast the virtue of Devasmitā but in vain. Through the cleverness of her female servants they were thrown into a filthy ditch. In order to save her husband from any harm, she disguised herself as a young merchant, and claimed the rogues as her slaves before the king and exposed them.

Now there is an episode in a Bengali drama entitled *Navina-Tapasvini* by Dinabandhu Mitra. Critics think that the incident of Jaladhara's love-making to Mālātī, the wife of merchant Ratikānta, and Mallikā, the wife of Vināyaka, the second minister (and a cousin of Mālātī) has been suggested by Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*. There are many points of resemblance indeed. Jaladhara was the minister of Raja Ramanimohan. He was fat, black, uncouth and ungainly. Like the portly Falstaff of Shakespeare he persuaded himself that Mālātī was in love with him and composed a verse in her name. He obstructed her (who was in company

<sup>1</sup> See *Brhatkathākoṣa*, Intro., p. 86, Notes, p. 387.

with Mallikā) in the Rājā's' garden and would let her go when she consented to visit him in his pleasure house attired in a particular dress. Mālātī and Mallikā were chaste wives. They wanted to punish Jaladhara. So when they met his wife Jagadambā, Mālātī gave the key of the pleasure house to Jagadambā, asking her to wear that particular *śārī* and await the result. The result was of course bitter to Jaladhara as Jagadambā beat him with the broomstick. Ratikānta is shown to be jealous. As soon as Mallikā told him about the assignation of Mālātī to Jaladhara, he went to the latter's pleasure house, and threatened to cut off the nose and ears of Mālātī, kill the pot-bellied Jaladhara, set fire to the house and commit suicide by hanging.

There is one item, however, in the Bengali episode which we do not find in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Ratikānta shows a letter under the hand and seal of the Rājā addressed to him. 'As it is well known that Maharaj Ramanimohan does not attend to his duties but weeps like a lunatic, the royal Kaviraj Dakṣin Ray has prescribed that the oil extracted out of a young *hondol-kunt-kunte* may cure the Rājā's malady. Nowhere else than in Arabia can this creature be found. So you are commanded to repair to Arabia and not to return without it. If anybody sees you in the city after sunset next Saturday, you will be regarded guilty of treason.'

Mallikā told Ratikānta that this was only the trick of the minister Jaladhara to send him away, so that he might molest Mālātī with impunity during his absence. Mālātī took Ratikānta into confidence, disclosed the whole affair of Jaladhara and Mallikā assured him that she would capture him the *hondol-kunt-kunte* and asked him to get her a big iron-cage.

Mālātī sent a love-letter to Jaladhara addressed to him as *hondoi-kunt-kunte* and asked him to come to her house after sunset on Saturday next.

Jaladhara satisfied himself that Ratikānta had sailed for Arabia, but an uncanny sense oppressed him that he might be lurking in the house. The two women assured him that he was safe. Ratikānta (who was in the house) knocked at the door, when Jaladhara concealed himself in a jar containing sticky molasses (but really tar). Then he came out as soon as Ratikānta retired. Ratikānta came for the second time, Jaladhara again concealed himself in a heap of cotton, then he was given the remaining outfit of hemp, and vermilion to metamorphose him into *hondol-kunt-kunte*, led into the iron cage through the back-door, secured and conveyed to the king next day. It seems to be an enlarged version of the Jain tale.

The elements—molestation of women, procuring the absence of the husband by sending him away to fetch a creature which will cure the malady of the king, confidence of the chaste and intelligent wife in the husband, the discomfiture of the villain, his conveyance to the king and exposure—are present in the Bengali version. But the incident of the Kimjalpa bird (re-appearing in *hondol-kunt-kunte*) is not to be found in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Whence did Dinabandhu get it? <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In going to establish that the background of the plot of Dinabandhu Mitra's *Navin-Tapasvini* is not to be found in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Mr. Kalipada Mitra aptly draws our attention to certain distinctive features which are shown to be the characteristics of the Jain tales in the *Bṛihatkaṭhā Kosa*. But in asking the question 'whence?' he seems to have just begged the question. Dinabandhu Mitra wrote his Bengali drama when the Jain tales were not accessible to him. To speak of the Jain tales is to presume that the Jainas themselves were the inventors of the tales. But there are innumerable instances to prove that the tales were just taken from the current stock by the different schools of writers, as for instance, by the Buddhists in their *Jātakas* and *Nikāyas* and utilized for their own purposes. If many of the parables in Rāmakṛiṣṇa's *Kathāmṛita* are to be traced in the Pāli *Nikāyas* and *Jātakas*, the same is the inference to be drawn. Anyhow Mr. Mitra

has not succeeded in citing any Jain tale which bears a close affinity to Dinabandhu Mitra's *Navina-Tapasvinī*.—B. C. Law.

I have surmised that many tales similar in form and found in different parts of India have sprung from a common source. They were recorded in Jain, Buddhist and Sanskrit literature, or (and) existed in a floating condition in oral versions. (Please see my *Mikir Tale of the Swan-Maiden Type* in Proc. of the Fourth Oriental Conference. It has a striking resemblance to a tale in the *Divyāvadāna*, to which the Mikirs had no access, but they had probably in their neighbourhood some oral Bengali version of it. Please also see the introduction of the *Story of a Fool* in *JBORS* of 1926.)

I talk of a Jain Tale, not because I necessarily presume it to have been invented by the Jains but because it occurs in a Jain work; similarly a tale occurring in a Buddhist work is Buddhist. (How otherwise should I designate it?) The same tale occurs in Buddhist and Jain versions (see my *Tales of Ancient Israel*, I.H.Q., Sep. & Dec., 1943).

I surmised that Dinabandhu Mitra, when he wrote the drama, had before him some Bengali version of the incident descending from the common original, prevalent orally at the time. In asking the question I wanted to know if I was correct in my surmise, and I am grateful to Dr. B. C. Law for his observations which confirm my surmise.

Considering Dinabandhu Mitra's acquaintance with Shakespeare, critics strongly believe that he was influenced by the *Merry Wives*, especially in modelling Mālatī and Mallikā upon Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford. I do not think that there was an elaborate Bengali prototype of these characters before him.

The Bengali drama is a complex texture having this incident as one only of the many threads woven into it. I doubt if there be any Jain tale extant which bears a close affinity to Dinabandhu Mitra's '*Navina-Tapasvinī*' and that I should ever succeed in my quest to discover it.—*Author*.

## METRES IN THE JĀTAKAS

CATUKKANIPĀTA <sup>1</sup>

By DEVAPRASAD GUHA.

(Received November 1, 1947.)

In this paper I have tried to make a brief metrical analysis of the *gāthās* in the *catukkanipāta* of the *Jātakas*. The *Jātaka* commentary groups the *Jātakas* in 22 *nipātas* or sections and we are concerned here with the fourth one of these. There are 50 *Jātakas* (Nos. 301-50) in this *nipāta*, having 4 stanzas in each making a total of 200 stanzas in the section.

Pali metres, like the Vedic metres, have got two distinct units, *viz.* foot or verse and stanza. Generally a foot consists of 8, 11 or 12 syllables. In the case of the first one the foot (known in Sanskrit and Pali as *pāda*) is distinguished as a *dimeter* foot while in the case of the last two the feet are known as *trimeter* feet. It should be pointed out that the number of syllables in a verse or foot is not quite rigidly prescribed. There are dimeter verses which contain 7 syllables when they are termed *heptasyllabic*. Similarly trimeter verses, which contain 10 syllables, are known as *decasyllabic*. The most typical forms of stanzas in the *Jātaka* are the *anustubh* which consists of 4 dimeter verses, the *tristubh* comprising 4 trimeter feet each of 11 syllables, and the *jagatī* consisting of 4 trimeter *pādas* of 12 syllables each.

In a stanza there may be more or less feet than 4. Thus *gāyatrī* consists of 3, *pañkti* of 5, *mahapañkti* of 6 dimeter verses, while *virāj* of 3 *tristubh* feet and *dvipadā virāj* of 2 decasyllabic *pādas*. Stanzas may also consist of the combination of dimeter and trimeter feet. All metres of this type are grouped under the general name of *lyric metres*. The rare combination of feet of 8 and 11 syllables gives the *uneven lyric metres*.

A dimeter *pāda* is divided into two parts each consisting of 4 syllables. These parts are distinguished as the *opening* and the *cadence*; the latter is also known as *vipulā*. Occasionally the *anustubh* stanza consists of two pairs of dimeter verses, in each of which the cadence of the first foot and the opening of the second approximate to the rhythm  $\simeq \_ \_ \_ \simeq$ . To this class of *anustubh* Arnold, the authority on the Vedic metres, gives the special name of *epic anustubh*. In some *anustubh* stanzas, however, the epic nature is noticeable only in either half. One may call such a stanza an *irregular epic anustubh* stanza.

Of the 200 stanzas in the *catukkanipāta* 61 are pure *anustubh*, 7 *mahapañkti*, 25 pure *epic anustubh*, 63 *irregular epic anustubh* (epic nature is found in the first half in 29 stanzas and in the second half in the remaining 34), 34 *tristubh*, 2 *jagatī* and 8 miscellaneous.

### DIMETER VERSES.

I shall first deal with the dimeter verses, i.e. the *pādas* with 8 syllables in each foot, and shall first take up the odd *pādas*.

<sup>1</sup> The metrical analysis of the first *nipāta* has been made in the *Indian Culture*, vol. xiii, no. 3.



which are almost equal, with a slight preference for the former. The latter comprises roughly 25% of the total. IV comes next and is about half of II. V appears very rarely. It should be mentioned here that the groups in all the *nipātas* are in the same order excepting in the *ekanipāta*<sup>1</sup> where II precedes III. Moreover II and III are almost equal in every *nipāta* but in the *eka* the former is more frequent.

The most favourite forms in the opening are the iambic  $\simeq - \cup -$ , the syncopated  $\simeq \cup - -$  and the normal  $\simeq - - -$ . Of these the first one is the commonest and is more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the total number of verses in this variety. The last two are almost equal with a slight preference for the syncopated. Individually speaking  $\cup - \cup -$  is the most familiar form. The other common forms are  $- \cup - -$ ,  $- - \cup -$ ,  $- - - \cup$ ,  $- \cup - \cup$  and  $- - - -$ , all of which are almost equal in frequency. The irregular forms  $- \cup \cup \cup$  and  $\cup \cup \cup \cup$  are absent. All the remaining forms may be regarded as rare; the irregular ones, viz.  $- \cup \cup -$  and  $\cup \cup \cup -$ , are the rarest.

There is a general agreement between the *nipātas* about the frequency of the metrical forms of this variety of anustubh. But  $- - - \cup$ , which is as frequent as  $- \cup - \cup$  in the *catukka* and is one of the more common forms here, is one of the less common ones in the *duka* and *tika* *nipātas* and is one of the rarest ones in the *eka*. Again in the *eka* and *tika*  $- - - \cup$  is about half as common as  $- \cup - \cup$ , but in the *duka* the former is more than double of the latter.

The feet with a long first syllable appear roughly in 64% cases.

#### Cadence :

The regular *ripulās* are  $\cup - - -$  and  $\cup - - \cup$ . The two together make about 64% of the total cadence. The latter is roughly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times as common as the former.  $- - \cup -$  and  $- \cup - \cup$ , the two important forms in the opening, are absent in the cadence. The remaining forms are rare, of which  $- \cup \cup -$  appears 6 times, while the commonest ones of the rest, viz.  $\cup - \cup \cup$  and  $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ , appear only on 4 occasions each.

As regards the cadence of the pure anustubh feet there is a general similarity between all the *nipātas*. Of the two regular forms in the cadence, viz.  $\cup - - -$  and  $\cup - - \cup$ , the latter is more common in all the *nipātas* excepting in the *tika* where they are more or less equal with a slight preference for the former.

#### Mahāpañkti.

There are 7 mahāpañkti stanzas in this *nipāta*. None of the odd feet of this variety of anustubh is hypermetric. In Table B is given the analysis of the 21 odd *pādas* of the mahāpañkti.

#### Opening :

In the opening only I is found in its entirety while V is totally absent. All the other groups are represented partially. I is the most important group which comprises just  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total number of *pādas*. Next in order come III, II and IV, the one that precedes being just double the one that follows. In all the previous *nipātas* too I is the most predominant group. It is almost  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the total number of verses in the *duka* and just  $\frac{1}{3}$  of it in each of the *eka* and *tika* *nipātas*. The other groups are too small in our section to allow any comparison.

<sup>1</sup> Henceforward the *nipātas* shall be designated as *eka*, *duka*, *tika* and *catukka*.



TABLE B.

*Odd verses of mahāpaṅkti.*

Opening	Cadence	---	- -	- - -	- - - -	- - - - -	
Gr. I	----		1	2			3
	- - - -		2	2	1		5
	- - - -	1	2	1		2	6
Gr. II	- - - -			1			1
	- - - -						
	- - - -					1	1
Gr. III	- - - -						
	- - - -			2			2
	- - - -		1	1			2
Gr. IV	- - - -			1			1
	- - - -						
	- - - -						
	- - - -						
	- - - -	1	6	10	1	3	21

The most important form of opening is the iambic  $\approx - \cup -$  which is just  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the total number of verses. The syncopated  $\approx \cup - -$  and the normal  $\approx - - -$  are the other common forms. Individually speaking  $- - \cup -$  and  $- \cup - -$  are the most common forms appear as they do 6 and 5 times respectively.  $\cup \cup - -$ ,  $- - - \cup$ ,  $\cup \cup - \cup$ ,  $\cup - \cup \cup$  and all the forms in V are absent. The remaining forms are all rare, the commonest of which, *viz.*  $- - - -$ , appears only thrice.

It should be pointed out here that the iambic is the most important opening in all the nipātas excepting the tika where the normal predominates. Again the syncopated, which stands second to the iambic in our nipāta, is the least common of the three important forms in the previous sections. The normal, which is the least favoured opening in all the nipātas, is the commonest of the three in the duka. It may be mentioned here that the mahāpaṅkti stanzas are surprisingly rare in all the nipātas, including ours, excepting the duka.

The feet with a long initial syllable appear in 85% cases.

*Cadence :*

The most important *vipulās* are ◡ --- and ◡ -- ◡, the latter being more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times as common as the former. The two together comprise about 80% of the total. The only other forms found in the cadence are ----, - ◡ ◡ - and - ◡ ◡ ◡. The last one is the most important being just half of ◡ ----. It may be pointed out that there is a general agreement about the cadence of the mahāpañkti verses in all the sections excepting in the tika where ◡ ---- is the only predominant rhythm, while ◡ -- ◡ (which is very common in all the nipātas) appears only once in it and thus may be regarded as rare. Another interesting fact is that - ◡ ◡ ◡, which appears thrice in the catukka and is apparently an important form, is totally absent in all the other nipātas.

*Pure epic anuṣṭubh.*

As said above there are 25 epic anuṣṭubh stanzas in the catukkanipāta. None of the odd feet is hypermetric. The analysis of the 50 odd feet is given in Table C.

TABLE C.

*Odd feet of epic anuṣṭubh.*

		Cadence		◡		◡	
Opening				◡		◡	
Gr. I	----			1	1	1	3
	-◡--				5	6	11
	--◡-				3	3	6
Gr. II	◡----				2	2	4
	◡◡--				2	2	4
	◡-◡-	1		1			2
Gr. III	---◡					1	1
	-◡-◡				1	1	2
	--◡◡				3	2	5
Gr. IV	◡--◡				2	1	3
	◡◡-◡				2	4	6
	◡-◡◡				3		3
			1	1	25	23	50

*Opening :*

I is the most important group comprising just 40% of the total number of verses. Next to it come in the descending order of frequency groups IV, II and III, the difference between the preceding and the succeeding one being only 2. II is just half of I. V is totally absent. There is a marked difference in the order of frequency of the groups between the catukka and the previous sections. I, which is the most prominent of the groups in all the nipātas, appears much more frequently in the catukka than in the preceding ones. In all the preceding sections I is followed by III, which again is followed by II. IV comes next to be followed by V. Here, however, the order is changed as has been mentioned above.

The syncopated  $\simeq \cup \text{---}$  is the most popular opening which comprises just 30% of the total number of verses. Next come  $\simeq - \cup -$ ,  $\simeq \cup - \cup$ ,  $\simeq - \cup \cup$  and  $\simeq \text{---}$  which are all equal excepting the last which is a bit less. Each of these forms is roughly half of  $\cup \text{---}$ . Individually speaking  $\cup \text{---}$  is the commonest form, appear as it does in more than 20% cases. It is worth mentioning that in the tika also the syncopated is the most prominent rhythm. In the eka, however, the normal  $\simeq \text{---}$  holds the ground while in the duka the iambic does so. As regards the other forms there is some difference in the four sections.

The feet with the initial syllable long appear in 80% cases.

*Cadence :*

In the cadence  $\cup \text{---}$  and  $\cup \text{---} \cup$  are the only regular forms which are almost equal having a very slight preference for the former. Only on two occasions we got the cadence as  $\text{---}$  and  $\text{---} \cup$ . It may be mentioned here that the *vipulās* of epic anuṣṭubh agree generally in frequency in all the sections.

*Irregular epic anuṣṭubh (similar lines).*

There are 63 irregular epic anuṣṭubh stanzas in the catukkanipāta, 29 of these show epic nature in the first half of the stanza while 34 in the second half. Here we shall deal with those couplets in which the epic nature is found. None of the odd feet is hypermetric. The analysis of these 63 odd verses has been given in Table D.

*Opening :*

I is the commonest of all the groups comprising roughly 38% of the total number of *pādas* in this variety. IV comes next and is 27% of the total. This is very closely followed by III which is just 2/9 of the total number of verses. II comes last and is  $\frac{1}{3}$  of I. There is none to represent V. Like the odd feet of epic anuṣṭubh there is a great difference between the four sections as regards the groupings of the irregular epic anuṣṭubh (similar lines). I is the most predominant group in all the nipātas. II, which stands next in the duka and tika, and third in the eka, comes last in the catukka. III comes second in the eka and catukka but third in the duka and tika. The most interesting is IV, which contains only less common forms in all the previous three sections, comprises fairly common rhythms in our nipāta and is roughly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of I, the commonest group. It may be mentioned here that similar difference in grouping is found in the odd verses of the epic anuṣṭubh stanzas of our nipāta.

TABLE D.

*Odd feet of irregular epic anuṣṭubh (similar lines).*

Opening	Cadence	2	3	4	
Gr. I	----		2	9	11
	- - - -		2	5	7
	- - - -	2	3	1	6
Gr. II	- - - -			2	2
	- - - -		1	2	3
	- - - -		1	2	3
Gr. III	----		3	1	4
	- - - -		2	4	6
	- - - -		2	2	4
Gr. IV	- - - -		4	5	9
	- - - -		1	3	4
	- - - -		4		4
	----	2	25	36	63

The normal  $\cong$  --- is the most important rhythm being about 1/5 of the total number of verses. Equal to it is the other normal rhythm  $\cong$  - -  $\cup$ . The syncopated forms  $\cong$   $\cup$  - - and  $\cong$   $\cup$  -  $\cup$  stand next. Last come the iambic  $\cong$  -  $\cup$  - and  $\cong$  -  $\cup$   $\cup$ . The syncopated  $\cong$   $\cup$  - - and the iambic  $\cong$  -  $\cup$  - are almost equal. The irregular forms are absent. Individually speaking ---- and  $\cup$  - -  $\cup$  are the most important rhythms.

*Cadence :*

$\cup$  - - - and  $\cup$  - -  $\cup$  are the only regular *vipulās* in this variety of anuṣṭubh. The ratio between the two is roughly 2 : 3.  $\cup$  - - - appears roughly in 38% of the total number of feet in this variety. On two occasions the cadence assumes the form - - -  $\cup$  which may thus be regarded as rare. In the eka and duka  $\cup$  - - - and  $\cup$  - -  $\cup$  behave in the same way as they do in the catukka. But in the tika just the reverse is the case. It should be mentioned also that - - - - , although a rare form, appears in all the previous sections, but in our nipāta it is altogether absent.

*Irregular epic anuṣṭubh (dissimilar lines).*

In this variety of anuṣṭubh we shall deal with those halves of the irregular epic anuṣṭubh stanzas in which the epic character is not found. Four of the odd lines are hypermetric. The analysis of the remaining 59 feet is given below in Table E.

TABLE E.

*Odd feet of the irregular epic anuṣṭubh (dissimilar lines).*

		Cadence															
Opening																	
Gr. I	----			3	5			1								1	10
	- - - -			3	4												7
	- - - -		2	1	3		1							2	2	1	12
Gr. II	- - - -			4				1									5
	- - - -			4	2										1		7
	- - - -					1								1	1		3
Gr. III	- - - -		1	1	3					1							6
	- - - -			2	2					1							5
	- - - -			1	1												2
Gr. IV	- - - -			1													1
	- - - -						1										1
	- - - -																
			3	20	20	1	1	3			2			3	5	1	59

*Opening :*

As usual I is the most important group which comprises roughly half of the total number of verses. Next comes II which is almost half of I. Almost equal to II is III. The latter is followed by IV which appears only twice and thus may be regarded as rare. There is no example to represent V. There is a lot of difference in the distribution of rhythms between this nipāta and the preceding nipātas in which the distribution is more or less similar. In all the previous sections I comprises roughly 2/5 of the total number of verses but in our nipāta it is almost half of that II comes before III in our nipāta but in the previous ones III comes before II. Again III, which is slightly less than half of I in the catukka, is slightly more than it in all the other nipātas. IV is rare in all the sections

but is rarer in ours. V is represented in all the previous sections but in the catukka it is not represented at all.

The normal  $\simeq$  ---, the iambic  $\simeq$  - - - and the syncopated  $\simeq$  - - - are the most important openings. These forms are more or less equal, the last one being just less than either of the first two. Each of the first two is roughly  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total number of verses. Of the rest --- - and - - - - are the most common forms. - - - - and all the irregular forms are absent. The remaining forms are all rare, the commonest of which appears only thrice.

The feet, which begin with a long syllable, appear in 70% cases roughly.

#### Cadence :

- - - - and - - - - are the only regular *vipulās* in the odd lines of this variety of anuṣṭubh. The two are equal and each is roughly  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total number of verses. Of the other forms in the cadence - - - - is the most important and is just a quarter of either of - - - - or - - - -. - - - -, - - - -, - - - -, - - - -, - - - - and - - - - are absent. Of the remaining forms the most common ones appear only thrice each. In the preceding sections too - - - - and - - - - are the only normal rhythms. In the duka and tika - - - - is slightly more frequent than - - - -, but in the eka the latter has a marked preference. As regards the frequency of the subnormal forms there is similarity between the different sections. But it should be mentioned that - - - -, which is the most important of the subnormal forms in the catukka and eka, is altogether absent in the duka and tika.

#### EVEN PĀDAS.

##### *Pure anuṣṭubh.*

Of the 122 even feet in pure anuṣṭubh in the catukkanipāṭa only 4 are hypermetric. The analysis of the remaining 118 feet is given in Table F.

#### Opening :

In the opening groups III and I are the most important. The two are practically equal with slight preference for the former. The two together cover about 57% of the total number of feet. II comes next and is roughly  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total. It is followed by IV which is slightly more than half of III. V is the rarest and has got only 3 forms. It may be pointed out here that III and I are the most predominant groups in all the sections. III has a slight preference over I everywhere excepting in the tika where the two are absolutely equal. Like the catukka II comes after III and I in all the sections excepting in the duka where it comes after IV which stands third in frequency.

The syncopated  $\simeq$  - - - is the most favoured opening which claims roughly 40% of the total number of verses. The iambic  $\simeq$  - - - and the syncopated  $\simeq$  - - -, which are almost equal, are the other two important openings. These two together are just equal to the syncopated  $\simeq$  - -. The irregular rhythm - - - - is absent. All the other forms are rare, the commonest of which, *viz.* - - - - and - - - -, appear 5 times each. Individually speaking - - - -, - - - -, - - - -, - - - - and - - - - are the most common rhythms arranged according to the order of frequency. There is a general similarity in the rhythms of the even lines of pure anuṣṭubh

TABLE F.

*Pure anuṣṭubh (even feet).*

		Cadence			
Opening		1	2	3	
Gr. I	-----	2	3	5	33
	- ∪ - -	15	12	27	
	- - ∪ -		1	1	
Gr. II	∪ - - -	3	2	5	29
	∪ ∪ - -	13	8	21	
	∪ - ∪ -	3		3	
Gr. III	- - - ∪	2	1	3	34
	- ∪ - ∪	13	4	17	
	- - ∪ ∪	7	7	14	
Gr. IV	∪ - - ∪	1	1	2	19
	∪ ∪ - ∪	3	3	6	
	∪ - ∪ ∪	4	7	11	
Gr. V	- ∪ ∪ -				3
	∪ ∪ ∪ -	1		1	
	- ∪ ∪ ∪	1		1	
	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	1		1	
		69	49	118	

in all the four sections. The only point of difference worth mentioning is that in the duka the syncopated  $\cong \cup - \cup$  is much more frequent than the iambic  $\cong - \cup \cup$ . The reverse, however, is the case with all the other nipātas. Besides, the difference between the two is much greater in the duka than in any other section.

The verses with a long initial syllable appear in 58% cases.

#### *Cadence :*

The only forms found in the cadence are  $\cup - \cup -$  and  $\cup - \cup \cup$ , the former being about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times more common than the latter. It is worth men-

tioning that the *vipulās* of the even feet of pure anuṣṭubh in all the sections behave almost in the same way. But difference also exists. In the catukka the ratio between ∪ - ∪ - and ∪ - ∪ ∪ is slightly less than 3 : 2. But in the duka and tika the former is more than twice as common as the latter, while in the eka the ratio goes up to about 5 : 2. Further, in the duka and tika nipātas we also get some other forms appearing in the cadence, while in our nipāta and the eka there is no such form. Of course it should be mentioned that these forms are very rare.

*Mahāpañkti.*

Of the 21 even feet in the mahāpañkti only one is hypermetric. The analysis of the remaining 20 feet has been given in Table G.

TABLE G.

*Mahāpañkti (even feet).*

Opening	Cadence			
		∪	∪	
Gr. I	----	3	2	5
	- ∪ --	1	1	2
	-- ∪ -	2		2
Gr. II	∪ ----		1	1
	∪ ∪ --	1	1	2
	∪ - ∪ -			
Gr. III	---- ∪	2		2
	- ∪ - ∪	1		1
	-- ∪ ∪	3		3
Gr. IV	∪ -- ∪			
	∪ ∪ - ∪			
	∪ - ∪ ∪	2		2
		15	5	20

*Opening :*

I is the most important group which comprises about half of the total number of verses. This is followed by III which is just  $\frac{2}{3}$  of I. Next comes II which is just half of III. Last of all comes IV and is just  $\frac{1}{3}$  of III.



V is absent. There is a general similarity in the groupings excepting in the case of I and III which interchange place in the duka and tika. Further, V is absent in all the nipātas except the duka where we have one example of it.

The commonest rhythm in the opening is ---- which appears 5 times and is thus just  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total number of verses.  $\cup - \cup -$ ,  $\cup - - \cup$ ,  $\cup \cup - \cup$  and all the irregular forms are absent. The remaining forms are all rare, the commonest of which, viz.  $- - \cup \cup$ , appears only thrice.

Verses with a long initial syllable are thrice as frequent as those with a short initial one.

#### Cadence :

The only forms found in the cadence are  $\cup - \cup -$  and  $\cup - \cup \cup$ , the ratio between the two being 3 : 1. In the other sections also these are the only *vipulās* found and the ratio is almost the same as in this nipāta.

#### Epic anuṣṭubh.

Of the 50 even feet in epic anuṣṭubh only 2 are hypermetric. The analysis of the remaining 48 *pādas* is given below in Table H.

TABLE H.

*Epic anuṣṭubh (even feet).*

Opening	Cadence	$\cup$	$\cup$	$\cup$
----		10	7	17
$\cup$ ----		9	2	11
---- $\cup$		11	6	17
$\cup$ ---- $\cup$		1	2	3
		31	17	48

TABLE I.

*Even feet of irr. epic anuṣṭubh (similar lines).*

Opening	Cadence	$\cup$	$\cup$	$\cup$
----		9	9	18
$\cup$ ----		11	6	17
---- $\cup$		12	3	15
$\cup$ ---- $\cup$		4	5	9
		36	23	59

#### Opening :

All the forms, viz. ----,  $\cup$ ----, ---- $\cup$  and  $\cup$ ---- $\cup$ , possible in the opening of the epic anuṣṭubh, appear here. Of these the first and the third are equal, each one being roughly  $\frac{1}{4}$  the total number of verses. Next comes  $\cup$ ---- which is roughly  $\frac{2}{3}$  either of ---- or ---- $\cup$ . Last of all comes  $\cup$ ---- $\cup$  which appears only once in every 16 times. Except with regard to ----, which is uniform in all the sections, the nipātas do not agree at all as regards the distribution of the rhythms.

The feet with a long initial syllable are about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as frequent as those with a short initial one.

*Cadence :*

As usual  $\cup - \cup -$  and  $\cup - \cup \cup$  are the only *vipulās* found in the even feet of this variety of anuṣṭubh. The ratio between the two is roughly 2 : 1.

*Irregular epic anuṣṭubh (similar lines).*

Of the 63 even feet in the irregular epic anuṣṭubh (similar lines) only 4 are hypermetric. The analysis of the remaining 59 feet has been given above in Table I.

*Opening :*

All the rhythms possible in the opening of irregular epic anuṣṭubh (similar lines), viz. ----,  $\cup$  ----, ----  $\cup$  and  $\cup$  ---  $\cup$  are found here. Of these the first two are the commonest. The two are almost equal with a slight preference for the former. The third stands very close to these, while the fourth is just half of the first. In all the sections the rhythms are in the same order as in ours excepting in the duka where ----  $\cup$  precedes  $\cup$  ----. There is difference too as to the frequency of the rhythms in the different sections. This much can be said that the eka and catukka on the one hand and the duka and the tika on the other are more or less similar.

The verses with a long initial syllable are more frequent than those with a short initial one.

*Cadence :*

The only forms found in the cadence are  $\cup - \cup -$  and  $\cup - \cup \cup$ , the former being  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times more frequent than the latter. In the other sections too  $\cup - \cup -$  is more favoured. In the duka and tika the ratio is slightly greater than 2 : 1, while in the eka they are almost equal with a slight preference for the former.

*Irregular epic anuṣṭubh (dissimilar lines).*

Of the 63 even feet in the dissimilar halves of the irregular epic anuṣṭubh stanzas only 2 are hypermetric. The analysis of the remaining 61 feet has been given in Table J.

*Opening :*

I is the most popular group comprising 36% of the total number of *pādas*. Next comes III which stands very close to I. II and IV are equal, the two together being almost equal to III. Each of II and IV comprises roughly  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the total number feet. V is absent. There is a general uniformity in all the nipātas as to the proportion of the rhythms in the different groups. But there are differences too. In the ekanipāta III is the most predominant group instead of the expected second place which it occupies in all the other sections. In the catukka II equals to IV, but in all the other nipātas it is less than half of II.

The syncopated  $\simeq \cup - -$  is the most favourite opening comprising roughly 36% of the total. Next comes the iambic  $\simeq - \cup \cup$  which almost equals to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\simeq \cup - -$ . The only other important form is  $- \cup - \cup$  which is roughly  $\frac{1}{9}$  of the total. All the other forms are irregular, none appearing

TABLE J.

*Irr. epic anuṣṭubh (dissimilar lines): even feet.*

Opening.		Cadence	1 2 3	4 5 6	
Gr. I	----		4		4
	-v--		7	7	14
	--v-		2	2	4
Gr. II	v----			1	1
	v v--		6	2	8
	v--v-			1	1
* Gr. III	----v			2	2
	-v-v-		4	3	7
	--v v		8	2	10
Gr. IV	v--v-		1		1
	v v--v		2	1	3
	v--v v		5	1	6
	-----		39	22	61

more than 4 times. All the irregular forms are absent. Individually speaking -v-- and --v v are the most important forms, the former being almost  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times as common as the latter.

The feet with a long first syllable appear roughly in 67% cases.

#### *Cadence :*

The only rhythms found in the cadence are v--v- and v--v v, the former appearing roughly in 64% cases. The distribution of the rhythms in the cadence of this variety of anuṣṭubh is uniform in all the sections. Difference lies only in the proportion. In the eka and duka we also get the forms --v- and v--v appearing as *vipulās*. But they are very scarce.

From the above analysis the following general remarks may be made regarding the anuṣṭubh *pādas* in the catukkanipāta :

(1) The quantities of the first and last syllables are indifferent. But they are mainly long excepting in the case of last syllables in the odd feet where the long and short syllables are roughly 45% and 55% respectively. In the other cases, i.e. the opening of odd feet and the cadence of both odd and even feet, the proportion of long and short initial and final syllables

is roughly 63% and 37% respectively. The same is the case with all the other nipātas.

(2) Like all the previous sections there is a preference for long syllables in the opening and for short ones in the cadence.

(3) The fifth syllables are mostly short, while the sixth mainly long. In the odd verses the seventh syllables are mainly long while in the even ones they are mostly short. These syllables behave uniformly in all the sections.

(4) The second and third syllables are more often long than short.

(5) If the fourth syllable is short the fifth must usually be short also.

(6) The succession of 4 iambs is very rare. There are only 3 instances of it in the catukka, all in the even lines of pure anuṣṭubh.

(7) The succession of 4 trochees is altogether absent.

(8) The succession of three iambs also is rare. There are only 15 such instances in our nipāta.  $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$  appears as the opening in 10 instances and as the cadence in the remaining 5.

(9) The succession of 3 trochees too is very scarce. There is only one example of it in the entire section where  $\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup$  appears as the opening.

(10) There is not a single *pāda* in the whole book where all the syllables are either all short or all long.

(11) Even the combination of 4 long followed by 4 short syllables or *vice versa* in a foot is absent.

(12) If the sixth and seventh syllables of a foot are either both long or both short, the fifth is then usually of a different quantity.

(13) In the odd feet the cadence mainly takes the form  $\cup\text{---}\cup$ , while in the even it is always  $\cup\text{---}\cup$ . In the other sections too this remark holds true excepting that on very rare occasions forms other than  $\cup\text{---}\cup$  are found in the cadence of the even feet.

(14) There is a general similarity between pure anuṣṭubh and mahāpaṅkti feet and between pure epic and similar lines of irregular epic anuṣṭubh. The dissimilar lines of irregular epic anuṣṭubh stand separate from all. But they stand more close to the pure anuṣṭubh than to any other variety.

(15) The catukka has got many peculiarities not found in any other section. It has got some similarity with the eka and tika. But generally it stands far away from the duka.

(16) The catukka is more rigid than all the other nipātas.

### *Hypermetric lines :*

There are altogether 29 hypermetric lines in the catukkanipāta of which 16 are in the odd feet and 13 in the even. Of the odd hypermetric lines one, viz. 302(iv)<sup>1</sup>, has 2 extra syllables in it having the scheme as  $\text{---}\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\text{---}$ , while the others are all hypercatalectic, i.e. have got 1 extra syllable in each. 12 of these feet are in the pure anuṣṭubh while the remaining 3 are in the dissimilar feet of irregular epic anuṣṭubh. All the hypermetric lines in the even feet are hypercatalectic. Of these 4 are in pure anuṣṭubh, 1 in mahāpaṅkti, 2 in pure epic anuṣṭubh, and 6 in the irregular epic anuṣṭubh—4 in similar feet and 2 in dissimilar ones.

Syllables have been added in the beginning on 4 occasions in the odd lines and 7 times in the even ones. In the remaining cases syllables have been added at the end. Of the additional syllables at the beginning 5 are short

<sup>1</sup> The numbers 302, etc. used in the body of the paper, refer to the particular Jātakas, the small Roman letters i, ii, etc. to the particular stanzas in those Jātakas, while the letters a, b, c, etc. indicate the particular *pādas* in those stanzas.

and 6 long, and of the extra syllables at the end 6 are long and the rest short. The hypermetric nature is mostly found in the first, third and the fourth feet. It is rare in the second. There is none in the fifth and only 1 in the sixth.

### TRIMETER VERSES.

#### *Triṣṭubh.*

There are 34 triṣṭubh stanzas in the catukkanipāṭa. Of the 136 feet 22 are hypermetric, equally distributed among odd and even *pādas*.

#### *Rhythm of the opening :*

In the *opening* (i.e. in the first 4 syllables) a general iambic rhythm predominates. The iambic forms -- ∪ -- and ∪ -- ∪ -- appear 64 and 40 times respectively in the catukkanipāṭa. -- ∪ -- appears 36 times in the odd and 28 times in the even feet, while ∪ -- ∪ -- occurs 17 times in the odd and 23 times in the even verses. When the *caesura*<sup>1</sup> is late, i.e. after the fifth syllable, the opening generally assumes the form ∪ -- ∪ -- which reminds us of the Vedic *pentad*. In the opening of the odd verses the rhythms ----, -- ∪ -- ∪, -- ∪ ∪ and ∪ -- ∪ ∪ are also found. Each of these appears but once. In the opening of the even feet the rhythms ----, ∪ ----, ∪ ∪ -- and -- ∪ ∪ are found. The first one appears thrice, while the rest only once each. It should be mentioned here that in the even feet -- ∪ -- and ∪ -- ∪ -- are almost equal while in the odd ones the former is almost double of the latter.

#### *Rhythm of the break :*

The commonest rhythm in the *break*, i.e. third, fourth and fifth syllables, is -- ∪ ∪. When the *caesura* is early, i.e. after the fourth syllable, || -- ∪ ∪ is virtually the only form found as the break. Of course on several occasions we get the subnormal forms || -- ∪ --, || ∪ ∪ ∪, || ∪ ∪ -- and || -- ∪ -- as the rhythm of the break. Of these the first appears 4 times, the second twice and the last two only once each. It should be pointed out here that these subnormal forms are generally found when the rhythm of the opening is not the iambic form ∪ -- ∪ --. With a late *caesura* too we get -- ∪ ∪ as the most dominant rhythm of the break which now takes the form -- || ∪ ∪. The subnormal forms of the rhythm of the break after a late *caesura* are -- || ∪ --, ∪ || ∪ --, ∪ || ∪ ∪ and -- || -- ∪. Of these the first one appears 8 times in the catukka and thus 1/5 of -- || ∪ ∪. Others are all rare, the first two appear twice each while the last one only once.

#### *Rhythm of the cadence :*

In the *cadence*, i.e. in the remaining syllables beginning from the eighth, the regular rhythms are -- ∪ -- and -- ∪ -- ∪ which are almost equal with a slight preference for the former. On two occasions, *viz.* in 329 (iii)c and 341(ii)b, we get ---- ∪ and ∪ ∪ -- as the *vipulās*. These two may thus be regarded as rare.

In Epic Sanskrit the triṣṭubh feet mostly assume the form ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪. In our book also we get such forms. The first and last syllables are indifferent. The third syllable is long on 7 occasions. For 8 times we get the fifth syllable as long. The characteristic scheme

<sup>1</sup> A natural pause corresponding to the taking of the breath in recitation.

of triṣṭubh feet in our nipāta is therefore  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$  which reminds us of the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā metres of Classical Sanskrit. On 12 occasions we get a long seventh syllable. Eight of these come within the scheme  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$ . Deviation from the above two general schemes appear in the following *pādas*.

340(i)d and 341(ii)a	of the form	----	~--	~--
341(ii)d	" " "	----	~--	~--
307(iii)d	" " "	----	~--	~--
301(iii)b	" " "	----	~--	~--
d and 329(i)c	" " "	----	~--	~--
332(iii)c and 340(ii)d	" " "	----	~--	~--
341(ii)b	" " "	----	~--	~--
301(ii)b	" " "	----	~--	~--
329(iii)c	" " "	----	~--	~--
307(i)d	" " "	----	~--	~--
(iv)d	" " "	----	~--	~--
324(iii)a	" " "	----	~--	~--
335(iv)b	" " "	----	~--	~--
341(iii)a	" " "	----	~--	~-- and
(iv)a	" " "	----	~--	~--

### Hypermetric feet :

As mentioned above there are 22 hypermetric feet equally divided between odd and even. Of these 323(iv)c and 340(ii)a have 2 syllables in excess in each thus making the scheme as  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$  and  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$  respectively. Of the hypercatalectic feet 307(i)c and (ii)d and 324(i)a are prefixed with a long syllable, while 303(iv)c, 307(iv)b, 324(i)d, (ii)d and (iv)c, 332(iii)a, 335(iii)c and 340(i)b are prefixed with a short one. At the end a long syllable has been added to each of 301(ii)a, 329(iii)d, 333(iii)a, 335(iii)d, 341(ii)c, (iii)b and (iv)b, while a short one to 329(i)b and 341(iii)b. Hypermetric nature is mostly found in the third foot.

### Jagatī.

In 302(iii) and 341(i) we get the only jagatī stanzas in the catukka-nipāta. Of the 8 *pādas* 2 are hypermetric. The general scheme of the jagatī feet in our nipāta is  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$  which reminds us of the Vamśasthā and the Indravamśā metres of Classical Sanskrit. The hypermetric feet appear in 302(iii)bc and have the rhythm  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$  and  $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$  respectively. It is to be noted that in comparison with the previous nipātas the jagatī verses are rather scarce here.

### MISCELLANEOUS STANZAS.

Of the 8 stanzas in miscellaneous nature, i.e. which do not fall within the more familiar varieties mentioned above, 4, viz. 317(i. ii, iii) and 324(iii), are lyric. 301(i) appears to be lyric in nature. 309(i) is a Paṅkti. 320(ii) has the first two feet in 9 syllables each while the last two in 8 each. This reminds us of the same type of stanza in the *R̥gveda*, i. 187. 11 (*vide* Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, type 32, p. 246). This seems to be an accidental variation of anuṣṭubh. 301(iv) is a peculiar combination of trimeter feet. The first

and the sixth feet are jagatī, the third and the fourth are triṣṭubh, while the second and the fifth are śarkarī<sup>1</sup>.

From the above analysis we may arrive at the conclusion that the verses in the catukkanipāta have general uniformity with those in the previous nipātas. But in the present section there are some peculiarities which are not found in the previous ones. Moreover the rhythms are more rigid here than those in the preceding nipātas.

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<sup>1</sup> A stanza of 4 feet, each of 14 syllables.

THE BRAHMEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF  
THE EIGHTEENTH REGNAL YEAR OF  
KING UDDYOTAKESARĪ.\*

By P. ACHARYA, B.Sc., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj.

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The following four inscriptions are said to have belonged originally to temples at Bhubaneswar.

A. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription<sup>1</sup> of Kolāvati Devī, the mother of Uddyotakesarī. It is now lost.

B. The Megheśvara temple inscription<sup>2</sup> of Svapneśvara Deva. It is now fixed on the western compound wall of the Anantavāsudeva temple.

C(1). The inscription<sup>3</sup> of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva which is now fixed on the western compound wall of the Anantavāsudeva temple.

C(2). The inscription<sup>4</sup> of Chandrādevī. It is now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, but belonged originally to the Anantavāsudeva temple.

The three inscriptions A, B and C(1) were removed from their original temples and deposited in the Museum of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. In 1837, at the suggestion of Major M. Kittoe, the then Curator of the Society's Museum, these three inscribed slabs were returned to Bhubaneswar by the Committee of the Society. The list of donors and donations to the Museum of the Society for 1822, published as Appendix III of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV (1825), records that General Stuart donated eight Sanskrit stone inscriptions out of which there were *two stones from Bhubaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit inscriptions*. No list of antiquities presented to the Museum of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal before 1814 is available; the first list was published as an appendix to Vol. XI (1816) of the *Asiatic Researches* and all the subsequent volumes contain such a list up to the year 1836. No list other than that of Vol. XV gives the names of any antiquity from Orissa. So doubt naturally arises as to how the Committee of the Society which got only *two* stone inscriptions from Bhubaneswar could have referred *three* stone inscriptions to that locality and returned them for restoration to their original places.<sup>5</sup> This leaves enough margin to arrive at the conclusion that out of the three inscribed slabs, one at least does not belong to Bhubaneswar and the inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva furnishes such internal evidence as to prove,

\* This paper has been revised and edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

<sup>1</sup> (a) Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 557-62;

(b) Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, 1880, pp. 87-89.

<sup>2</sup> (a) Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 278-88;

(b) N. N. Vasu, *Ibid.*, 1897, pp. 11-23;

(c) Kielhorn, *E.I.*, Vol. VI, 1900-01, pp. 198-203.

<sup>3</sup> (a) Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, pp. 88-97;

(b) Mitra, *A.O.*, Vol. II, pp. 85-87;

(c) Kielhorn, *E.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-207;

(d) N. N. Vasu, *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, Vols. I and II;

(e) N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Barnett, *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, 1915-16, 150-55.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, p. 319, and Vol. VII, p. 557.



without any shade of doubt, that it originally did not belong to any temple at Bhubaneswar.<sup>1</sup>

In the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837, it is recorded that three inscribed slabs were returned to Bhubaneswar; but the Brahmesvara temple inscription is not found now anywhere at Bhubaneswar. Rajendralal Mitra saw the inscription there and noticed it in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II. He did not notice the Meghesvara temple inscription, although N. N. Vasu in 1895 found this record on the same spot in the compound of the Anantavāsudeva temple just at the side of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's epigraph. The Paṇḍās of Bhubaneswar, whose predecessors were successful in bringing back the inscriptions from Calcutta in 1837, are unable to say anything as to its whereabouts. Prinsep edited many inscriptions in 1837 and 1838, but he never chose to produce the full facsimile of any of them excepting this one. He wrote, 'Before returning this, he (Kittoe) kindly took for me a very exact impression, whence I have copied the reduced facsimile in plate XXIV'<sup>2</sup>. Due to the loss of the original slab of the inscription, this facsimile serves now the purpose of the original slab. Finding some glaring mistakes in the printed text of the epigraph, I attempted to redecipher the inscription from the published facsimile and the result is recorded in this paper.

The Brahmesvara temple inscription, as already noticed, was first edited by J. Prinsep, and published in the *J.A.S.B.* for June, 1838, with the facsimile plate No. XXIV which is reproduced here for easy reference. The enclosed plate shows that it was not only broken into two, but a portion of the writing was lost. Prinsep's note on the slab runs as follows: 'Although, as it will be seen, the slab was in a state of considerable mutilation, yet from the inscription being in verse, my Pandit, Kamalākānta Vidyālaṅkāra, has been able by study of the context to fill up all the gaps, with, as he says, hardly a possibility of error, and indeed where the out-line of the letters is preserved I have found his restoration quite conformable'.<sup>3</sup>

I made an attempt in comparing the printed text with letters of the facsimile plate some years ago and found that the text prepared by Pandit Vidyālaṅkāra was not quite satisfactory. Subsequently in 1929 my friend Pandit Binayak Misra edited the Narsingpur copper plate grant of Uddyotakesari and the genealogy recorded in that grant helped me to detect further mistakes in the reading of the names of Yayāti, Bhīmaratha and Dharmaratha, which were also noticed by Pandit Misra in his article.<sup>4</sup> The text of the Ratnagiri copper plate grant<sup>5</sup> is a replica of the text of the Narsingpur charter up to line 23 and it may be said that the Ratnagiri grant either belongs to Uddyotakesari or to one of his successors. There are two more short inscriptions in the Khandagiri caves which were inscribed during the reign of Uddyotakesari.<sup>6</sup> All these inscriptions are noticed in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my paper in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1939, pp. 287-318; cf. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, p. 202, note 3.

In 1946 it has been shown by Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya that this inscribed stone containing Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's eulogium was deciphered at Dacca sometime in 1791-95 A.D. and it has been suggested that the temple containing the inscription was built at Vikramapura, the old capital of Vaṅga (*I.H.Q.*, XXII, pp. 134-35). This piece of evidence, brought to light in a most unexpected manner, corroborates fully my conclusion arrived at in 1939.

<sup>2</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, VII, 1838, p. 557.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVII, 1929, pp. 1-24. The Narsingpur grant is called the Balijhari copper-plate inscription in Bhandarkar's list, No. 2076..

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 1928, pp. 206-210.

<sup>6</sup> *E.I.*, XIII, pp. 165-66.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, Nos. 1571-1573 and 2076-77.

which also contains a genealogical table (pp. 404-05) of the rulers who were responsible for the incision of these epigraphs. Bhandarkar says, 'Some more kings of this dynasty seem to be mentioned in No. 1572 (the Brahmeśvara temple inscription), but this inscription requires to be carefully edited before we can utilize it for genealogical purposes.'

The inscribed slab under discussion is dated in the 18th year of the reign of Uddyotakesari; but it omits to mention the distinguishing family titles, namely Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta, which are met with in the Narsingpur grant. No satisfactory explanation of this omission of the titles is possible; but it may be pointed out that it is not a royal document like the Narsingpur charter of the year 4. The Khaṇḍagiri inscriptions also do not contain any distinguishing family title.

In my revised text of the inscription, I have suggested new readings of passages in the broken portion of the slab with the help of the parts of letters still visible. Vidyālaṅkāra's readings have been altered only when they are unsupported by the letters clearly visible in the facsimile. Where the letters appear obscured in the facsimile, I have retained the readings offered by Vidyālaṅkāra, as he had the opportunity of examining the inscribed slab.

In line 3 and verse 3, Vidyālaṅkāra reads *samrūd-bhartrari-rāja-kamra-ramaṇi*; but the facsimile clearly shows *bhaṭāri-rāja-ramaṇi*. The form of *ta* is different from *rtta* in *kīrttana* in line 12, but is similar to the letter *ta* in *ghaṭā* in line 11. The Pandit introduced the word *kamra* for the sake of metre between the words *rāja* and *ramaṇi*. But the passage *bhaṭāri-rāja-ramaṇi-simanta-ribhrānti-hrd* requires only four syllables at the beginning for which I have suggested *tasyānte su*°. Again in line 4 containing the portion of the 4th *pāda* of verse 3, I have suggested *yayātir = abhavad = yo* in place of Vidyālaṅkāra's reading *yayāti-nrpavad = yo*. The restoration made in this verse is in full conformity with the following text of the Narsingpur copper-plate:

*Rāj = ābhūj = Janamejaya = tha = nrpatir = jāto Yayātis = tataḥ |*  
*Srimān Bhīmaratho = bhavat = tadānu ca kṣmā-cakra-rakṣamaṇiḥ ||*

In line 5 containing the last two lines of verse 4, Vidyālaṅkāra's restoration *sadā rā*° is acceptable; but his reading *dirgharavo* is not found in the facsimile print where the *akṣaras bhī × ratho* are very clear and, as suggested by the genealogical list of the Narsingpur copper plate, these letters without any doubt give the name of king Bhīmaratha.

In line 6 and verse 5 Vidyālaṅkāra reads—*rājā babhūva kavīdharmaparo = pavārah*-. Two letters are broken in this line and the subsequent 8 letters are mutilated to some extent. In place of the missing and mutilated letters I have suggested °*va bhu*° (in place of °*va ka*°) and *dharma-ratho pratītaḥ*.<sup>1</sup> *Bhuvi* in place of *kavi* gives better sense and the reading of the name as Dharmaratha is supported by the Narsingpur copperplate grant. I am not sure about the reading *pratīta*.

In line 9 and verse 8 the last word was read as *nandanah*; but as the letter *ta* is clear, I have suggested *vanditaḥ* in its place.

In line 10 and verse 10 Vidyālaṅkāra reads *siṃhalaṃ coḍa-gauḍau*, but the facsimile clearly shows *dāhalaṃ c = oḍra-gauḍau*. The form of the conjunct *dra* in *Oḍra* here is similar to that in line 3. The countries called Dāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa are well-known and are adjacent to Dakṣiṇa-kosala to which the royal family under discussion belonged. In Vidyālaṅkāra's reading *siṃhalaṃ coḍa-gauḍau*, there is no geographical continuity and significance.

<sup>1</sup> See editorial note on the text, *infra*—Editor.

In line 17 and verse 15 Vidyālaṅkāra's reading in the 4th *pāda* is *cañcala-khañjanābha-nayanā*. But there is no such word as *khañjanābha* in the inscription. The correct reading of the word is *karnajāha* and the passage signifies that the eyes of the damsels are not only fickle (*cañcala*) but also extended up to the ears (*karnajāha*).

In line 20 which is in prose Vidyālaṅkāra reads *somavamś-odbhava-bhūpati* in the missing portion; but the facsimile print clearly shows *soma . . trikalīṅgādhipati*. The epithets *somakulatilaka* and *trikalīṅgādhipati* are most common in the inscriptions of this dynasty and accordingly, in the missing portion, *°kulatilaka* suggested by me seems to be very appropriate. I have suggested *sūtradhāra-rāyeṇa utkīrṇam* in place of Vidyālaṅkāra's *°rāyaḥ* at the end of the record.

The inscription, written in 20 lines, is composed of 17 verses and ends in prose in the last line. It opens with a verse saying that Candra and Lakṣmī came out of the *Samundramanthana* (the churning of the ocean by the gods on one side and the demons on the other). In the family of the moon was born king Janamejaya, the lord (*adhipa*) of *Trilīṅga*<sup>1</sup> who conquered Odra after killing the king (*nṛpati*) of the country in battle (v. 2). After him his son Yayāti adorned the earth with all the kingly prowess (v. 3); he was succeeded by his son Bhīmaratha who was famous for various qualities (v. 4); from him was born Dharmaratha (v. 5) who died childless and his kingdom was laid waste by many warriors and thus there was a period without any events when a powerful hero belonging to the family was ruling elsewhere in Orissa (v. 6).<sup>2</sup> Then Caṇḍihara was made king by the ministers; he was the son of Abhimanyu and the great-grandson of Janamejaya, the founder of the family (v. 7). Caṇḍihara's reign was eventful in all respects (v. 8). His son Uddyotakesarī was a powerful king (v. 9), who defeated the kings of Dāhala, Odra and Gauḍa and made a large number of kings bow down at his feet (v. 10). His mother Kolāvatividevī was a very pious lady (v. 11). She built a temple at Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) for the Śivalīṅga called Brahmeśvara (v. 12) which was worshipped by Brahmā himself (v. 13). She also appointed Devadāsīs for the temple (v. 15). The eulogy was composed by Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama who was a very learned man (v. 16) and who piously wished that his composition would last for ever (v. 17). The inscription was written on the third day of the Śukla-pakṣa in the month of Phālguna in the 18th regnal year of *Paramamāheśvara Mahārājādhirāja Somakulatilaka Trikalīṅgādhipati* Uddyotakesarīrājadeva. It was engraved on the stone by Rāya the mason.

Verses 2-10 of the inscription under discussion narrate the genealogy of the Somakulī kings of Kosala and Utkala. We quote below for easy reference the substance of the genealogical portion of the text of the Narsingpur copper-plate grant as it has greatly helped us in restoring the lacunae in the record under discussion.

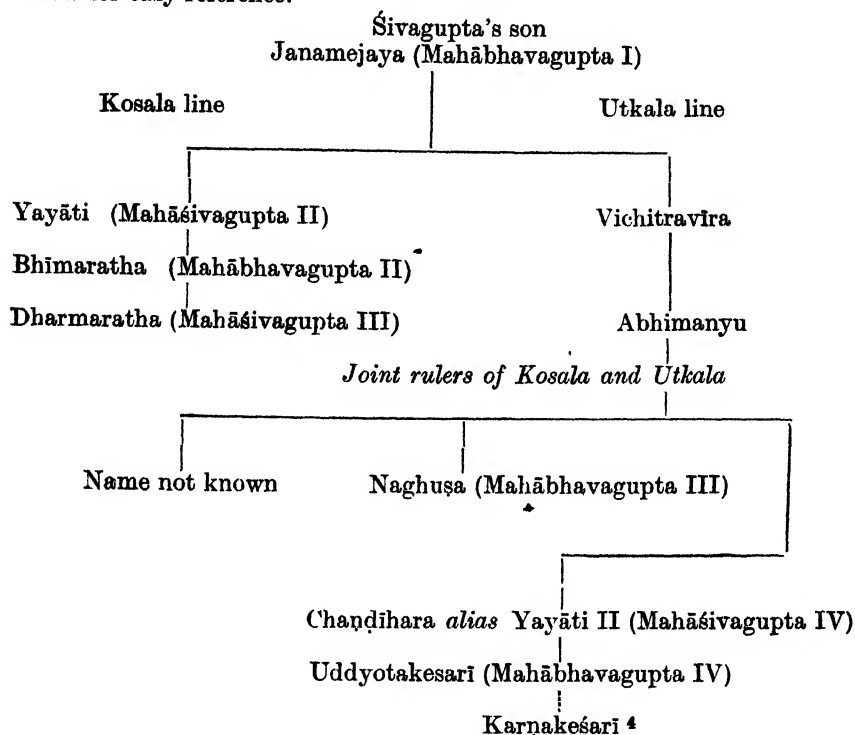
The Narsingpur inscription opens with an invocation to the moon (v. 1) who was the progenitor of many illustrious ruling dynasties (v. 2). To this dynasty belonged Janamejaya whose son was Yayāti, the father of Bhīmaratha (v. 3). After him Dharmaratha was the king who had to fight with hostile kings (v. 4). His successor Naghuṣa was the brother of the king of the country the capital of which was in the vicinity of the eastern

<sup>1</sup> See editorial note on line 2 (v. 2) of the text below.—*Editor*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 'A Note on the Later Somavamśis', *I.H.Q.*, XXII, pp. 300-07, where it has been shown that the above suggestion is due to wrong interpretation of a verse of the Narsingpur or Baliihari grant.—*Editor*

sea (vs. 5-6).<sup>1</sup> After Naghuṣa his younger brother Yayāti was made king of both the countries of Kosala and Utkala by the warrior chiefs (vv. 8-9).<sup>2</sup> Yayāti's son was Uddyotakeśari (v. 10).<sup>3</sup>

A genealogical table prepared from all published inscriptions is given below for easy reference.



The Brahmeśvara inscription is probably the last <sup>5</sup> inscription of the Somakuli kings of Orissa and it gives the names of all kings from Janamejaya, the founder of the dynasty, to Uddyotakeśari, as noted above. In verse 2 of this inscription Janamejaya has been described as *Trilingādhipati* <sup>6</sup> before his conquest of Odra-deśa and in line 20 Uddyotakesari has the title of *Somakulatilaka* and *Trikalingādhipati*. In a charter <sup>7</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion is wrong. For the proper interpretation of v. 6 of the Narsingpur (Balijhari) grant and its bearing on the Somavamśi genealogy, see 'A Note on the Later Somavamśis', *I.H.Q.*, XXII, pp. 300-07.—*Editor*.

<sup>2</sup> This interpretation is wrong. See *I.H.Q.*, loc. cit.—*Editor*.

<sup>3</sup> I read a paper entitled 'The Somakuli kings of Kosala and Utkala' based on this as well as other inscriptions of this dynasty at the Indian History Congress, Madras, 1944. See *Proceedings of I.H.C.*, 1944, pp. 180-195.

<sup>4</sup> The author has omitted two other known rulers of the family. The suggestions about the unknown elder brother of Naghuṣa (Naghuṣa) and about the latter's relation with Chandihara are wrong. For a correct and up-to-date genealogical and chronological table of the Somavamśis, see 'A Note on the Later Somavamśis' in *I.H.Q.*, XXII, p. 307.—*Editor*.

<sup>5</sup> For inscriptions of two later members of the family of the Somavamśis, see *I.C.*, III, p. 124; B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 74 and Plate. Cf. also *I.H.Q.*, loc. cit.—*Editor*.

<sup>6</sup> For the reading *Trilingādhipa*, see editorial note on line 2 (v. 2) of the text below.—*Editor*.

<sup>7</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 94.

third regnal year of Janamejaya he has been described as *Somakulatilaka Trikalīṅgādhipati*. The title *Trikalīṅgādhipati* in Janamejaya's earliest inscription suggests that he assumed it after the conquest of Oḍradeśa from Trilīṅga. But the Bhauma predecessors of Janamejaya never used the title *Trikalīṅgādhipati*, although it was used by the kings of the early Gaṅga dynasty. I shall discuss the location of Trilīṅga and Trikalīṅga in another paper.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- Line 1. ॐ ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रमहेश्वरेन्द्रवलि[भौरञ्जुताहोश्वरे\*]-  
 [भौ\*]म्यन्मन्दरपर्वतेन [मथितात्क्षिरोदधेर्मध्यतः ।]  
 [विष्कौतामृतकौ]मुदीभि[र]खिलं [त्रै][लो\*][व्यमुद्योतय]-  
 [गजेन्दुः सकला सम\*]-
- Line 2. यवसतिः सार्द्धं श्रिया जातवान् ॥ 1  
 तद्व[र्षे]जनि<sup>३</sup> शुभकौर्त्तिरतुलो वि\*]श्वम्भ[रावल्लभो]  
 रा[जा श्री\*][जनमे]जयः [स रिपुहा भू]त[स्त्रि]लिङ्गाधिपः<sup>४</sup> ।  
 दन्ता[दन्ति<sup>५</sup>क][राक्षसिअमभिषाद भग्ने रिपूणां\*]
- Line 3. द्विपे  
 यः कुन्ताग्रहतोद्देशन्तपतेर्ह्य[क्षो] [समाह्वयवान्\* ॥ 2  
 [तस्यान्ते<sup>६</sup> सु\*]भटारिराजरमणीसीमन्त[वभ्रान्तिह]-  
 [द्विख्यातो नयविक्रमादसु]त[मतिः] [सप्ताङ्गराज्येश्वर\*] ।  
 [बाल्यादक्षतवैधकर्म्म\*]-
- Line 4. चरितस्थायी महाधार्मिको  
 राजा शौर्यमयो यया[तिरभवद् यो\*] मेदिनीमखनः ॥ 3  
 तस्यान्ते क[लि]कालकल्प[विट]पौ भूपाल[चू]डा[म][श\*]-  
 र्म्भ[र्या\*][दा]मृतसत्त्व[धैर्यक\*]मल[गा\*][म्भौ][र्यरत्नाकरः\* ॥
- Line 5. माङ्गल्योदयशक्तिसिद्धिविदुरः प्रख्यातकौर्त्तिः [सदा\*]  
 [र]ाजा भौ[म\*]रथो महारथगुणः शूरो बभूवारिहा ॥ 4

<sup>1</sup> From the eye-copy published by Prinsep in *J.A.S.B.*, 1838.

<sup>२</sup> *Siddham* or *Om Siddhiḥ* expressed by a symbol.

<sup>३</sup> Read बंशेजनि

<sup>४</sup> The eye-copy published by Prinsep probably suggests the reading •स्त्रिलिङ्गाधिपः; but it appears that the tracing was influenced by Vidyālaṅkāra's reading. This reading seems to go against certain known facts of history. Even if it is accepted, one may suggest an expression like *parābhūta-strilīṅg-ādhipati* to indicate 'one who has defeated the King of Strilīṅga (Trilīṅga)'.—*Editor*.

<sup>५</sup> The eye-copy does not support the reading दन्ता. —*Editor*.

<sup>६</sup> Probably तस्यान्ते is better, as तस्यान्ते actually occurs at the beginning of the next verse.—*Editor*.

तस्मादजय्य भुजव[च]विनि[र्जि]ता[र]-

रु[र्ज]खलः परमुराम इव हित[ीय]ः ।

Line 6. मध्यन्दिनार्क इव तीव्रतरप्रतापो  
राजा बभूव सु\*[वि धर्मरथो प्रतीत]ः<sup>1</sup> ॥ 5

तस्मिन्गते दिवमपुत्रिणि गजमस्त्रे

नानामटैरुपहृते सकले(ऽ\*)पि राष्ट्रे ।

देशान्तरस्थितव[ति प्रब]ल-

Line 7. प्रवीरे  
कालः कियानगमदच्च यथाकथञ्चित् [॥\*] 6

त[तोऽपि\*<sup>2</sup>] जनमेजयस्य तनयो भूतः प्र[सि]द्धः क्षितौ  
सर्वत्रापि विचित्रवीर इति यस्तस्मादजन्यात्मजः ।

धन्यो(ऽ\*)सा[व]भिमान्यरित्यतिबली

Line 8. तस्यो[प]तेजाः सुतः  
श्रीचण्डीहर इत्यभून्नरप[तिः\*] सर्वैरमात्यैः हतः ॥ 7

भृत्यामात्यसुहृत्प्रजाश्रितजनज्ञातीष्टबन्धून्यथा-

योगं सम्परिपाल्य राष्ट्रमुभयं निष्कण्टकौहृत्य यः ।

Line 9. भूतो(ऽ\*)नेकनरेन्द्रशेखरमणिप्रोद्गच्छ\*<sup>3</sup>दृष्टु\*<sup>4</sup>[च्छटा\*]-  
[लोको\*]द्भासितपादप[द्मयुग]लः स[र्वावनी\*][वन्दि]तः<sup>4</sup> ॥ 8

श्रीमानाचतुरब्जिसीमव[सु]धाच[क्रै]करक्षामणि-

र्मान्धातेव पृथूपमो

Line 10. भरतवद्भाजा जगज्जित्वरः ।  
सूर्याचन्द्रम[सोः][समैर्भि\*]जकरैरुद्दीपयन्गोद[सीं]  
पूर्वाग्निः सवितेव सूरु[नु]बदगादुद्द्योतकः केसरौ ॥ 9

<sup>1</sup> Traces in the eye-copy suggest the reading •प्रवीरः. The visarga changed in sandhi to o in the preceding aksara shows that प्रतीतः is impossible.—Editor.

<sup>2</sup> ततोपि is metrically absurd. I suggest तव श्री.—Editor.

<sup>3</sup> Read •दृष्टु•

<sup>4</sup> Traces support neither नन्दनः nor वन्दितः.—Editor.

नालक्रीडाभिरेव प्रतिभटमखिलं डाहलं चोत्र-

Line 11.

गौडौ

युद्धे सन्नद्धयोधहि[रद्वल\*]घटास[क][रं यो वि\*]जित्य ।  
उद्गताक्षौहिणीपद्म[र]गतिविगमद्भूभरा[क]ान्तए[ध्व\*]<sup>1</sup> ।  
[राज्ञः] कुर्वन्मशैवागवगतशिरसो जिष्णुबल्वीमजै[षीत्] ॥ 10

Line 12.

तन्माता दिगन्तकुलस्य दुहिता कोलावती नामतो  
[यासौ\*] श्रौतकरान्वयस्य महिषी दूर्गेव ल[क्ष्म]रीरिव ।  
यस्याः कौर्त्तनमूर्द्धसु ध्वजचयो वात्याभिरुद्धं कृतो  
हस्ताभः शशिलक्ष्य लोभुमिव

Line 13.

खे सोत्साहमुद्गच्छति ॥ 11

श्रौमद्वज्रश्वरस्य प्रण[तमल\*][ह]तः स्पर्शतो मुक्तिदस्य  
प्रासादो(ऽ\*)भङ्गवायस्तरणिरययथा[ह]ति स्थायकल्पः ।  
एकान्ते सिद्धतीर्थे चतुरमरकुली [चार]शाला-

Line 14.

समेतः

कोलावत्या तथैषः क्षितिमूकुटनिभः [कारितः\*] कौर्त्तिराजः ॥ 12

लोकालोकमहीध्रसप्तजलधिद्वीपस्थलीपिण्डिका-  
मध्यस्था[यु]क्तेरलिङ्गमुपरि ब्रह्माख्यहेमालय[म् ।]

Line 15.

गङ्गाद्विः क्षपयन्नहर्निशमसौ देवि[स्त्रलोकी][पति\*]-  
[त्रै\*]क्षा स्पर्ष्टति यं शिवं स भगवान् ब्रह्मेश्वरो(ऽ\*)म्विसुः<sup>2</sup> ॥ 13

ऊर्द्धभाजत्वानककलशोत्तिष्ठदध्मू<sup>3</sup>त्कारार्चि-  
द्वीप्राणोक्तप्रस[रक्षत\*]-

Line 16.

दिक्चक्रवालप्रसादः ।

प्रासा[दो](ऽ\*)स्य त्रिदशयु[व][तीत्रा\*]तस[न्ध]प्र[दीपो]  
मूर्द्धवाग्नेः सकलगगनं मख्ययन्त्रकास्ति ॥ 14

<sup>1</sup> The use of the three synonymous words भू, पृथ्वी and उर्वी in the same verse would make the suggested reading rather doubtful.—*Editor*.

<sup>2</sup> Read °यं वि°

<sup>3</sup> Read °दध्मू°.

रत्नालङ्कृतिभूषिताङ्गसुबमा देदीप्यमाना दि[वः]  
[क्रीडन्त्य\*]-

Line 17.

स्तुतितः स्थिरा इव कुचश्रीणीभरव्याकुलाः ।

[सु][न्दर्योन्मि\*]कनीनिका<sup>1</sup>। इव वृक्षामन्तःप्रविष्टा नृणा-  
मस्मै चक्षलकर्णजाह्नयना दत्तास्तया दारिकाः ॥ 15

वेद[व्या]करण[ार्थशास्त्रकविता\*]-

Line 18.

तत्क्रीदिविद्याधरो

ब्रह्मेवावितथप्रसन्नवि[नयो\*][दुबु]द्धिर्विशुद्धान्वयः ।

ताराधोश्वरवङ्म<sup>2</sup>जावनिभुजां शुभं यशस्तन्वती-

भट्टः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमः कविवरो(ऽ\*)का[र्षौदिमां वर्णनाम् ॥\*] 16

Line 19.

सनगवनसमुद्रा मेदिनी याव[दास्ते]

[त्रिभु\*]वननिजनेत्रे [पु]ष्पवन्तौ च याव[त्] ।

अतिजगदुपरिस्थो यावदौत्तान[प]दि-

जगद्वदनसुधेयन्तावद[स्तु] [प्रशस्तिः\*] ॥ 17

Line 20.

परममाद्येश्वरमहाराजाधिराजसोम[कुलतिल\*][क]त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति

श्रीमदुद्गोतकेसरिराजदेवस्य विजयरान्ये सम्बत्<sup>3</sup> १८ फाल्गुन शुदि

३ सूत्रधाररा[त्रे][ण उत्कीर्णम् ॥\*]

#### Translation.<sup>4</sup>

(The translation of Śārādā Prasād published in Prinsep's paper has been quoted in the case of verses 8, 9, 16 and 17 and has been freely utilized in the translation of other verses).

1. Let the full-moon which was born with Śrī from the midst of the ocean-called Kṣīrodadhī (ocean of milk) when it was churned with the Mandara mountain, encircled by the king of serpents serving the purpose of the churning rope and pulled by Brahmā, Upendra (Viṣṇu), Maheśvara, Indra and Bali, spread over the three regions with the light as sweet as nectar.

2. In his (Moon's) family was born Rājā Janamejaya, the king of Trilīṅga, whose bright fame was incomparable among the kings. He was the destroyer of enemies and he drew to himself the fortune (Lakṣmī) of the king of the Odra country who was killed by his *kunta* in a battle where- in his enemy's elephants were overcome with fatigue fighting with their tusks and trunks.

<sup>1</sup> Read •कान्तिव

<sup>2</sup> Read वङ्म

<sup>3</sup> Read संवत्

<sup>4</sup> The translation is in some cases rather free and is not always satisfactory. Cf. editorial notes on the text.—Editor.



3. After him his son Yayāti was a celebrated king, who deprived the wives of his inimical kings of their pride of lovely treasures, who was the master of the kingdom with its seven limbs, who was of wonderful understanding in power and morals, charitable and most virtuous, and whose lawful deeds and conduct remained unchangeable from his very childhood.

4. After him his son Bhīmaratha became king who was the *kalpa* tree of the *kali* age and the crown jewel of the princes, modest, of boundless spirit, and whose steadiness, riches, gravity, depth of knowledge (was well-known) and who was wise in producing prosperity and three sorts of power and success, a hero and destroyer of his enemies, and who had qualities of a *Mahāratha*.

5. From him was born on the earth the powerful king named Dharmaratha as the second Paraśurāma, who suppressed his enemies by his invincible hand possessing strength of the thunderbolt and was powerful like the mid-day sun.

6. When he, the Rājamalla (best of the kings), departed unto heaven without issue, and all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries, there was a lapse of short and eventless time.

7. Then Chāṇḍihara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vichitravira, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Janamejaya, was made king by the ministers; and he was powerful and spirited like his father.

8. He reigned impartially, cherishing all his servants, ministers, people, those who sought refuge, kinsmen and desired friends and made both the kingdoms indisputable who was the cause of delight of all the earth, and whose lotus-like feet were brightened by the splendour of the head-jewels of many prostrate kings.

9. From him arose Uddyotakesari, like the sun from the eastern mountain, illuminating the earth and heaven by his lustre, radiant as the sun and moon beams; who was rich and was the crown jewel of the circle of earth defended by its four oceans, and who was conqueror of earth like Māndhātā, Pṛthu and Bharata.

10. He defeated the whole force of his enemies of Dāhala, Odra and Gauda, as it were, in child's play, with the help of well-armed warriors and elephants and he made the earth (tortoise) sink with the weight of the swift marches of his army, *akṣauhīnī* in number, and was victorious and made a large number of kings bow down at his feet.

11. His mother, Kolāvati by name, was the daughter of the solar race and the chief queen of the lunar race and was like *Durgā* and *Lakṣmī* in beauty and action; her fame spread like the flags high up in the air, and seeing this the people thought that these are as if flying in order to destroy the black spot of the moon with the brightness of her fame.

12. By that Kolāvati was caused to be erected this cloud-touching (very high) temple with four *cāruṣāla* temples, which appeared to be the crown over the head of the earth-goddess and an obstruction on the speed of the sun's chariot due to the light, for God Brahmeśvara, who destroys the sins of those who only bowed down their head and gives salvation to those who worship by actual touch, at a place called *Siddhatīrtha* in Ekāmra.

13. The *Lokāloka* mountain, the seven oceans and islands are the foundations, and the *Meru* mountain stands at the centre with the *Himālayalīṅga* as the peak, and Brahmā, the lord of the three regions, worships this *līṅga* with the water of the Ganges day and night here; this god Brahmeśvara is the very same one.

14. Like the evening lamp on the summit of a mountain lighted by the youthful goddesses, the lustre of rays issued from the golden *Kalaśa* (pinnacle) of this temple lights up all the regions.

15. By her were dedicated to God Śiva some beautiful women, whose limbs were adorned with ornaments set in gems and thus appearing as the everlasting but playful lightnings, and who were restless with the weight of loins and breasts, and whose eyes were fickle and extended up to the ears and who looked lovely like the pupils of the eyes of men.

16. Puroṣottama Bhaṭṭa, the best of poets, indited the eulogy, which spreads the white fame of the kings of the lunar line, who was learned in the Vedas, grammar, political science, poetry, logic, etc., and like Brahmā, of true, pure and humble understanding, and born of an innocent family.

17. As long as the earth with its mountains, forests and seas and the three regions with the eyes of the sun and moon, and *auttānapādi* (the Pole star) in the firmament shall endure, so long may this eulogy exist as nectar in the mouth of every one.

18. On the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna of the regnal year (Samvat) 18 of the victorious reign of Paramamāheśvara Mahārājādhirāja Somavamśodbhava Trikalīṅgādhīpati Uddyotakesari this inscription was incised by the carpenter Rāya.



FURTHER NOTES ON THE VĀKĀTAKAS.

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

I have read with care Dr. R. C. Majumdar's comments on the points raised by me in my note on the Vākātakas (above, Vol. XII, pp. 71-73) in regard to the age of majority in ancient India, a minor ascending the throne as king, and the average length of a king's reign when nine generations of rulers are concerned. Although, I am afraid, I have not been quite properly understood, I am glad that Dr. Majumdar has invited discussion on these points. What I really attempted to prove is:

- (1) that, according to ancient Indian law, one attained to majority at the age of sixteen and not at that of twenty-one;
- (2) that one could ascend the throne as king even when he was a minor; and
- (3) that an average reign-period of more than thirty-two years per ruler is abnormally long, as it can hardly be more than about twenty-five years.

As regards the first point, it has to be noted that there is *absolute unanimity* amongst writers on Indian law—ancient, medieval and modern—that boys attained to majority at the age of sixteen, while there is not a single evidence in support of the conjecture about the age of majority at twenty-one. It was only in 1875 that, under the Indian Majority Act (Act IX of 1875), year eighteen (twenty-one only in certain cases) was made the age of majority except in matters of marriage, dower, divorce and adoption. I refrain from quoting further authorities as the views of Kauṭilya, Medhātithi, Dakṣa and Nārada were cited by me in my last note and refer our readers to a good discussion on the topic by Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane of the Bombay High Court in his *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. III, pp. 573-74, where the authority of Aṅgiras, Kātyāyana, Haradatta, Viṇṇāśvara and others has been quoted.<sup>1</sup> Jayaswal's conjecture that in ancient India 'for obtaining royal *abhiṣeka* the age of 25 was a condition precedent' not only goes against the theory of the age of majority at twenty-one, but its utterly unconvincing nature has, it may be pointed out, long ago been demonstrated by a more well-informed writer who quotes the *Mahābhārata* (I, 101, 12) to show that the *rājyābhiṣeka* of the Kuru king Vicitravīrya took place when he was a mere child and had not yet reached the period of youth: *vicitravīryaṇ = ca tadā bāluṃ aprāptayauvanam, kururājye mahābāhur abhyāṣiṇcat tadantaram* (Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 249). The minor king is said to have ruled his paternal kingdom according to the instructions of his guardian Bhīṣma (*ibid.*, verse 13: *vicitravīryaḥ sa tadā bhīṣmasya vacane sthitaḥ, anvaśāsan mahārāja paitṛpaitāmahaṃ padam*). That Vicitravīrya was a king in spite of Bhīṣma's guardianship and not merely a Yuvarāja is quite clear from other passages of the *Mahābhārata*

<sup>1</sup> There is another discussion on the subject in Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage* (ed. 1938), ch. VI, where it has been shown that 'minority under Hindu law terminates at the age of sixteen' on the authority of the *Dāyabhāga*, III, 1, 17 note; *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, IV, 47; *Colebrooke's Digest*, I, 202; *Nārada*, I, 35-36; Kullūka's gloss on *Manu*, VIII, 27; *Vyavasthādarpaṇa*, I, 591; *Vyavasthācandrikā*, II, 590; cf. *S.B.E.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 51, and Kullūka on *Manu*, VIII, 148.

(cf. I, 102, 53: *prayaya hāstinapuram yatra rājā sa kauravaḥ, vicitravīrya dharmātmā praśāsti vasudhām imām*). Another competent scholar points out that the *Bārhaspatyasūtra*, the only authority referred to by Jayaswal, 'says not a word about the age of coronation' (Kane, op. cit., p. 80). The epigraphic passage *sirikhāravelena paṇḍarasavasāni . . . kiṭṭā kumāra-kiṭṭikā . . . tato navavasāni yovarājāṃ pasāsitaṃ* (i.e. Khāravela passed the first fifteen years of his life in playing juvenile games whereafter he was installed as crown-prince and held that position for the following nine years) apparently suggests that Khāravela was made Yuvarāja as soon as he attained to majority at the age of sixteen before which he had been a *Kumāra* or minor. Of course, there was a controversy as to whether one became major by just stepping in the sixteenth year or after completing that year of one's age. But that is not quite material in this enquiry, because the age of majority had really nothing to do with one's accession to the throne. The statement of the Hāthigumphā inscription that Khāravela received installation as Mahārāja after completing his twenty-fourth year only shows that his predecessor (probably his father) died about that time. As regards the intervening period between the death of a king and the formal coronation of his successor, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (II, 18, 2-4), an old work repeatedly quoted by Albīrūnī in the first half of the eleventh century and used by Brahmagupta in 628 A.D. (Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 65), says that there was no waiting for an auspicious time, while the *Rājānūtiprakāśa* (included in the *Viramitrodaya* written by Mitrāmīśra in the first half of the seventeenth century) notes that on the death of a king his successor should be ceremonially crowned one year thereafter, but when a king abdicates his successor may be formally crowned on any auspicious day without waiting for a year (cf. Kane, op. cit., pp. 79-80). There is absolutely no authority in support of Jayaswal's conjecture about princes waiting for their *rājyābhiṣeka* till they reached the twenty-fifth year of their age.

In regard to the second point, I referred to the cases of minor kings in ancient Indian history, especially to the Vākātaka king of Vatsagulma who obtained *rājya* and ruled when he was only eight years old (Ajañṭā inscription, *Sel. Inscr.*, I, p. 428: *avāpya rājyam aṣṭābdako yaḥ praśāsāsa samyak*) and to the instances offered by the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Now the point is not whether the minor king (not to be confused with the Yuvarāja or crown-prince) actually ruled or a regent or regency council ruled in his name. The real point at issue is whether in ancient India a dead monarch could be succeeded as king on the throne by his minor heir-apparent or the kingdom remained without a king the heir-apparent enjoying merely the status of the Yuvarāja. In my opinion, the second alternative is not only unsupported by any evidence worth the name, but goes actually against known facts of history. That Vicitravīrya had been installed in *rājya* and was a *rājā* before he attained majority and that a Vākātaka king aged eight years obtained *rājya* and duly ruled show that these were kings and not crown-princes or heirs-apparent, even if the word *rājya* is taken in the sense of 'kingdom' and not in that of 'sovereignty'. Reference may also be made to the Ikṣvāku prince Sudarśana who ascended the *simhāsana* of his forefathers as Mahārāja at the age of six only (cf. *Raghuvamśa*, XVIII, 39-44). Of numerous other instances a few may be quoted in support of the suggestion. Gopālavarman became *rājā* of Kashmir when he was *anatikrānta-bālya* (*Rājatar.*, V, 229, 235, 237). Pārtha became a *bhūpati* when he was a *bāla* and his father Paṇḍu ruled Kashmir in the name of the minor king (*ibid.*, 264, 280). Cakravarman was installed in *rājya* when he was a *śiṣu* and had not passed his *bālya* (*ibid.*, 288, 290-91); but he was soon deposed

and Śūravarma was made *nṛpa* instead (*ibid.*, 292). Another śiśu named Śūravarma was installed as *rājā* on the *nṛpāsana* of Kashmir (*ibid.*, 446, 449); when a general revolted against the authority of the śiśu-*bhūpati* and entered the *rājadhānī* at the head of his victorious army, the child king's soldiers fled away and the king was carried to a hiding place by his mother (*ibid.*, 455). The above instances are quoted only from Book V of the *Rājataranginī*. Of the instances of minor kings in the annals of Rājasthān, we refer only to Mokālji who became king, according to Rājput chronicles, at the age of five (Tod, *An. Ant. Raj.*, Calcutta ed., Vol. I, p. 296; Ojha, *Udaypurāṇyaka Itihāsa*, p. 583). Of the many other instances of minor kings in ancient Indian history, the most celebrated appear to be the cases of Rāstrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I and Pallava Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Verse 26 of the Sanjan grant seems to suggest that Amoghavarṣa was born about 808 A.D. (cf. Altekar, *Rāstrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 68), while he is known to have ascended the *siṃhāsana* after his father's death (cf. Sanjan grant, verses 35-36) about 814 A.D. Records like the Kavi grant of 826 or 827 A.D. (*I.A.*, V, p. 145; *Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 403-04) show that Amoghavarṣa was a king and not a Yuvarāja before the twenty-first year of his age. More explicit and uncontroversial is the case of Nandivarman who became sovereign ruler of the Pallavas at the age of twelve only. According to one of the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple epigraphs (*S.I.I.*, IV, p. 10ff; *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 117), the Pallava throne of Kāñci fell vacant after the death of king Paramēśvaravarman II and the officials and citizens of the kingdom approached a Pallava chief named Hiranyavarman for the selection of a sovereign for the Pallava throne. Thereupon Hiranyavarman held consultation with the chief potentates as well as his own sons. Ultimately Pallavamalla, twelve year old son of Hiranyavarman, was selected by common consent and was 'crowned king under the name Nandivarman and with the insignia of *viḍelviḍugu*, *samudraghoṣa*, *khutvāṅgadhvaṇja* and *vṛṣabhālāñchana* (which are the well-known marks of Pallava sovereignty)' by the ministers, feudatories and others. It is also known that Vijayāditya V, minor son (*kanthikākramāyūtapuṭṭābhisekaṃ bālaṃ*) of Amma I of the Eastern Calukya dynasty, reigned for fifteen days as king about 925 A.D. when he was ousted by Tālapa. See *E.I.*, XXIV, p. 275 (text, line 15); *S.I.I.*, I, p. 45 (text, line 14); p. 54 (text, lines 40-41). That in ancient India princes were often crowned even when they were in the mother's womb seems to be suggested by Minhaj-uddin's description of the coronation of Rai Lakhmania or King Lakṣaṇasena of Bengal (*Tab. Nas.*, p. 554ff.). The above instances will show that in ancient India boys often ascended the throne as king even when they were far below the age of majority<sup>1</sup> which was, again, the sixteenth and not the twenty-first or twenty-fifth year of one's age.

As regards the third point, the usually respected view is that 'in India the duration of a generation amounts, as the statistical tables of the life insurance companies show, at the outside to only 26 years' (*I.A.*, XIII, p. 417). It should also be remembered in this connection that members of the royal families usually married earlier than the common people. Now the above statement has never been challenged with reference to any definitely known genealogy and chronology of any Indian ruling family representing many generations and belonging to historical times. The observation that six generations of Gupta kings from Candragupta I to Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta 'ruled more, perhaps considerably more,

<sup>1</sup> Manu (VII, 8: *bālo = 'pi n = āvamantavyo manuṣya iti bhūmipah*) refers to *bāla* (minor) kings.

than 180 years, giving an average of more than 30 years' is an unconvincing conclusion in view of the indefinite character of the premises, viz. (1) that the accession of Candragupta I is placed by 'many scholars' before 320 A.D., (2) that Budhagupta died 'about' 500 A.D., and (3) that Budhagupta was 'probably' succeeded by Narasimhagupta. There is certainly a difference between *theories* of earlier writers and *definitely established facts* of history. As a matter of fact there is no definite and satisfactory evidence to show that Candragupta I became king before 320 A.D. (which may have actually been the date of the accession of his father or grandfather), that Budhagupta lived after 495 A.D. and that Narasimhagupta was a successor and not a predecessor of Budhagupta. Although therefore the duration of the rule of six generations of Gupta kings may be supposed to have been more than 180 years by many writers, the real duration is unknown. This theory, not based on definite evidence, can hardly be upheld as an argument strong enough to nullify the conclusion, based on statistical tables of the insurance companies, that the average duration of a generation in India is not more than twenty-six years.

In my note on the Vākātakas, I suggested the possibility of Rudrasena II having had other queens older than Prabhāvatiguptā and other sons from them older than Divākarasena and also of Prabhāvatiguptā's installation as Rudrasena's *agramahiṣī* and Divākarasena's position as Yuvarāja having been due to their relation with Candragupta II whose subordinate ally Rudrasena seems to have been. It now appears to me that there is some support in favour of the suggestion in the Ceylonese chronicles and in certain Indian documents. In Ceylon, as also probably in India, the *mahiṣī* was the chief consort of the king in contrast to the large number of the king's wives or concubines, collectively styled *avarodha* or *antaḥpura*, and only the sons of the *mahiṣī* had the right to succession. When there were several *mahiṣīs*, one (in rare cases possibly two) of them was raised to the dignity of *agramahiṣī*. Cf. Geiger, *Cūlavamsa* (trans.), I, p. xv. That Kāśyapa I was an elder step-brother of Maudgalyāyana I, who however was the legal heir to the throne (as he was the son of the chief queen of Dhātusena), was the cause of the former's rebellion against king Dhātusena, father of both Kāśyapa and Maudgalyāyana (Mendis, *Early History of Ceylon*, p. 49). That Amma II of the Eastern Calukya dynasty succeeded his father, while his elder step-brother Dānārṇava (who later succeeded Amma II) served under him faithfully seems really to be due to the position of the former's mother. Ancient Indian writers on law usually speak of succession passing to the eldest son of the king; but the part played in this matter by the position of the successor's mother does not appear to be quite clear. Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 41ff. We know that Candragupta I selected as his successor Samudragupta, who was apparently one of his younger sons, and that Govinda III was installed as Yuvarāja and successor by Rāṣtrakūṭa Dhruva in supersession of his elder son Stambha. But these selections are said to have been due to the superior qualities of the princes in question.

## REPLY TO DR. SIRCAR'S NOTE.

By DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR.

The numerous instances cited by Dr. Sircar merely prove that a person sometimes ascended the throne even when he was a minor. These instances have no bearing on the main point at issue, viz. whether the age of attaining majority was 16 or 21, for in many instances the age of the king was far below 16.

The dates of the Gupta kings who followed Ghaṭotkaca are not so vague as Dr. Sircar imagines. So far as I know no scholar has hitherto suggested that Chandragupta I ascended the throne after 320 A.D. and there is no dispute about the fact that Budhagupta, fifth in descent from him, ruled till at least 495 A.D. This gives an average of 29 years. Many eminent scholars (V. A. Smith for example) have held that Chandragupta I flourished even before 320 A.D. and Narasimhagupta, fifth in descent from him, ruled till 535 A.D. These views may be true or not, but nobody has suggested during the last forty years that they should be discarded merely on the ground that it gives too long an average, about 38 years (227 years from 308 A.D. to 535 A.D. for six generations of kings), for each generation. I do not think therefore that the Vākāṭaka chronology suggested by me should be discarded *merely* on the ground that it gives a longer average than 25 years.

The correspondence will now cease.

—The Editor, J.R.A.S.B.





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## THE ŚĀKTA PĪTHAS

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.

(Received June 25, 1947)

प्राच्यविद्योदधेरिन्दोरज्ज्वलज्ञानकर्मणः ।

सूरेः श्रीहेमचन्द्रस्य रायचतुर्धरस्य च ॥

भाण्डारकर-वंशाब्ज-देवदत्तस्य धीमतः ।

प्रब्रलिपिप्रगल्भस्य स्वल्पज्ञेनान्तवासिना ॥

उक्तीति विषये वङ्गे फगैदपुरमण्डले ।

कवेर्वैद्याग्रगण्यस्य यज्ञेश्वरस्य सत्पितुः ॥

मातुश्च कुसुमाद्यायाः कुमार्यास्तनुजन्मना ।

दीनेष्टेन कृतिश्चेयं कायस्थेन विरच्यते ॥

### PREFACE.

Tantric studies have not much progressed in India. The author of the present monograph originally approached the Tantra literature as a student of ancient and medieval Indian geography, although the subject under discussion in the following pages soon proved to be equally interesting from the viewpoint of the religious life of India. A Tantra text on the Śākta Pīthas, entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpana*, has been edited here with notes and an attempt has been made in that connection to trace the history of the Pītha conception with reference not only to the Puranic legend in theoretical explanation of the origin of the Pīthas but also to the real basis of the conception itself. No less than six manuscripts and four published sources have been utilized in editing the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpana*). A reconstructed text of the original work has been given in an Appendix, while a large number of relevant texts has been quoted either in the notes or in the Appendixes. The author has also discussed, however summarily, the location of several hundreds of *tīrthas* or holy places, mentioned in various works as Pīthas. Much, unfortunately, still remains to be done in this direction. Any suggestion from the readers for the improvement of the work will be carefully considered and gratefully acknowledged.

The author is extremely thankful to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri and Dr. J. N. Banerjea of the Calcutta University, who have taken interest in the preparation of the monograph and have offered some valuable suggestions. His thanks are also due to Drs. R. C. Majumdar, I. B. Banerji

and B. K. Ghosh for some help and suggestions. Mr. S. K. Saraswati has laid the author under a debt of gratitude by lending him a valuable manuscript (MS. G) of the *Piṭhanirṇaya* from his own collection. As, however, the manuscript was received after the monograph had been ready for the press, it has been utilized mainly in the notes on the text and in reconstructing the probable original text of the work for Appendix I-A.

Finally, the author thanks the authorities and management of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

D. C. SIRCAR

*Department of  
Ancient Indian History and Culture,  
Calcutta University.  
September 8, 1948.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

### *The Pīṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa.*

There are three manuscripts of a very small work entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa* (Nos. 196, 3400 and 5303) in the Government Collection of the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work describes the fifty-one Pīṭhas (literally, altars or seats)<sup>1</sup> or places of pilgrimage, considered to be the favourite resorts of the mother-goddess who is variously known as Devī, Śakti, Durgā, Pārvatī, Umā, Ambikā, Aparṇā, Kālī, Gaurī, etc., and is represented in Indian mythology as the wife of the great god Śiva.<sup>2</sup> The Pīṭhas are mentioned together with the names of particular forms of the Devī and of the accompanying Bhairava (form of Śiva) associated with each of them. It is admitted in the text that it forms a section of a Tantra work entitled *Tantracūdāmaṇi*. Such works as the *Śabdakalpadruma* (1822-52) and the *Prānatoṣaṇi Tantra* (1820), which quote the same text of the descriptive list of fifty-one Pīṭhas, also ascribe it to the *Tantracūdāmaṇi*. The Bengali poem *Annadāmaṇigala* (1752) by Bhāratacandra refers its section on the 'fifty-one' Pīṭhas, although it actually mentions only forty-two names of holy places and does not

<sup>1</sup> In early times altars (*pīṭhas*) appear to have been used as objects of aniconic worship. Sacred spots where particular Yogins or ascetics meditated and succeeded in attaining to *siddhi* or perfection are regarded as *Pīṭha* or *Siddhapīṭha*. The *Sarva-nandatarāṅginī* refers to Mehāra, a Parganā in the Tippera District, as a Pīṭha-sthala, because Sarva-nanda attained his Tantric *siddhi* there.

<sup>2</sup> The different names of the mother-goddess appear to have originally indicated different tribal deities who were afterwards identified with the wife of Śiva-Parasūpati (Vedic Rudra), a pre-Aryan god, known to have been worshipped by the Mohenjodaro people. *Devī* means the 'goddess *par excellence*'. *Śakti* (force) and *Adyā Śakti* (the primeval force) indicate the power underlying creation and the controlling energy responsible for the universal order, the first name being often applied to the energizing power of the different gods. The name *Śakti* is also applied to the female organ worshipped by the Śāktas (devotees of the mother-goddess) just as the Saivas adore the Phallus of Śiva, i.e. Śiva in the form of the Phallus; cf. Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v.; also *yogistotra* quoted in *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 806:

भगवता जगन्माया (°माता) दृष्टिस्थितिसुखान्विता ।

दर्शयिष्यामस्वपाप्मा योनिर्मां पातु सर्वदा ॥ See *infra*, Appendix VI.

The names *Durgā* and *Pārvatī* emphasize their relation with inaccessible mountain regions (especially the Himālaya of which the Indian mother-goddess is conceived as a daughter) and suggest that these were originally names of deities worshipped by mountaineers (cf. Śiva's name *Girīśa* meaning a dweller of the mountains). The names *Umā* (cf. Ommo on the coins of Huviška) and *Ambikā* are derived from the Dravidian word *amma* (mother) in the sense of the universal mother. *Aparṇā* signifies the deity 'who is without her leaf-cloth', i.e. naked, nakedness being one of the striking characteristics of the Indian mother-goddess. She must have originally been worshipped by a tribe such as the Nagna-Śābara (the naked Śābaras) of the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, just as the Buddhist deity Parnaśābarī was undoubtedly associated with the Parna-Śābaras (the leaf-clad Śābaras) of the same work. See *J.K.H.R.S.*, I, pp. 87-88. *Kālī* or the dark-complexioned deity may have been the goddess of some dark-skinned pre-Dravidian tribe; but the name may not be entirely unconnected with the conception of *Kāla* (time or death) with which Śiva is identified. *Gaurī* means the white-complexioned goddess and possibly points to her original worship among the Mongoloid xanthoderms of the Himalayan region. The name *Mahāmāyā* apparently represents the mother-goddess as the spirit guiding the magician priests of primitive peoples. The name was later given a philosophical interpretation. Cf. other names like *Yogamāyā*. *Kātyāyanī*, although it may indicate a deified lady or a family or tribal goddess (Aryan ?), means 'a middle-aged widow in red clothes'. Cf. *Dakṣāyanī*, *Kauṭikī*. She is also called the 'maiden', the 'angry' or 'fierce' one and 'death' (*Kālanidrā*).

follow the order in which the *Pīṭhas* are mentioned in the list of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, to the *Mantracūḍāmaṇi Tantra* which would appear to be a mistake for *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*.<sup>1</sup> The library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a manuscript of the Tantra text entitled *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (No. 1 F3); but, although it gives a list of the *Pīṭhas* (p. 178) in connection with the later form of a Tantric ritual known as *Pīṭhanyāsa*, that has little to do with the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*. As the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, avowedly a part of the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*, cannot be traced in the Tantra of this name in the Society's library, one has to suggest alternatively either that there are more than one Tantric text entitled *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* and the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* belonged to a different work of this name, or that the ascription of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* to the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*, although it is supported by various sources, is without any real foundation. It is, however, very probable that the author of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* wanted to credit his small work with a stamp of authority by falsely claiming it to be a part of an earlier Tantra entitled *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* mentioned in the encyclopedia of Tantric knowledge known as the *Tantrasāra* (pp. 515, 948). This is possibly suggested by the uncertainty felt by some writers about the name of the source of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, variously given as the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*, *Mantracūḍāmaṇi*, *Candracūḍāmaṇi*, *Bhāvucūḍāmaṇi* and *Pīṭhamālā* (*vide infra*, pp. 42, note 2; 58, note 10).

#### *Date of its Composition.*

The text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, which is silent as to the date of its composition, seems to have been prepared in the late medieval period. The number of the recognized *Pīṭhas* given as fifty-one probably points to the seventeenth or the eighteenth century (*vide infra*, pp. 23-24). But the problem of its date is involved in a bigger question

<sup>1</sup> (C. Vaṅgavāsī ed., p. 42: *आनि कश्चि सन्त्रचूडामणितन्त्र मतः।* A few manuscripts of the work in question read *Bhāvucūḍāmaṇi* or *Candracūḍāmaṇi* in place of *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*. The *Rājamālā* (a Bengali chronicle of the kings of Tipperah), *Lahara* I, ascribed usually to the middle of the fifteenth century, quotes verse 18 of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*) but refers it to the *Pīṭhamālā Tantra* which seems to be found in some manuscripts as the name of this small work or that of its source. No such manuscripts are, however, known to us. The *Rājamālā* says,

दक्षकन्या सती अङ्ग पतनं यस्याने ।  
महापौठनिर्णय मुनि वल्लिखं पुराणे ॥  
शिववाक्य पौठमात्रा तन्त्रे प्रमाण ।  
येर राज्ये येर अङ्ग येर पौठस्थान ॥  
येर राज्य एक देवी भैरव आर जन ।  
दुर नामे पौठस्थान करे निरुपण ॥  
सतीर दक्षिण पद पड़े जिपुराते ।  
जिपुरासुन्दरी स्थानि जिपुर भूमिते ॥  
जिपुरेश नामे शिव जिपुरा राज्येते ।

It will be clear from our discussion on the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*vide infra*) that the above passage of the *Rājamālā* could have been written only after the middle of the eighteenth century. It cannot be assigned to the fifteenth century as it follows interpolations in a work written not much earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Bhāratacandra's section on the *Pīṭhas*, styled *Pīṭhamālā*, may have given rise to the name of an imaginary *Pīṭhamālā Tantra*.

regarding the origin and evolution of the conception of the Pīthas with special reference to their recognized number in different works of various periods.

### *An Ancient Legend.*

There is a legend offering a mythological explanation of the origin of the Pīthas. The earlier versions have nothing, however, to do with the Pīthas. The germ of the legend can be traced in the *Rgveda* (X, 61, 5-7); but it received its final form in the latest *Purāṇas* and *Tantras* assignable to the late-medieval period. The Rgvedic tradition about the incestuous relation of a father with his daughter was elaborated in the *Brāhmaṇas* such as the *Śatapatha* (*Mādhyaṇdīna* version, I, vii, 4, 1-8; cf. II, i, 2, 9; *Kāṇva* version, II, vii, 2, 1-8; I, i, 2, 5-6) and *Āitareya* (III, 33-34); cf. also *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa*, VIII, ii, 10-11.<sup>1</sup> According to the story found in these *Brāhmaṇas*, once Prajāpati, identified with *Yajña* or sacrifice, committed incest with his own daughter *Dyaus* or *Ūsas*. Disgusted at this vile act of their father, the gods approached Rudra and requested him to pierce Prajāpati with his arrow. Rudra discharged an arrow at Prajāpati whereupon the latter's *retas* (germinal fluid) fell upon the ground. As Prajāpati represents sacrifice itself and as no part of his body could be thrown away without being utilized in the performance of sacrifice, the gods first took Prajāpati's *retas* to Bhaga who sits on the southern side of the sacrificial ground. Bhaga looked at the thing and at once his eyes were burned. The gods then took it to Pūsan who, on tasting it, lost his teeth. The concluding part of the story is unnecessary for our purpose. But the first portion of the legend is found a little developed in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II, 1), according to which Prajāpati, while performing a sacrifice, did not offer the requisite share of offerings to Rudra who thereupon 'seizing and piercing it (*Yajña* or *Yajñāṅga*) cut off a portion from it'. A look at it is said to have made Bhaga blind and Pūsan toothless.

### *Its Development into the Dakṣa-yajña Story.*

The same legend later (sometime before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D.) developed into the well-known story of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa Prajāpati by the god Śiva, also called Rudra. The earliest form of the legend of *Dakṣa-yajña-nāśa* is probably to be traced in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, chapters 282-83; cf. *Brahma Purāṇa*, ch. 39) and a slightly modified form of the same story is found in many of the *Purāṇas* (*Matsya*, ch. 12; *Padma*, *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, ch. 5; *Kūrma*, I, ch. 15; *Brahmaṇḍa*, ch. 31, etc.) as well as in the *Kumārasambhava* (I, 21) of Kālidāsa who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries and adorned the court of the Gupta Vikramādityas. According to this modified version of the legend, the mother-goddess, who was the wife of Śiva, was in the form of Sati one of the daughters of Dakṣa Prajāpati. Dakṣa was celebrating a great sacrifice for which neither Sati nor Śiva was invited. Sati, however, went to her father's sacrifice uninvited, but was greatly insulted by Dakṣa. As a result of this ill-treatment, Sati is said to have died by *yoga* or of a broken heart, or, as Kālidāsa says, she put herself into fire and perished. In the *Mahābhārata* version of the story, referred to above, the wife of Śiva is only responsible for pointing out, to her husband, Dakṣa's impertinence in disregarding the great god; but she is neither said to have been Dakṣa's

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.



daughter nor to have died at Dakṣa's house as a result of the latter's ill-treatment. It will be seen that the two strains of the legend as found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, viz. Prajāpati insulting his own daughter and disregarding Rudra-Śiva, have both been cleverly accommodated in the story of the Purāṇas. When the news of Sati's death reached her husband, Śiva is said to have become furious and hastened to the scene with his numerous attendants. The sacrifice of Prajāpati Dakṣa was completely destroyed. Śiva, according to some of the sources, decapitated Dakṣa who was afterwards restored to life and thenceforward acknowledged the superiority of Śiva to all gods. According to some subversions of the story, Dakṣa was punished by the demon Virabhadra, created for the purpose by Śiva. The hand of a sectarian devotee of Śiva, eager to glorify his tutelary deity, is quite clear in the above story. It also shows that Śiva was originally a non-Aryan deity who later secured a prominent position in the Brahmanical pantheon. That, however, the story of *Dakṣa-yajña-nāśa* evolved out of the old legend about Prajāpati found in the *Brāhmaṇas* is proved by the fact that the Puranic account (cf. *Bhāgavata*, IV, 5, 20-21; *Kālikā*, XVII, 42-49; etc.)<sup>1</sup> of the destruction of Dakṣa Prajāpati's sacrifice often refers to the blinding of Bhaga's eyes and the breaking of Pūṣan's (or, Sūrya's) teeth, incidents pointedly mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The sixteenth century Bengali poet Mukundarāma, in the *Dakṣa-yajña-bhaṅga* section of his *Caṇḍimaṅgala* (Calcutta University ed., I, p. 48) speaks of the blindness of Bhaga and the toothlessness of Pūṣan, both said to have been caused by Virabhadra on behalf of Śiva.<sup>2</sup>

*Further Development of the Legend to explain the Origin of the Pīṭhas.*

In still later times, probably about the earlier part of the medieval period,<sup>3</sup> a new legend was engrafted to the old story simply for the sake of explaining the origin of the Pīṭhas. According to certain later Purāṇas and Tantras (*Devībhāgavata*, VII, ch. 30; *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 18; etc.), Śiva became inconsolable at the death of his beloved wife Sati, and, after the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, he wandered over the earth in mad dance with Sati's dead body on his shoulder (or, head). The gods now became anxious to free Śiva from his infatuation and made a conspiracy to deprive him of his wife's dead body. Thereupon Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śaṇi entered the dead body by *yoga* and disposed of it gradually and

- <sup>1</sup> Cf. विशन्नेव तं यज्ञे प्रथमं पुरतो भगः ।\*\*\*  
तन्नामतमभिप्रेक्ष्य भर्तृषि भृशरोषितः ।  
चक्रुस्त्वप्रचारेण तस्य नेत्रे ज्वलनं च ।\*\*\*  
यस्यतस्य खर्यस्य क्रोधेन दृष्यमध्वजः ।  
दन्तान् करप्रचारेण शतधासाध यज्जतः । (काण्डिकापुराण)

For the evidence of the *Bhāgavata*, see Appendix II.

- <sup>2</sup> भग्नेर लोचनं करिष्या लोचनं  
पुनर भाषिष्याम दन्त । (चण्डीमहल)

<sup>3</sup> The *Brahmavivarta Purāṇa*, an old work known to Al-Bīrūnī, contains interpolations of a date later than the Muslim occupation of eastern India where the Purāṇa was modified; cf. I, 10, 121 referring to the caste called Jolā (from *Julāhā*, weaver) said to have originated from Mleccha (Mahomedan) father and a girl of the Indian weaver caste. *Op. cit.*, IV, 43, 25, referring to Siddha-pīṭhas associated with Sati's limbs should similarly be assigned to a date not earlier than the 14th or 15th century. For the date of the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, see *infra*, p. 12, note 5.

bit by bit. The places where pieces of Sati's dead body fell are said to have become Pīthas, i.e. holy seats or resorts of the mother-goddess, in all of which she is represented to be constantly living in some form together with a Bhairava, i.e. a form of her husband Śiva. According to a modified version of this story, it was Viṣṇu who, while following Śiva, cut Sati's dead body on Śiva's shoulder or head piece by piece by his arrows or his discus. The story of the association of particular limbs of the mother-goddess with the Śākta *tīrthas*, which may have some relation with the Tantric ritual called *Pīthanyāsa*,<sup>1</sup> belongs, as already pointed out, to the latest stage in the development of an ancient tale. But the story may have some connection with Buddhist legends regarding the worship of Buddha's corporeal relics and the construction of *Stūpas* in order to enshrine them (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 84, 102ff., 120, etc.) as well as with those concerning the various manifestations of Buddha in the Jambudvīpa (cf. the list of 56 countries in the *Candragarbhasūtra*; *I.C.*, VIII, pp. 34-35; *BEFEO*, V, p. 261f.). One cannot also fail to recall in this connection Plutarch's version of the Egyptian Osiris myth: Osiris's brother Set put Osiris in a wooden coffin which he nailed up and cast into the sea; the waves bore it to Syria where, long after, Osiris's sister and wife Isis found it and took the body to Egypt; there unfortunately Set 'found it and scattered the bones far and wide, whence came the innumerable relics of Osiris shown to the faithful of later days in the temples of Egypt' (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, I, p. 332). The mythological interpretation of the genesis of the Pīthas, however, has little bearing on the real origin and development of the Pītha conception.

*Conception of the Yonikūṇḍa and Stanakūṇḍa associated with that of the Liṅga.*

The idea of the Pītha, associated with certain limbs of the mother-goddess, seems to be essentially connected with that of the Liṅga or phallus. The worship of the *Liṅga* of the great god Śiva originated from the conception of the god as the father or procreator. But in the matter of the procreation of beings the *Yoni* (*pudendum muliebre*) of the mother-goddess should naturally be regarded as much important as the Liṅga of the father-god. Both the Father-god and the Mother-goddess were worshipped by the pre-Aryan peoples of India.<sup>2</sup> The objects discovered at Mohenjodaro show that Śiva and Śakti were worshipped not only in the human form but also in the symbolic form of the Liṅga and the Yoni the former representing procreation and virility and the latter motherhood and fertility (Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, I, pp. 52ff.). The *Rgveda* (VII, 21, 5; X, 99, 3) speaks in a deprecatory manner of a class of people called *śiśna-deva* in which we have probably the earliest literary reference to the worshippers of the phallus. The actual worship of the *Yoni* of the Divine Mother is referred to in certain later Tantric texts such as the *Yonitantra* (cited *infra*). It is interesting to note that one of the popular names of

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Saddakalpadruma*, s.v. *nyāsa*; cf. *aṅganyāsa* (touching limbs with the hand accompanied by appropriate *mantras*) and *śāḍhānyāsa* (six ways of touching the body with mystical *mantras*) from which the *pīthavinyāsa* seems to have later evolved. Originally certain limbs were mentioned in connection with a Tantric ritual in which the names of the Pīthas were afterwards introduced. In explaining *pīthanyāsa*, the *Vācaspatya* says पौडदेवतानां आधारमन्त्रिप्रकृत्यादीनां प्रवर्णादिनानेन हृदये व्यासभेदे तन्मन्त्रः, etc. The association of the limbs of the *śāḍhaka* with certain localities may have given rise to the belief regarding the Pīthas arising from particular limbs of the mother-goddess.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI.

the mother-goddess is *Bhagavatī* (literally, a deity possessing the *bhaga*). As the word *bhaga* is a synonym of *Yoni*, it is possible to suggest (although it is not easy to prove it in the present state of our knowledge) that the expression *Bhagavatī* originally indicated the female deity who was thought to have given birth to all creatures, and that the epithet *Bhagavat*, applied to Śiva and other gods, is merely a masculine form afterwards coined on the basis of *Bhagavatī*. It should also be pointed out that hills or mountain-peaks roughly resembling a human phallus were regarded in ancient times as the *svayambhū* (natural) *Liṅga* of Śiva. There is reason to believe that tanks or pools of a particular shape were often conceived as the *Yoni* of the mother-goddess. A pair of hills or peaks of the shape and position of female breasts appear sometimes to have been likewise regarded as the *Stana* of the goddess; cf. Kālidāsa's description (*Raghuvamśa*, IV, 51)<sup>1</sup> of the Malaya and Dardura mountains in the Pāṇḍya country as the two breasts of the lady that is the southern quarter. Water coming out of the springs on such hills could be very naturally taken to be the milk of the mother-goddess. All the three conceptions, viz. those of the *Liṅga* of the father-god and the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess, are based on the bearing the three particular limbs have on the birth and growth of beings as well as on the resemblance that particular natural objects may have with certain human limbs. An idea of the importance the Indians of ancient times must have attached to a bath in the *Yoni-kunḍa* and to the drinking of the water of the *Stanakunḍa* may be formed from another ritual known as the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna*, which was conceived in imitation of the *Yonikunḍa* of the mother-goddess. A pious prince desiring merit and willing to perform the *mahādāna* is sometimes found to have made a *hiranya-garbha* or 'golden womb' which was a big pot made of gold and was three cubits in height. He then entered the pot, of which the priests performed the ceremonies of *garbhādhāna*, *pumsavana* and *simantonnayana*, as they would do in the case of an ordinary pregnant woman. The prince was afterwards taken out of the 'golden womb' and the *jātakarma* and other necessary functions were performed by the priests as if the prince was a newly born child. Thereafter the prince declared, 'O the best of gods, previously I was given birth to by my mother and had only the qualities of an earthly creature; but now owing to my rebirth from your womb I have a celestial body' (cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 52-54). The celebration of the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna* was adapted from a ceremonial practice of the devotees of the mother-goddess by the worshippers of the male god Viṣṇu. Just like the concept of the *Liṅga*, that of the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess appears to be very old. The history of the socio-religious life in ancient India suggests that these conceptions, like many others, are due to non-Aryan influence on the culture of the Indo-Aryans.<sup>2</sup>

*Some Early Tirthas associated with the Limbs of the Mother-goddess.*

It seems that the association of the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess with certain localities belongs to the earliest stage of the history of the Pīṭhas. The *Tirtha-yātrā* section in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, which is probably earlier than the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D., refers at least to three Śākta holy places associated with the *Yoni* and *Stana* of Śakti. These are the *Yonikunḍas* at the Bhīmāsthāna near the Pañchanada (Punjab) and on the hill or mountain-peak called Udyatparvata, and the *Stanakunḍa* on the peak known as Gaurīśikhara

<sup>1</sup> क्षनाविव दिग्गजस्यः शैवी मलयद्वन्द्वौ ।

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI.

(cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 82, 83-85; III, 84, 93-95 and 151-53).<sup>1</sup> The name of the Gaurīśikhara (literally, the peak of Gaurī, a form of the mother-goddess) probably connects the peak with the Himalayas.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahābhārata* seems to locate both the Gaurīśikhara and the Udyatparvata in eastern India, the latter probably in the Gayā region. Their exact location is not beyond doubt, although it is tempting to identify the Gaurīśikhara with the peak of that name placed by the *Pīṭhanirnaya* in the Kāmarūpa country in the Gauhati region of Assam. The Bhimāsthāna (literally, the resort of Bhīmā, a form of the mother-goddess) was situated on the Karamar not far from Shahbazgarhi in the Peshawar District of the North-Western Frontier Province. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. 91, vv. 45-46), an early Śākta work, speaks of the goddess Bhīmādevī of the Himācala (cf. also Appendix II, v. 22 *infra*). In the seventh century, this holy *tīrtha* belonging to the ancient country of Gandhāra (Rawalpindi-Peshawar region) was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. According to the pilgrim, 'About 50 *li* (nearly 8 miles) to the north-east of Palusha was a great mountain which had a likeness of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmādevī of dark blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image (*svayambhū mūrti*) of the goddess; it exhibited prodigies and was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India; to true believers, who after fasting seven days

1

- (a) अथ पञ्चनदं गत्वा निधतो नियताशनः ।  
 पञ्चयज्ञानवाप्नोति क्रमशो येऽनुकीर्तिताः ॥  
 ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र भोसायाः स्थानमुत्तमम् ।  
 तत्र खाला तु योन्यां वै नरो भारतसत्तम ॥  
 देव्याः पुत्रो भवेद् राजन् रत्नकुण्डलविपद्यः ।  
 गवां शतसङ्ख्यस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥
- (b) उद्यन्तश्च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं गौतमादितम् ।  
 सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र दृश्यते भरतर्षभ ॥  
 तत्र सन्ध्यामुपासीत ब्राह्मणः संश्रितव्रतः ।  
 तेन ह्युपास्ता भवति सन्ध्या द्वादशवार्षिकी ॥  
 योनिद्वारश्च तत्रैव विभुर्न भरतर्षभ ।  
 तत्राभिगम्य सुच्यते पुत्रपौ योनिचङ्कटात् ॥  
 छण्डाशक्तावभौ पत्नी गयायां यो वसेन्नरः ।  
 पुनस्त्यासत्तमं राजन् कुलं नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥
- (c) ततो गच्छेत् धर्मज्ञ तीर्थसेवनतत्परः ।  
 शिखरं वै महादेव्या गौर्याल्लोकविभुतम् ॥  
 समावृत्त नरत्रेष्ठ स्नानकुण्डेषु संविशेत् ।  
 स्नानकुण्डमुपसृज्य बाणपिप्लवं क्षमेत् ॥  
 तत्राभिषेकं कुर्याच्च पितृदेवार्चने रतः ।  
 दयनेधमवाप्नोति शत्रुलोकश्च गच्छति ॥

The same section of the *Mahābhārata* (III, ch. 83, verses 51, 58, 94, 99, 102, etc.) speaks of other places of pilgrimage, designated Mātṛ-tīrtha or Devī-tīrtha apparently named after the mother-goddess. It is unknown whether they were associated with any of the limbs of the goddess.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Gaurī-guru* (father of Gaurī), an epithet of the Himālaya in *Raghu*, II, 26; *Kīrītā*, V, 21; Badal pillar inscription, verse 5 (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 27), etc.

prayed to her, the goddess sometimes showed herself and answered prayers. At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvaradeva (Śiva) in which the ash-smearing *Tīrthikas* (Pāśupata Yogins) <sup>1</sup> performed much worship' (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 221).<sup>2</sup> The account of

<sup>1</sup> In his description of Benares, Hiuen Tsang again refers to the devotees of Śiva some of whom 'cut off their hair, others made it into a top-knot; some went about naked and smeared themselves with ashes; they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existence' (*loc. cit.*, II, p. 47). For the ash-smearing ascetics, see *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ch. 60, verse 19:

विष्णोर्भागवतान् सर्गाश्च सवितुः शक्नोः सभस्मद्विज्ञान्  
सातृषामपि माहमण्डकविदो विप्रान् विदुर्गच्छतः ।  
शक्नान् सर्वज्ञितस्य शान्तमनसो जपान् जिनामां विदु-  
र्ये यं देवमुपाश्रिताः स्वविधिना नैकस्य कार्याः क्रियाः ॥

While annotating this verse, Albirūnī (*op. cit.*, p. 121) refers to the devotees of Mahādeva (Śambhu-Śiva) as 'a class of saints, anchorites with long hair, who cover their skin with ashes, hang on their persons the bones of dead people, and swing in the pools'. They are the Śiva-bhāgavatas described by Patañjali in his commentary on Pāṇini, V, 2, 76, and were related to the Kāpālikas known from works like the *Pañcatantra* as characterized by carrying skulls of men in the form of garlands and eating and drinking from them. For this sect, cf. the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* attributed to Pallava Mahendravarman I (c. 600-35 A.D.), Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* (eighth century), an Early Calukya inscription, dated 639 A.D. (referring to the worship of the god Śiva Kāpāleśvara, i.e. lord of the wearers of skull-garlands, and to the maintenance of the Mahāvratins, i.e. observers of the great vow characteristic of the Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas, who resided in the temple of the god), etc. See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.* (Poona ed.), pp. 165ff.

Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* speaks of a woman styled *yoginī*, who performed the *Kāpālikavratā* at the Śrīpārvata and illustrates the *vratā* by the horrible activities of Aghoraghanta and his female disciple Kapālakundalā who are represented as coming from the Śrīpārvata and staying near the *mahāśmaśāna* (at Padmāvatī in the Gwalior State) containing a temple of Cāmuṇḍā to whom they were going to offer the girl Mālatī in sacrifice. This eighth century authority not only testifies to the prevalence of human sacrifice before the mother-goddess but also to the interesting fact that the Kāpālikas were devoted to both Śiva and Śakti. The practices of the Kāpālikas are often called *Virācāra* and *Vāmācāra*.

'From the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana*, it becomes clear that, to a Kāpālika, the *Kapāla* is as essential as is a sacred thread to a Brāhmaṇa. If he loses it, he should provide himself with another in a stated time. He should cover his body with ashes and make himself hideous, and drink liquor from the skull of a human being.... One of the articles of faith is that the effect always resembles, to a certain extent, the cause; therefore from the practice of austerities in this life one cannot obtain bliss in another life, since austerities and bliss are of opposite nature. The Kāpālikas carried in addition to the *Kapāla* a cow's horn both for blowing during their worship and drinking from. The people of this faith associated freely with women Kāpālikas.' Cf. R. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas*, pp. 94-95. The *Kūrma Purāna* (cf. I, 16, 117, etc.) distinguishes the Kāpālikas from the Pāśupatas as well as from the other Śaiva sects and says that 'the Pāśupatas hate those sects which are guided by the Tantras' (R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Rites*, p. 64; also *Saṅgītanāmatā* quoted at p. 201). Cf. the words *pākhanda* and *pākhandaṇ* in the sense possibly of the Kāpālikas in the *Mālatīmādhava*, V, 24 and the *Mitākṣarā* on Yāj., III, 6. The *Rāj. tar.* (III, 267) refers to Śrīpārvata as a centre of the Pāśupatas and also to their existence in Kashmir (I, 17; V, 404). The doctrines and practices of the Pāśupatas (distinguished from the Kāpālikas) as described in the *Kūrma Purāna* show that they were not extremists like the latter with whom they were sometimes identified. For the *Ātharvashīras Upaniṣad* on the early doctrine of the Pāśupatas, see Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*, pp. 158ff.

<sup>2</sup> While describing the Gandhāra country, Hiuen Tsang elsewhere (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 215) says that at the distance of 50 *li* (about 8 miles) to the north-west of certain monasteries (including the *Asoka stūpa* at Puṣkalāvati, modern Mirziyarat-Charsadda area near Peshawar) there was a *stūpa* at the place where the Buddha converted the 'Mother of Demons' (the Buddhist goddess Hārītī) and that the people of the country worshipped this Demon-mother and prayed to her for offspring. The deity was apparently an aspect of the mother-goddess. The *stūpa* is now called Sāre Mākhe Dheri.

the foreign traveller points clearly to the importance and popularity of the ancient Bhīmā tīrtha. The existence of the temple of Śiva at the foot of Bhīmā's peak probably suggests that the association of a Bhairava with the Śākta Pīṭha is earlier than the seventh century. But it is not definitely known whether the Bhīmāsthāna, Udyatparvata and Gaurīśikhara were styled Pīṭhas in the technical Tantric sense of the term and whether they were counted among the recognized Pīṭhas in the days of Hiuen-Tsang.<sup>1</sup>

*The Tradition about Four Pīṭhas.*

Some of the early *Tantras* refer to four Pīṭhas. This *Catuspīṭha* conception may have been associated with a conception of the Sahajayāna school of the Buddhists, according to which one can rise to eternal bliss from sexual pleasure. A Sahajayāna text entitled *Catuspīṭhatantra* and its commentaries (one of which was copied in 1145 A.D.; cf. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, II, p. viii) speak of the four Pīṭhas as Ātmapīṭha, Parapīṭha, Yogapīṭha and Guhyapīṭha and deal with the various kinds of Vajrasattva's intercourse with the Yoginīs, such as Prajñāpāramitā and others. This philosophical concept of the *Catuspīṭha* was either the cause or the effect of the early recognition of four holy places as Pīṭhas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI. For the association of Śiva with the Pīṭhas, cf. *Devī-bhāgavata*, Bk. VII, ch. 30, verses 44-50:

अपश्यत् सतीं वज्रौ दृष्टवान्नु चित्कलाम् ।  
 स्नन्नेऽप्यारोपयामास हा सतीति वदन् मुहुः ॥  
 वधान् भानचित्तः सन्नानादेशेषु शङ्करः ।  
 तदा ब्रह्मादयो देवास्त्रिन्नामापुरनुत्तमाश्च ॥  
 विष्णुस्तु त्वरया तत्र धनुषद्वय्य मार्गयैः ।  
 चिच्छेदावयवान् सत्यास्तत्स्थानेषु तेषतम् ॥  
 तत्तत्स्थानेषु तदासीद्वानादूर्निधरो हरः ।  
 उवाच च ततो देवान् स्थानेष्वेतेषु ये शिवाश्च ॥  
 भजन्ति परया भक्त्या तेषां किञ्चिद् दुर्लभम् ।  
 नित्यं सन्निहिता यत्र निजाङ्गेषु पराम्बिका ॥  
 स्थानेष्वेतेषु ये भर्त्याः पुरश्चर्यकर्मिणः ।  
 तेषां भक्ताः प्रसिध्यन्ति मायावीजं विशेषतः ॥  
 रत्युक्ता शङ्करस्तेषु स्थानेषु विरहातुरः ।  
 काशं निन्द्य हृष्येष्ट जपध्यानसमाधिभिः ॥

But the early association of Śakti and Śiva at Bhīmāsthāna does not prove that the story connecting certain tīrthas with Sati's limbs had already developed in the days of Hiuen Tsang. Cf. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 92n.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to determine what relation the *Catuspīṭha* could have with the *Catuspīṭha-parvata* near Jajpur in Orissa and with other Sahajayāna conceptions of 'four', e.g. the *Caturānanda*. The *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (Sastri, *Cat.*, pp. ix-x) is said to have been uttered by Vajrasattva (Buddha) when he was staying in the female organ of Vajradhātviśvarī. The first verse uttered is:

भाषाभाषविभिर्मुक्ताचतुरानन्दतत्परः ।  
 निष्पञ्चसङ्ख्योऽहं सर्वसंकल्पवर्जितः ॥

*Caturānanda*, i.e. the pleasures of four kinds, has been explained as embracing, kissing, pressing the breast, and pricking with the nails (i.e. imprinting nail-marks). These are said to last as long as the *thunderbolt* is in union with the *lotus*.

In the opinion of some writers, the *Hevajra Tantra* of the Buddhists was composed shortly before 693 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But according to Buddhist tradition, Padmavajra, author of the *Hevajra Tantra*, was the preceptor of Anaṅgavajra, a son of king Gopāla<sup>2</sup> who founded the Pāla dynasty in Bengal about the middle of the eighth century A.D. If this tradition is to be accepted, the composition of the *Hevajra Tantra* may be assigned to the same century. This early work enumerates the following four holy regions as Pīṭhas: (1) Jālandhara, (2) Oḍḍiyāna (Uḍḍiyāna in the Swat valley),<sup>3</sup> (3) Pūrṇagiri and (4) Kāmarūpa.<sup>4</sup> Exactly the same tradition is followed in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (ch. 64, 43-45)<sup>5</sup> according to which the four Pīṭhas were: (1) Odra, seat of the goddess Kātyāyanī and god Jagannātha,<sup>6</sup> in the west, (2) Jālaśaila, seat of the goddess Caṇḍī and god Mahādeva in the north, (3) Pūrṇa or Pūrṇaśaila (Pūrṇagiri), seat of the goddess Pūrṇeśvari and god Mahānātha, in the south, and (4) Kāmarūpa,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Bhattacharya, *Sādhana-mālā* (G.O.S.), II, p. xliii.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-11.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion that Oḍḍiyāna was situated in eastern India and is no other than Odra (Orissa) is unworthy of any serious consideration. Cf. Lévi, *Journ. As.*, 1915, pp. 105-10; P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, I, pp. 37ff., 42. For some other unwarranted theories about the location of Uḍḍiyāna, see *I.H.Q.*, XI, pp. 142ff.; *J.As.R.S.*, V, pp. 14ff. For a discussion on the expressions *uḍḍiyānabandha*, *jālandhara-bandha*, etc., see *J.Or.Ac.*, II, pp. 55-68.

<sup>4</sup>

Cf. पीठं जालन्धरं ज्ञातं ओडियानं तथैव च ।

पीठं पूर्णगिरिं चैव कामरूपनथैव च ॥

quoted by Bagchi (*op. cit.*, p. 38) from the seventh Paṭala of the *Hevajra Tantra*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Vaṅgavāsī* ed., p. 410:

ओप्राञ्चं प्रथमं पीठं द्वितीयं जालशैलकम् ।

द्वितीयं पूर्णपीठम् कामरूपं चतुर्थकम् ॥

ओप्रापीठं पश्चिमे तु तथैवोप्रेक्षरौ शिवाम् ।

कात्यायनीं जगन्नाथमोप्रेक्षश्च प्रपूजयेत् ॥

उत्तरे पूजयेत् पीठं प्रशस्तं जालशैलकम् ।

जालेश्वरं महादेवं चण्ड्रीं जालेश्वरीं तथा ॥

दौर्घिकाक्षोपचण्डाश्च तथैव परिपूजयेत् ॥

दक्षिणे पूर्णशैलम् तथा पूर्णेश्वरीं शिवाम् ।

पूर्णनाथं महानाथं सरोजामय चण्डिकां ॥

पूजयेद्भग्वीं देवीं शान्तामपि तथा शिवाम् ।

कामरूपं महापीठं तथा कामेश्वरीं शिवाम् ॥

जीलश्च पर्वतत्रेहं नाथं कामेश्वरं तथा ।

पूजयेद्दुर्गारिं पूर्वं तु क्रमादेतांस्तु भैरव ॥

The *Kālikā Purāṇa*, quoted by Nānyadeva (c. 1097-1133 A.D.) in his *Bharatabhāṣya* and by Aparārka (c. 1115-40 A.D.) and Ballālasena (c. 1159-85 A.D.), seems to have been originally incorporated in the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*; cf. *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 70. This *Purāṇa* (really an *Upa-Purāṇa*) is earlier than 1000 A.D. according to Gode, *J.O.R.*, X, pp. 289ff.; *J.Or.Ac.*, II, p. 60. Cf. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 53; *infra*, p. 17, note 4. Some sections may, however, have been later added to the original *Purāṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the god Jagannātha in the Puri temple in Orissa (Odra). For the confusion of Odra and Oḍḍiyāna, see *infra*.

seat of the deities Kāmeśvarī and Kāmeśvara <sup>1</sup> in the east. That *Odra* in the list is a mistake for *Uḍḍiyāna* and that Jālasāla is the same as Jālandhara are clear from another section of the same Purāṇa (ch. 18, 42-44 and 49-51) <sup>2</sup> representing the goddesses Kātyāyanī and Caṇḍī as the presiding deities respectively of Uḍḍiyāna and Jālandharagiri.<sup>3</sup> Other Buddhist works such as the *Sādhana-mālā* (G.O.S., pp. 453, 455) give the four names as (1) Oḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyana, (2) Pūrṇagiri, (3) Kāmarūpa or Kāmākhyā, and (4) Śrihaṭṭa or Sirihattā. Śrihaṭṭa has been substituted in this list

<sup>1</sup> Cf. reference to Mahāgaurī (Kāmākhyā) and Kāmeśvara (on the Kāmākūṭa hill) in some early records of Assam; see *infra*. The identification of Mahāgaurī with Bhuvaneśī (*J.H.Q.*, XXIII, p. 324, *Kālikā P.*, 62, 127) on the top of the Kāmākhyā hill is rendered doubtful by her association with Kāmeśvara. The boundaries of Kāmarūpa are indicated by the *Yoginītantra* (Paṭala XI) quoted in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 68:

नेपाक्षस्य काञ्चनाद्रिं ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य सङ्गमम् ।  
करतोयां समारभ्य यावद्विहरवासिनीम् ॥  
उत्तरस्यां कुञ्जगिरिः करतोया तु पश्चिमे ।  
तीर्थवेष्टा दिक्षु नदी पूर्वस्यां गिरिकन्यके ॥  
दक्षिणे ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य साक्षायाः सङ्गमावधिः ।  
कामरूप इति ख्यातः सर्वशास्त्रेषु निश्चितः ॥

This Kāñcana or Kañja Mount is probably the Kinchenjunga. The Dikṣu, which may be associated with Dikkaravāsini although the latter is located at Dikrang near Sadiya in north-eastern Assam, is the modern Dikhu falling in the Brahmaputra near Sibsagar. The confluence of the Lākṣā (Lakhyā) and the Brahmaputra is in the Mymensing District. The Karatoyā which now runs through North Bengal and falls in the Yamunā in the Pabna District, was the western boundary of Kāmarūpa also according to Chinese sources. A manuscript of the *Yoginī Tantra* (R.A.S.B., No. 1. B. 29, p. 33) reads: नेपाक्षस्य च काञ्चद्रिं । Some writers prefer the reading: उत्तरस्यां कुञ्जगिरिः । For Kāmarūpa's four divisions (*Pīṭhas*), viz. Kāma, Ratna, Bhadra or Suvarṇa and Saumūra, see Gait, *Hist. As.*, p. 11. Kāmarūpa is also called Kubjikā Pīṭha (*Kālikā P.*, 62, 58, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vaṅgavāsī ed., pp. 79-80:

देवीकूटे पादयुग्मं प्रथमं न्यपतत् त्रिसौ ।  
उड्डियाने चोद्युग्मं द्वितीयं जगतां ततः ॥  
कामरूपे कामगिरौ न्यपतद् धोनिमण्डलम् ।  
तत्रैव न्यपतद् भूमौ पूर्वतो जामिमण्डलम् ॥  
जासन्धरे स्तनयुग्मं स्वर्णहारविभूषितम् ।  
चंसपीवं पूर्वगिरौ कामरूपान्ततः शिरः ॥ \* \* \*  
देवीकूटे महादेवौ महाभागेति गीयते ।  
सतीपादयुगे स्त्रीना योगनिद्रा जगत्प्रभुः ॥  
कात्यायनी चोड्डियाने कामाख्या कामरूपिणी (°रूपके) ।  
पूर्वैश्वरी पूर्वगिरौ चण्डी जासन्धरे गिरौ ॥  
पूर्वान्ते कामरूपस्य देवी दिक्करवासिनी ।  
तथा ललितकान्तिरिति योगनिद्रा प्रगीयते ॥

For details of other Pīṭhas mentioned here, see *infra*, p. 17. For the same confusion between Odra (placed in north-western India) and Uḍḍiyāna in early literature, see *Mahābhārata*, II, 47, 19.

<sup>3</sup> The location of the Odra (Orissa) country in the western part of India has also to be noted. This points actually to Uḍḍiyāna in north-western India.



for Jālandhara which, however, seems to have been recognized as one of the four Pīṭhas even down to the late medieval period.<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl's 'Ain-i-Akbarī, composed about the end of the sixteenth century at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605), contains an interesting description of the Pīṭha near Nagarkot together with the legend about the origin of the four Pīṭhas as known to the author. In this connection Abul Fazl says, 'Nagarkot is a city situated on a hill; its fort is called Kangrah. Near the town is the shrine of Mahāmāyā (a name of the Indian mother-goddess indicating "the goddess having great magical powers") which is considered as a manifestation of the divinity. Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires. Strange it is that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they cut out their tongues; with some it grows again on the spot, with others after one or two days. Although the medical faculty allow the possibility of growth in the tongue, yet in so short space of time it is sufficiently amazing. In the Hindu mythology Mahāmāyā is said to be the wife of Mahādeva, and the learned of this 'creed represent by this name the energizing power of the deity. It is said that on beholding the disrespect (shown to herself and her husband Śiva) she cut herself in pieces and her body fell in four places; her head and some of her limbs in the northern mountains of Kashmir near Kāmraj and these relics are called Śārādā: other parts fell near Bijāpūr in the Deccan and are known as Tuljā (Turjā) Bhavānī. Such portions as reached the eastern quarter near Kāmarūpa are called Kāmākhyā, and the remnant that kept its place is celebrated as Jālandhārī which is this particular spot. In the vicinity torch-like flames issue from the ground in some places, and others resemble the blaze of lamps. There is a concourse of pilgrims and various things are cast into the flames with the expectation of obtaining temporal blessings. Over them a domed temple has been erected and an astonishing crowd assembles therein. The vulgar impute to miraculous agency what is simply a mine of brimstone' (Jarrett's trans., II, pp. 312-14). The four Pīṭha-devis recognized in the sixteenth century account are, therefore, (1) Śārādā at modern Sardi in northern Kashmir, (2) Tuljā Bhavānī in a locality in the medieval kingdom, the capital of which was at Bijapur in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, (3) Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa, and (4) Jālandhārī near Nagarkot in the Punjab. Abul Fazl has substituted Kashmir for Uḍḍiyāna. He refers to Jvālāmukhī and not to the neighbouring Jālandhara Pīṭha.<sup>2</sup> The Pīṭha that he

<sup>1</sup> For the tradition of the four Pīṭhas, cf. अष्टदिगी प्रवक्ष्यामि जगद्यं षोडशतमम् । पूर्वगिरिश्च प्रथममुज्जियानं द्वितीयकम् ॥ आसन्नं हतियुद्धं कामरूपं चतुर्थकम् । . . . शनैः सर्वशरीरं यत् षोडं पूर्वगिरिः क्षुत्तम् । तस्याः शिरश्च सुभगे उज्जियानं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ सन्नो आसन्नं त्रैयं कामरूपं भगवत्या ॥ (*Samayācāra Tantra* quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*, Vasumatī ed., p. 548); also पुष्पातीर्थे कुरचेने देवीषोडशतुष्टये । प्रथमे श्रीगिरी काष्ठा काष्ठाकाशं न शोभयेत् ॥ (*Yāmala* quoted in the *Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāśī ed., p. 40). Vide the two *Pīṭhatattvanyāsa*s mentioning the four Pīṭhas by name in the *Tantrasāra*, pp. 419-20, 451-52. The Pūrṇagiri Pīṭha is in these cases called *Uḍḍiānāthā-maka*. For a tradition about five Pīṭhas accommodating the claim of both Jālandhara and Śrīhaṭṭa, cf. षट्चक्रं मेवदण्डश्च उज्जियानं तथैव च । आसन्नः कामरूपः पूर्वोदयः (°गिरिः) श्रीहृदः ॥ quoted from the sixth Paṭala of the *Tattvasāra* in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*, pp. 39 and 40.

<sup>2</sup> For some foreign notices of Jvālāmukhī, see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Jowalla Mookhee*. In the third quarter of the fourteenth century, Shams-i-Shirāj 'Afif (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.*, III, p. 318) mentions the idol Jvālāmukhī much worshipped by the

places in the Bijapur region may be the same as Pūrṇagiri mentioned in the other texts. The shrine of Bhavānī stands at Tuljapur to the south of Osmanabad in the Hyderabad State. Such was the celebrity of this goddess that, when Śivāji built the fort of Pratāpgarh near Javli, he set up there an image of his patron-deity Bhavānī as the Bhavānī of Tuljapur was beyond easy reach to him (J. N. Sārkār, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 32). It is well known that the Thuggees (both Hindus and Muslims), many of whose organizations belonged to Western India and the Deccan, were followers of the goddess Bhavānī irrespective of their personal religious beliefs. This fact points also to the importance of the mother-goddess in the religious life of that part of India. The Śāradā-maṭha on the borders of Kashmir is mentioned in such other works as the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* (I.C., VIII, pp. 38, 49). About 1030 A.D., Albīrūnī says (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 117), 'In inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called Śāradā, which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims.' The temple of Śāradā is also mentioned in Kalhana's *Rāj. tar.*, VIII, 2556, 2706. The ruins of Sardi, where the shrine of Śāradā stood, lie at the confluence of the Kishenganga and Kankatori rivers. The old shrine is substituted by the late Śāradā temple at Gusha (old Ghosa) which is now visited by pilgrims. See Stein, *Rāj. tar.* (trans.), II, pp. 279-89.

*The Tantric Schools of North-Western and Eastern India.*

Two things are apparent from the accounts of the four Pīthas. In the first place, Kāmarūpa has a prominent place in all the lists of four. This fact may suggest that the Kāmarūpa Pītha became unrivalled as a centre of Tantric culture by absorbing the popularity of the other Yoni *tirthas* of ancient India at a fairly early date. The name of Kāmarūpa, with which that of the goddess Kāmākhyā (the original name probably being *Kāmiṭ*, a shortened form of *Kāmarūpā*)<sup>1</sup> seems to be intimately associated, is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (middle of the fourth century A.D.) of Samudragupta. But the holy seat of the goddess near Gauhati in Assam does not appear to be mentioned in the *Tīrthayātrā* section of the Vanaparvan, even if the Stanakunḍa at Gaurisikhara is located in the neighbourhood. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who lived for some time at the court of the Kāmarūpa king Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.) in the seventh century, is also silent about the goddess Kāmākhyā. It is, therefore, not improbable that the presiding deity of Kāmarūpa did not quite attain to her pre-eminence in the days of Hiuen Tsang.<sup>2</sup> Worship of the mother-goddess was, however, widely prevalent among some of the primitive tribes of ancient Assam. The following note on the religious life of the Chutiyas of Assam throws interesting light on the subject: 'The religion of the Chutiyas was a curious one. They worshipped various forms of Kālī with the aid, not of Brāhmaṇas, but of their tribal priests or Deoris. The favourite form in which they worshipped this deity was that of Kesāi

infidels and situated on the road to Nagarkot and says, 'Some of the infidels have reported that Sultān Firūz went specially to see this idol and held a golden umbrella over its head. . . . Other infidels said that Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlak Shāh held an umbrella over this same idol; but this also is a lie.'

<sup>1</sup> The name of the goddess is traced to the Austric words *Kāmoi* (demon), *Kāmoit* (devil), *Komin* (grave), *Kamet* (corpse in Khasi), *Kamru* (a god of the Santals), etc. Cf. B. Kakati in *Assam Tribune*, October 22, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmākhyā seems to be called Mahāgauri in the records of Vanamāla (end of the 9th century) and Indrapāla (12th century), kings of Kāmarūpa. See *infra*, Appendix VI.

Khāti, "the eater of raw flesh", to whom human sacrifices were offered. After their subjugation by the Ahoms, the Deoris were permitted to continue their ghastly rites; but they were usually given, for the purpose, criminals who had been sentenced to capital punishment. Failing them, victims were taken from a particular clan, which in return was accorded certain privileges. The person selected was fed sumptuously, until he was in sufficiently plump condition to suit the supposed test of the goddess, and he was then decapitated at the Copper Temple at Sadiya, or at some other shrine of the tribe. Human sacrifices were also formerly offered by the Tipperas, Kachāris, Koches, Jaintias and other Assam tribes' (E. Gait, *History of Assam*, 1926, p. 42; *J.A.S.B.*, 1898, p. 56).<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out in this connection that the Chinese pilgrim noticed the influence of the Pāsupatas or Tirthikas, with whom the Tantric devotees of Śakti and Śiva were associated, all over India—in Jālandhara, Ahicchatra (?), Malakūṭa (in the Far South), Mālava, Benares, Maheśvarapura (on the Narmadā), the land about eastern Makran, Bannu (?) and even Khotan (in Central Asia); cf. *loc. cit.*, I, 296, 331; II, 47, 229, 242, 251, 257, 262, 296, etc. Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* not only speaks of a great centre of the Kāpālikas (cf. *supra*, p. 10, note 1), apparently devoted to the god Śiva Mallikārjuna, at Śrīparvata (Śrīśaila in the Karnool District, Madras Presidency), but also of their devotion to an image of the mother-goddess Cāmuṇḍā (another name of Tārā or Kālī according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 61, 85-91), entitled Karālā, in a temple at Padmāvati (Padampawaya near Narwar in the Gwalior State).

Another point of interest in the account of the four Pīṭhas is the importance of the Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara and Kashmir countries of north-western India as centres of Tantricism. Hiuen Tsang not only noticed the prevalence of Śakti worship in Gandhāra, but has also left an account of the popularity of Tantric practices among the people of Uḍḍiyāna. According to the pilgrim, 'The people (of Uḍḍiyāna) were pusillanimous and deceitful; they were fond of learning but not as a study, and they made the acquisition of magical formulae their occupation' (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 225). Uḍḍiyāna's eminence in the Tantric world is also indicated by the recognized association of its name with the worship of the Buddhist deities Māricī, Kurukullā (identified with Kālī in some passages cited in the *Tantrasāra*), Lokeśvara and Ūrdhva-pāda-Vajravārāhi (cf. *Sādhana-mālā*, G.O.S., pp. 80, 83, 283ff., 361, 439). Indrabhūti, the Buddhist king of Uḍḍiyāna, was a celebrated Tantric teacher who composed the *Jñānasiddhi* and other works. He was the father of Padmasambhava, the famous teacher of the Yogācāra doctrine, who was responsible for the popularity of Buddhism in Tibet and established in that country the great Bsam-yas monastery in c. 787 A.D. with the help of a Bengali (?) Buddhist teacher named Śāntarakṣita or Śānti°. The lady Lakṣmīkarā, a sister of king

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'When the new temple of Kāmākhyā was opened, the occasion was celebrated by the immolation of no less than a hundred and forty men, whose heads were offered to the goddess on salvers made of copper. Similar sacrifices were offered to various aboriginal deities. According to the *Haft Iqlīm*, there was in Kāmarūpa a class of persons called Bhogīs, who were voluntary victims of a goddess named Ai who dwelt in a cave; from the time when they announced that the goddess had called them, they were treated as privileged persons; they were allowed to do whatever they liked, and every woman was at their command; but when the annual festival came round, they were killed. Magic also held an important place in the estimation of the people, and in the *Am-i-Akbari* they were accused, among other practices, of divination by the examination of a child cut out of the body of "a pregnant woman who has gone her full term of months"' (*History of Assam*, p. 58).

Indrabhūti, composed the Buddhist Tantra work entitled *Advayasiddhi*.<sup>1</sup> The rule of the Turkish Musalmans, that spread over north-western India from the tenth century, led to the gradual decline of the once flourishing Tantric culture in that part of India.

*Different Traditions regarding the Number of Pīthas.*

Although four Pīthas were associated roughly with the northern, southern, eastern and western regions of India,<sup>2</sup> writers on the subject are not unanimous as regards the exact number of the seats of the mother-goddess. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* account of the four Pīthas has been already noticed; but a different section of the same Purāṇa (ch. 18, verses 42-51) gives an account of seven Pīthas (including the four seats of the goddess described above), no less than three of which are located in Kāmarūpa. According to this section, the Pīthas are: (1) Devikūṭa (i.e. Devikoṭa, modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District of Bengal) where Sati's two feet fell on the ground and where the Devi is Mahābhāgā; (2) Uḍḍiyāna where the two thighs fell and where the Devi is Kātyāyanī; (3) Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa where the *puḍendum muliebre* fell and the Devi is Kāmākhyā; (4) a locality on the eastern border of Kāmarūpa where the navel fell and where the Devi is Dikkaravāsini; (5) Jālandhara where the two breasts fell and where the Devi is Candī; (6) Pūrṇagiri where the neck and shoulders fell and where the Devi is Pūrṇesvari; and (7) a locality on the borders of Kāmarūpa where the head fell and where the Devi is Lalitakāntā.<sup>3</sup> A Tantra work entitled *Rudrayāmala*, which seems to have been composed considerably earlier than 1052 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> mentions ten holy places as the 'principal' Pīthas. These ten Pīthas, which include the celebrated four discussed above are: (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Jālandhara, (3) Pūrṇagiri, (4) Uḍḍiyāna (Uḍḍiyāna), (5) Vārāṇasī (Benares), (6) Jvalantī (probably Jvālā-mukhī of later texts), (7) Māyāvati (near Hardwar), (8) Madhupurī (Muttra), (9) Ayodhyā (near Fyzabad, U.P.), and (10) Kāñcī (Conjeeveram in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. li-liv. Bhattacharya gives the date of the foundation of the Bsam-yas monastery as 749 A.D. But the period of Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet is usually assigned to circa 780-95 A.D. by recent writers on the subject (F. W. Thomas, *Indianism and its Expansion*, p. 79).

<sup>2</sup> As the number 3 had a mystic significance with many ancient peoples of the world (cf. the Trimūrti, Triratna, Tribhuvana, etc., of the Indians, the Anu-Bel-Ea trinity of the Babylonians, and the Osiris-Isis-Horus triad of the Egyptians), there was also a tradition about three Pīthas; cf. *Anandārṇava Tantra* quoted in *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 213:

विद्याचण्डचयोपेतांस्त्रिपोतांस्त्रिदलान्तरे ।

कामरूपक-जालन्ध्र-पूर्यभूपुर(भूधर)सञ्जकान् ॥

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 13, note 2. A passage (probably adapted from the *Kālikā Purāṇa*) in the sixth Paṭala of the *Bṛhan-Nīlātanta* refers to the same five Pīthas:

देवीकोटो महाभागा उड्डीयाने च भैरवौ ।

योजिमुद्रा कामरूपे महिषासुरमर्दिनौ ॥

कात्यायनौ कामभूमौ कामाख्या कामरूपिनी ।

जालन्धरे (पूर्यशैले) च पूर्यशी पूर्य शैले (जालन्धरे) च चण्डिका ॥

कामरूपे ततो देवी पूज्या दिक्करवासिनी ॥

The temple of Dikkaravāsini is usually located at Dikrang near Sadiya. Lalitakāntā is now popularly associated with the hill-streams Sandhyā, Lalitā and Kāntā not far from Gauhati.

<sup>4</sup> The *Rudrayāmala* is mentioned in the *Brahmayāmala*, a manuscript of which was copied in 1052 A.D. (Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7). Cf. *supra*, p. 12, note 5.

Chingleput District, Madras Presidency).<sup>1</sup> The language of the *Rudrayāmala* suggests that its author had knowledge of some other Pīṭhas of lesser importance. A passage from this work quoted in the *Kulārṇava Tantra* (*Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, pp. 110-11) actually speaks of the following 18 Pīṭhas: (1) Uḍḍiyāna, (2) Devidaikoṭha (Devikoṭṭa), (3) Hingulā, (4) Koṭimudrā, (5) Jālandhara, (6) Vārāṇasī, (7) Antarvedī, (8) Prayāga, (9) Mithilā, (10) Māgadhā, (11) Mekhalā (Mekalā), (12) Aṅga, (13) Vaṅga, (14) Kaliṅga, (15) Śimhala, (16) Strirājya, (17) Rāḍhā and (18) Gauḍa. That, however, the list of even the *pradhāna* Pīṭhas were drawn arbitrarily without any basis of accepted tradition is clearly demonstrated by the discrepancy among similar lists of Pīṭhas found in different works. A passage of the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* (Ānandāśrama ed., Paṭala V, verses 66-67), which was composed considerably earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> enumerates eight important Pīṭhas in the following order: (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Malaya, (3) Kaulagiri, (4) Kulāntaka, (5) Cauhāra (not mentioned in the *Jñānārṇava* list of 42 Pīṭhas and may be a result of misreading), (6) Jālandhara, (7) Uḍḍiyāna, and (8) Devakūta (Devikoṭṭa).<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, there are only a few common names in the lists of the *Rudrayāmala* and the *Jñānārṇava*. Such is also the case with other lists of the Pīṭhas which usually contain only a number of common names.

There is a very small work entitled *Aṣṭādaśapīṭha* incorporated in Manuscript No. 5913 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This work, which is full of textual errors, is ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya (probably the same as Śaṅkara Āgamācārya, the Bengali author of the *Tārārahasya-vṛttikā*, an R.A.S.B. copy of which was made in Śaka 1583 = 1661 A.D.) and mentions eighteen Pīṭhas together with the Pīṭha-devīs. Although some of these names are apparently doubtful, it is interesting that the list of eighteen Pīṭhas includes: (1) Lāṅkā—Śaṅkari, (2) Ālāpura—Yugalā, (3) Śrīśaila—Bhramarāmbikā, (4) Kolhāpura—Mahālakṣmī, (5) Vārāṇasī—Viśālākṣī, and (6) Kūsmīra—Sarasvatī (Śāradā). The location of Bhramarāmbikā on the Śrīśaila and of Mahālakṣmī at Kolhapur in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency is specially interesting because Bhramarāmbā, still worshipped on the Śrīśaila, is not mentioned in the other texts, while Kolhapur reminds one of Kolvagiri, etc., and of Mahālakṣmī or Mahālakṣmīpura (cf. *I.C.*, VIII, p. 49). The interesting work on the eighteen

<sup>1</sup> Vide *tārā-ṣoḍhā* in the *Rudrayāmala*, quoted in the *Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsī ed., pp. 621-22:

सुल्लाधारे कामरूपं हृदि जालन्धरं तथा ।  
 सुल्लाटे पूर्णगिर्यायस् शोड्डीयानं तदुद्धके ॥  
 वाराणसीं भुवोर्मध्ये जलन्तीं लोचनत्रये ।  
 मायावतीं सुल्लाटे कण्ठे मधुपुरीं ततः ॥  
 अयोध्यां नाभिदेशे च कस्यां काशीं विनिर्दिश्ये ॥  
 दशैतानि प्रधानानि पीठानि क्रमतो विदुः ।  
 ब्रह्मदोषं स्वरैर्गर्जन्मोक्षैः क्रमतो न्यसेत् ॥

<sup>2</sup> The *Jñānārṇava* is largely quoted by the Tantrācāryas Brahmānanda and Pūrṇānanda in the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup>

कामरूपं च मलयं ततः कौलगिरिं तथा ।  
 कुलान्तकं च शोडारं जालन्धरमतः परम् ॥  
 उड्डीयानं देवकूटं पीठाद्वकमिदं क्रमात् ॥

Pīthas is said to have been written down by one Sambhunath Kar of Calcutta in Samvat 1863 = 1806 A.D. from the dictation of an Utkala Brāhmaṇa who was an inhabitant of Jahāpura (Jāipur) on the Vaitaraṇī.<sup>1</sup>

Another Tantra text entitled *Kubjikā Tantra*, usually supposed to be a fairly early work, enumerates the following Siddha-Pīthas: (1) Māyāvati, (2) Madhupurī, (3) Kāśī, (4) Gorakṣakāriṇī or Gorakṣacāriṇī, (5) Hīṅgulā, (6) Jālandhara, (7) Jvālāmukhi, (8) Nāgarasambhava, (9) Rāmāgiri, (10) Godāvari, (11) Nepāla, (12) Kārṇasūtra, (13) Mahākārṇa, (14) Ayodhyā, (15) Kurukṣetra, (16) Simhanāda or Simhala, (17) Manipura, (18) Hṛṣīkeśa, (19) Prayāga, (20) Badari, (21) Ambikā, (22) Vardhamāna or Ardhanāḷaka, (23) Trivenī (probably Mukhtavenī near Calcutta and not Yuktavenī at Prayāga which is separately mentioned), (24) Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, (25) Nārikela, (26) Virajā, (27) Uddiyāna, (28) Kamalā, (29) Vimalā, (30) Māhīmatī, (31) Vārāhi, (32) Tripurā, (33) Vāgmatī, (34) Nilavāhini, (35) Govardhana, (36) Vindhyaḡiri, (37) Kāmarūpa, (38) Ghaṇṭākārṇa, (39) Hayagrīva or Akṣayaḡrīva, (40) Mādhava, (41) Kṣīragrāma, and (42) Vaidyanātha.<sup>2</sup>

1

महाकाले नमः । अष्टादशपीठानि लिख्यन्ते ।  
 लङ्कायां शङ्करे देवी कामाख्या काञ्चिकापुरी ।  
 प्रद्वान्ते सिंग(ह)लद्वीपे चामुण्डा कुचपट्टने (त्रौष्ट?) ॥  
 आल्लापुर् (एल्ल?) युगला देवी त्रीशैले धमरात्मिका ।  
 उज्जयिन्यां महाकाली माऊरे (चट्टाद्वी?) एकवीरका ॥  
 उत्कले विरजा देवी माणिक्या(?) चक्रकोटिल्ली(?) ।  
 हयच्छेचे कामरूपी(?) प्रयागे माधवेश्वरी ॥  
 ज्वालायां वैष्णवी देवी गया माङ्गल्यकोटिका(?) ।  
 वाराणस्यां विशालाक्षी कामगौरे तु सरस्वती ॥  
 अष्टादशानि पीठानि योगिनां ध्याननिर्मितम्(?) ।  
 तेषां पठनमात्रेण ज्वरदारिद्र्यनाशनम् ॥

इति शङ्कराचार्यविरचितम् अष्टादशपीठं सम्पूर्णम् । इति श्रीशङ्खनाथकर (°करेश)  
 उत्कलदेशस्य ब्राह्मण-वेङ्गपुरीकर-जहाजपुरीय-वैतरणीय-ब्राह्मणाच्छुला लिखितम् । संवत्  
 १८६३ पौषकृष्णैकादश्याः शुक्लं लिखितं कलिकाताख्यपट्टने । शुभमस्तु सर्वजगताम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Kubjikā Tantra* (Patala VII), Manuscript No. 3174 (R.A.S.B.); the same quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* (Vasumatī ed., p. 234) and in the *Vācaspatya*, s.v. *pītha*.

मायावती मधुपुरी काशी गोरक्षकारिणी (v.l. °चारिणी) ।  
 चिङ्गुला च महापीठं तथा जालन्धरं पुनः ॥  
 ज्वालामुखी महापीठं पीठं नागरसम्भवम् (v.l. नगर°) ।  
 रामगिरिमहापीठं तथा गोदावरी प्रिये ॥  
 नेपालं कर्णसूत्रं महाकर्णं तथा प्रिये ।  
 अयोध्या च कुचक्षेत्रं सिङ्गलाख्यं (v.l. सिङ्गनादं) मनोरमम् ॥  
 मणिपुरं हृषीकेशं प्रयागश्च तपोवनम् ।  
 बदरी च महापीठमम्मिका अर्धनालकम् (v.l. अम्बिकाश्वर्धमानकम्) ॥  
 त्रिवेणी च महापीठं गङ्गासगरसङ्गमम् ।  
 नारिकेलश्च विरजा उड्डीयानं महेश्वरि ॥

This list, probably composed in eastern India, speaks rather independently of about forty-two Pīṭhas some of which seem to represent actually the names of deities. Reference to the Vindhyan region as a Pīṭha in this list no doubt points to the resort of the celebrated non-Aryan goddess Vindhya-vāsini (identified with the Indian mother-goddess) whose temple stands near modern Mirzapur in the United Provinces. The antiquity of the worship of this goddess is proved by the fact that, according to Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍavaha*, king Yaśovarman (c. 730-53 A.D.) offered his homage to Devī Vindhya-vāsini in connection with his expedition for the conquest of the quarters. In the twelfth century, Kalhaṇa (*Rāj. tar.*, III, pp. 394-431) seems to refer to the same deity as Bhramaravāsini<sup>1</sup> in connection with a sixth century Kashmirian king named Ranāditya. The celebrated Śākta work entitled *Caṇḍī*, incorporated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, gives evidence to the cult of the goddess Vindhya-vāsini (cf. ch. 91, v. 37). That the resort of this early and important deity is not mentioned in all the different lists of Pīṭhas containing even names of lesser importance, indicates the absence of recognized traditions and the freedom an author may have exercised in this matter.

*Evidence of the Jñānārṇava and the Tantrasāra regarding the  
Number of Pīṭhas.*

Eight Pīṭhas mentioned in the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* have been mentioned above. It is interesting to note that a different section of the same work definitely gives the recognized number of Pīṭhas as fifty only.<sup>2</sup> These fifty Pīṭhas are: (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Vārānaśi, (3) Nepāla, (4) Pauṇḍravardhana (Mahasthan in the Bogra District, North Bengal), (5) Kashmir, (6) Kānyakubja, (7) Purasthita (v.l. Purasthira), (8) Carasthita (v.l. Candrāsthira, Carasthira), (9) Pūrṇasāila, (10) Arbuda, (11) Āmrātakesvara, (12) Ekāmra (Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa), (13) Trisrotah (the Tista river in north-eastern

कमला विमला चैव तथा साक्षिणी (v.l. साक्षरिणी) पुरो ।

वाराहो त्रिपुरा चैव वायसी नौलवाक्षिनी ॥

गोवर्द्धनं विन्ध्यगिरिः कामरूपं कलौ युगे ।

षण्ढाकर्षो हयगोवी (v.l. °हयगोवी) माधवश्च सुरेश्वरि ॥

चौरपासं वैद्यनाथं जानीयाद्दामलोचने ॥

This list can hardly be very early. But the idea (*Rājamālā*, I, ed. K. P. Sen, p. 124) that the *Kubjikā* speaks of 127 Pīṭhas is due to the wrong impression created by the *Prānatoṣaṇī* which quotes several lists from the *Bṛhan-Nīlatauntra*, without reference to the source, in continuation of the *Kubjikā* list.

<sup>1</sup> The name has, as the *Rāj. tar.* seems to imply, bearing on the condition of the Vindhyan forests infested with bees. The Indian mother-goddess is given the name Bhramarī in some texts (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 91, 49; *Devibhāgavata*, X, 10, 13); cf. the name of Bhramarāmbā on the Śrīśaila. The *Pīṭhanirṇaya* locates this deity in northern Bengal and in the Nasik region of the Bombay Presidency. It is interesting to note that certain forms of the mother-goddess in western Asia, such as Nanaia and Artemes, had the bee for their symbol. The Indian mother-goddess riding a lion reminds one of the Cappadocian Ma who stands on a lioness or panther. Like Śiva, Ma's consort Teahub also rides on a bull and has the three-pronged thunder-bolt (cf. *trīśūla*) as his distinctive weapon. See Raychaudhuri, *D. R. Bhand. Volume*, pp. 301-03. The goddess Vindhya-vāsini is possibly called Śūlinī in the *Tantrasāra*, p. 193. The *Gauḍavaha* (verses 285-347) identifies Vindhya-vāsini with Kālī or Pārvaṭī, associates her with the Kols and Śabarās, and refers to human sacrifices offered to her. For the goddess, fond of wine and flesh and worshipped by the Śabarās, Pulindas and Barbaras, see *Hariv.*, II, iii, 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the expressions *pañcāśat-pīṭha-saṅcaya* (v.l. *pañcāśat-sthāna*) and *pañcāśat-pīṭha-vinyāsa* in the *Jñānārṇava* (Ānandāśrama ed., Paṭala XIV, verse 112); quotation from the same work in the *Tantrasāra*, p. 427n.; *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (MS. No. I, F 3 in the library of the R.A.S.B.), p. 515.

India), (14) Kāmakōṭṭa (v.l. °koṭa), (15) Kailāsa, (16) Bhṛgu, (17) Kedāra, (18) Candrapura, (19) Śrīpīṭha (probably, Śrīhaṭṭa), (20) Oṅkāra, (21) Jālandhara, (22) Mālava (v.l. Mānava), (23) Kulānta (v.l. Kūpānta), (24) Devakoṭṭa, (25) Gokarna, (26) Māruteśvara, (27) Aṭṭahāsa, (28) Virajā, (29) Rājagṛha, (30) Kolvagiri (Kaulagiri), (31) Elāpura (Ellora), (32) Kāleśvara (v.l. Kāmeśvara), (33) Jayantikā (Jayanti), (34) Ujjayini, (35) Kṣirikā (Kṣiragrāma), (36) Hastināpura, (37) Uddiśa (from Prakrit *Oḍḍaṛisa*, *Oḍḍaṛisa* > Sanskrit *Oḍṛaviṣaya*, i.e. Orissa), (38) Prayāga, (39) Vindhya, (40) Māyāpura, (41) Jaleśvara (in Orissa), (42) Malaya, (43) Śrīśaila, (44) Merugiri, (45) Mahendra, (46) Vāmana, (47) Hiranyapura, (48) Mahālakṣmī, (49) Uḍḍiyāna, (50) Chāyāchatrapura.<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether all the

<sup>1</sup> The same passage is also found in the manuscript of the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (pp. 515-16) in the R.A.S.B. library and in Brahmānanda's *Śāktānandatarāṅgiṇī*, ch. 15 (referring to the *Gīndharva Tantra*).

कामरूपं महापौठ पीठं वाराणसीं तथा ।  
 नेपालश्च तथा पीठं तथा वै पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनम् ॥  
 काशमीरश्च महापौठं कान्यकुब्जमतः परम् ।  
 पुरक्षितं (v.l. °स्थिरं) तथा पीठं चरन्वितमथापरम्  
 (v.l. चरस्थिर°, चन्द्रास्थिर°) ॥  
 पूर्णेश्वरं महापौठमर्बुदश्च ततः परम् ।  
 आघातकेशर पीठमेकाग्रश्च ततःपरम् ॥  
 (v.l. दासकेश महापौठम् एकाग्रश्च तथा शिवे ।)  
 त्रिद्योतः पीठमनघं कामकोट्ट (v.l. °टि°) ततःपरम् ।  
 कैलाश भृगुपौठश्च (v.l. °नगरं) केदारं चन्द्रपुरकम् ॥  
 (v.l. कैलाशभृगुकेदारं पीठं चन्द्रपुर ततः ॥)  
 श्रीपौठश्च (श्रीचट्टश्च ?) तथोद्गार जालन्धरमतः परम् ।  
 मालवश्च (v.l. मानवश्च) तथा पीठं कुलान्तं (v.l. कूपान्तं)  
 देवकोट्टकम् (v.l. देवी°, °कोटकम्, °कोटरम्) ॥  
 (v.l. कैलाशं भूतनगरं केदारं पीठमुत्तमम् ।  
 श्रीपौठश्च कुलान्तश्च देवमाट्टकमेव च ॥ )  
 गोकर्णश्च महापौठं भारतेश्वरमेव च ।  
 आट्टहासश्च विरजं राजगृहमथापरम् (v.l. महापथम्) ॥  
 पीठं कोल्वगिरिं प्रोक्तमेलापुरमथापरम् ।  
 कालेश्वर (v.l. कामेश्वरं) महापौठं महापौठं (v.l. प्रषवाण्डं) जयन्तिकाम् ॥  
 पीठमुज्जयिनौक्षैव विचित्रं क्षीरिकाभिधम् ।  
 हस्तिनापुरपौठश्च (v.l. पुरकं पीठम्) उड्डीशश्च प्रयागकम् ॥  
 विन्ध्यक्षैव (v.l. पल्लीशश्च, कान्यकुब्जं) महापौठं मायापुरजलेश्वरो ।  
 मलयश्च महापौठं श्रीशैलं मेवक गिरिम् ॥  
 महेन्द्रं वासनक्षैव (v.l. माहेन्द्रं वारण°) हिरण्यपुरमेव च (v.l. हिरण्यं) ।  
 महालक्ष्मीमय (v.l. °पुर) पीठमुड्डीशानमतः परम् ॥  
 आयाज्यपुरं पीठं तथैव परमेश्वरि ।  
 पञ्चाशत्पौठविन्यासं माट्टकावग्रासेत् सदा ॥



places mentioned were Śākta *tīrthas*. In some cases there seems to be an attempt to trace Śākta influence in not only Śaiva but also Vaiṣṇava holy

The same passage is found in the fifth Paṭala of the *Bṛhan-Nīlantantra* in a modified and corrupt form (cf. *infra*, p. 37, note 1 for the emendations):

कामरूपं प्रियं वाराणसी जैवालमेव च ।  
 पौष्पं वर्धनपीठश्च पावकं (पारकं) कान्यकुलकम् ॥  
 पुष्याग्रिमर्बुदक्षैव (पुष्या<sup>०</sup>) सकाशमाचनेश्वरम् (वैकाशमाघातके<sup>०</sup>) ।  
 जैपुरं कामकोटश्च तथा गुप्तपुरं (भृगु<sup>०</sup>) वरम् ॥  
 कैलासं पीठकेदार(०र) शुभचन्द्रपुरं तथा ।  
 जौपुरं च तथा काल्याः (कन्या<sup>०</sup>) पुरं जालन्धरं तथा ॥  
 मानवं (मालवं) बिल्वपीठश्च देवीकोटं तथैव च ।  
 गोकर्णं मावतेशश्च तथादृष्टासमेव च ॥  
 अमुकानामगोनश्च (विरजापुरश्चेनश्च) यक्षापुरमलिप्रियम् ।  
 महापथपुरश्चैव शोङ्कारपुरमेव च ॥  
 जयदक्ष जयपुरम् उज्जयिनीपुरं तथा ।  
 हरिद्रापीठकर्कशं प्रिय(यं)क्षीरपुरं प्रियम् ॥  
 मज्जाकयपुरश्चैव उज्जैनपुरमेव (उज्जैश<sup>०</sup>) च ।  
 प्रयागश्च तथा बह्नीपुरमेव शिवप्रदम् ॥  
 मायापुरमतिश्रेष्ठं पुरश्च परमेश्वरम् (शमने<sup>०</sup> ?) ।  
 त्रैलोक्यमेवपीठश्च हिमालयमहागिरिम् ॥  
 महेन्द्रपुरपीठश्च तथा बलिपुरं प्रियम् ।  
 हिरण्यपुरपीठश्च महाजलक्षीपुरं तथा ॥  
 चण्डीपुरमतिश्रेष्ठं (चण्ड<sup>०</sup>?) तथा आयापुरं (जायावनपुरं) प्रिये ॥

To give the above passage an appearance of an original composition, it is preceded in the *Bṛhan-Nīlantantra* by the following verses which mention certain Pīṭhas in the alphabetical order:

अमरेश्वरपुरश्चैवासुरात्मकपुरं तथा ।  
 अग्निकापीठमत्यन्तमनकपुरमेव च ॥  
 अनिरुद्धपुरं वेत्सि तथादितिपुरं परम् ।  
 अश्विमादिपुरश्चैव अश्वमेधपुरं परम् ॥  
 अन्नपूर्वामहापीठमम्बुजाक्ष्यपुरमथा ।  
 आदिपीठानन्दपीठी चामोदावादिस्तुकरौ ॥  
 आशुसिद्धिपुरश्चैव यथादामपुरं सुखम् ।  
 अकन्यादित्यपीठी च आद्यादिनाथपीठकौ ॥  
 इष्टनाम(०नाभ<sup>०</sup>)पुरश्चैव इन्दिरापुरमेव च ।  
 इक्षोदयगिरिश्चैव इक्षानन्दपुरे प्रिये ॥  
 इन्द्राक्षीन्द्रोश्वरश्चैव इन्द्रानन्दपुरमथा ।  
 पुरमिन्दुवती नाम तवेन्दुविजयं पुरम् ॥  
 ईश्वरेश्वरयोगौ च ईशानेन्दोश्वरौ पुरम् ।  
 ईशान्येश्वरपुरं देवि कथितं पीठमुत्तमम् ॥

Some of the names mentioned appear to have been fabricated by the author and to have had no real existence.

places. This attempt may possibly be attributed to eastern India. The above list has been quoted and utilized in a *Pīṭhanyāsa* section of the *Tantrasāra* by the Bengali Tantric teacher Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough the *Tantrasāra*, in spite of its clear recognition of the number of Pīṭhas to be fifty only in accordance with the *Jñānārṇava Tantra*, actually makes fifty-one Pīṭhas out of the fifty enumerated above. This has been done strangely by splitting the name of one of the fifty Pīṭhas, viz. Merugiri (No. 44) into two names, viz. Meru Pīṭha and Giri Pīṭha,<sup>2</sup> in the formal *nyāsa* associating certain limbs with the Pīṭhas.<sup>3</sup> The anomaly was probably the result of a modification of the text of the *Tantrasāra* by later hands. What is, however, more interesting is that the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, which has been quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* by Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra, who was seventh in descent from the compiler of the *Tantrasāra*, in 1820 adheres exactly to this modified number of the Pīṭhas, viz. fifty-one, although the list itself is independent of the earlier lists of Pīṭhas. As this work is not quoted in the *Tantrasāra* or any other earlier Tantra dealing with the Pīṭhas, it seems that the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* was composed or became popular in eastern India shortly after the compilation of the *Tantrasāra* by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa (seventeenth century) but before that of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* by Rāmatoṣaṇa in 1820. As the work was utilized by Bhāratacandra in his *Annadāmāṅgala* (1752), it must have been composed earlier than the middle of the

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion on the date of the *Tantrasāra*, see Appendix IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tantrasāra*, p. 426: लं लं लं मेरुपौठाय नमः ककुदि; वं वं वं गिरिपौठाय नमो वामस्कन्धे ।

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *loc. cit.*; also the *Rudrayāmala* passage quoted above. The *Tantrasāra* associates the following limbs with the following Pīṭhas: (1) कामरूप—limb not mentioned; according to the *Rudrayāmala* यूलोधार (region of the organ of generation); (2) वाराणसौ—मुखदन्त; (3) नेपाल—दक्षवक्षुः (दक्ष = right); (4) पौष्पवर्धन—वामवक्षुः; (5) काश्रीर—दक्षकर्ण; (6) कान्यकुब्ज—वामकर्ण; (7) पुरस्मित—दक्षिणनसु (नसु = nostril); (8) चरस्मित—वामनसु; (9) पूर्वशैल—दक्षगण्ड; (10) चर्वद—वामगण्ड; (11) आवातकेसर—बोष्ठ; (12) एकाग्र—अधर; (13) निशित—जर्द्धदन्त; (14) कामकीर्द्ध—अधोदन्त; (15) कैलास—ग्रन्थरन्ध्र; (16) भृगु—मुख; (17) केदार—दक्षबाहुमुख; (18) चन्द्रपुर—दक्षकूर्पर; (19) श्री—दक्षमणिवन्ध; (20) ओङ्कार—दक्षिणकुलिमुख; (21) जालन्धर—दक्षकुल्यप; (22) मातृव (मातृव)—वामबाहुमुख; (23) कुलानक (कूपानक)—वामकूर्पर; (24) देवीकीर्द्ध—वाममणिवन्ध; (25) गोकर्ण—वामाकुलिमुख; (26) मादतेसर—वामाकुल्यप; (27) अट्टहास—दक्षपादमुख; (28) विरज—दक्षजानु; (29) राजगृह—दक्षगुल्फ; (30) कोत्पगिरि—दक्षपादाकुलिमुख; (31) एकाग्र—दक्षकुल्यप; (32) कामेश्वर (कालेश्वर)—वामपादमुख; (33) जयन्ती—वामजानु; (34) उज्जयिनी—वामगुल्फ; (35) क्षीरिका—वामपादाकुलिमुख; (36) वलिनापुर—वामपादाकुल्यप; (37) उज्जैश—दक्षिणपार्श्व; (38) प्रयाग—वामपार्श्व; (39) विन्ध्य—पृष्ठ; (40) मायापुर—नाभि; (41) जलेश्वर—उदर; (42) मलय—हृत्; (43) श्रीशैल—दक्षस्कन्ध; (44) मेरु—ककुत्; (45) गिरि—वामस्कन्ध; (46) महेन्द्र—हृदादिदक्षकर; (47) वामन—हृदादिवामकर; (48) शिरणपुर—हृदादिदक्षपाद; (49) महालक्ष्मीपुर—हृदादिवामपाद; (50) उज्जयान—हृदाद्यदर; (51) हायावनपुर—हृदादिमुख । It should be noted that the association of a Pīṭha with a limb in the *nyāsa* was suggested differently by different writers.

eighteenth century. The composition of the *Pīṭhanirnaya* or *Mahāpīṭha-nirūpaṇa* may therefore be assigned to the closing years of the seventeenth century or more probably to the early years of the eighteenth (c. 1690-1720). The reference to Kālighāṭa, whose popularity seems to be associated with the foundation of Calcutta (1690) and whose mention in earlier works is rare,<sup>1</sup> possibly supports this date. The important feature of this work, as it is usually accepted in Bengal, is that its list of Pīṭhas together with the names of the Devī and the Bhairava, includes a number of places in the rural areas of Bengal. The language is in some cases greatly influenced by Bengali. The history of the literature on the Pīṭhas no doubt points unmistakably to the great contribution Bengal must have made to the Tantric literature and culture in the medieval period. The greatest centre of Tantricism seems to have originally been in north-western India. Before the medieval period, the Tantric school of north-eastern India rose to eminence and became a great rival of the north-western school. With the gradual decline of Tantric culture in the north-west as a result of foreign occupation, Bengal seems to have come to the forefront as the abode of great leaders of Tantric thought.

### *The Tradition about 108 Pīṭhas.*

The uncertainty about the recognized number of the Pīṭhas in the medieval period is also demonstrated by another fact. The number 108 had some importance in India to the sectarian worshippers who often attempted to endow their respective deities with 108 names.<sup>2</sup> In the list of such 108 names of a particular deity, names or epithets of various other deities were appropriated, the underlying idea being that the latter are only different manifestations of the former. The love of system and concord, which is a feature of the Indian mind, inspired theologians to harmonize Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva in the compound form of the Trimūrti, Viṣṇu and Śiva in that of Hari-Hara, and Śiva and Śakti in that of Ardha-nār-iśvara. The theory of the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu was likewise the result of an attempt at harmonization of different religious sects worshipping different cult-deities.<sup>3</sup> Even in recent times, the Bāuls of Bengal, both Muslim and

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of Kalighat as a Pīṭha in the *Caṇḍimaṅgala* (16th century) by Mukundarāma of the Burdwan District. But Vipradāsa's *Manasāmaṅgala* (1495 A.D.) mentions Kālikā of Kalighat, Sarvamaṅgalā of Cīṭpur (now included in Calcutta) and Bet'i-Canḍi of Betor (near Sibpur in the Howrah District). Even if this reference is not an interpolation, it does not prove that Kalighat was regarded as an important *tīrtha* in the fifteenth century. The sixteenth century author Vamśidāsa of Mymensing does not regard Kalighat as a Pīṭha. See *infra*, p. 33 and note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the list of various names of Śiva in the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā section (ch. 31) of the *Śiva Purāṇa* and in the Kedarākhaṇḍa subsection of the Māheśvarākhaṇḍa section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. For a list of the different names of Brahman, see *Padma Purāṇa*, Śṛṅṅikhaṇḍa, ch. 34; *Skanda Purāṇa*, Prabhāsakhaṇḍa, ch. 107. The idea seems to have originated from the Śatarudriya section of the *Yajurveda* (Taittirīya Saṁhitā, IV, 5, 1; Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, ch. 16). A Bengali text entitled *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kṛtānāma* (literally, the 100 names of Lord Kṛṣṇa) is very popular in Bengal and is daily recited by many pious people. There are also later lists of the 1,000 names of some gods, notably Viṣṇu. See *Des. Cat.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, pp. 173, 500, 812, 815, 820ff., 842, etc. For two lists of the *sahasranāma* of Viṣṇu and Śiva, see *Mahābhārata*, XIII, chs. 149 and 17. For the importance of the numbers 108 and 1008, see *Tantrasāra*, pp. 48, 116, 131, 157, 538, 652, 733, 761, 781, 825-26, 903, 905, 918, 920, 973, etc., and 83, 157, 906-07, 928, etc. The importance of the number 108 is clearly demonstrated by the fact that even today the revered names of many religious teachers are mentioned as prefixed by the word *Śrī* for no less than 108 times, although in actual practice *Śrī* for 108 times is indicated by the expression '*Śrī* 108'.

<sup>3</sup> See Sircar, 'Sectarian Difference among the Early Vaiṣṇavas' in *Bhār. Vid.*, VIII, pp. 109-11.

Hindu, have been declaring in their songs the absolute identity of Rāma and Rahim, of Christ (Beng. *Kṛṣṭa*) and Kṛṣṇa (vulgo *Kṛṣṭa*), of Śiva and 'Alī, and of Durgā and Fatima. A section of the devotees of the mother-goddess is known to have endowed their cult-deity with 108 names attempting thereby to identify her with various goddesses and with the female forms (Śaktis or energizing powers) of many gods worshipped in different parts of India. An early list of this nature can be traced in the *Mahābhārata* (VI, ch. 23); but a complete list of the 108 names of the mother-goddess with the specification of her association with particular holy places is probably to be found for the first time in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 13, the particular section, however, being assignable to the early medieval period.<sup>1</sup> The same text has been quoted in the description of the various manifestations of Bhadrakarnikā (a form of the mother-goddess) in the Revākhaṇḍa subsection of the Āvāntyakhaṇḍa in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (which in its present form is not earlier than the twelfth century)<sup>2</sup> as well as in the enumeration of the different names of the goddess Sāvitrī, the wife of Brahman, in the Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa section (ch. 17) of the *Padma Purāṇa*. The same text is also quoted in the *Devībhāgavata* (VII, ch. 30) which, unlike the *Matsya*, *Skanda* and *Padma Purāṇas*, refers to the holy places, associated in this work with the different manifestations of the mother-goddess and of her consort, as Pīthas without, however, mentioning the particular limbs of the goddess and the particular Bhairavas, although it says that the list contains the names of some Pīthas in addition to those that 'sprang from' the limbs of Saktī.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 13 of the *Matsya Purāṇa* refers to Vṛndāvana as the resort of Rādhā and to Puruṣottama. There is no genuine evidence to show that Rādhā was recognized as a divinity earlier than the post-Gupta period and that Puruṣottama (Puri) attained to any eminence before the days of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) who laid the foundation of the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri. Cf. also reference to Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor in the Jodhpur State), Vaidyanātha, etc., which do not appear to be early, although the *Matsya Purāṇa* in some form must have existed in earlier times.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. references to Rāmānuja (Viṣṇukhaṇḍa, ch. 21) who flourished in the age of the Chōla King Adhirājendra (c. 1070 A.D.) and the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana (c. 1106-41 A.D.), to the Gurjara-Pratihāra King Bhoja I (c. 836-85 A.D.) and to King Āma of Kanauj who was either the same as Āma (c. 753-65 A.D.), son of Yaśovarman (c. 730-53 A.D.) or as Āma-Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 805-33 A.D.), grandfather of Bhoja I. *Vide* Prabhāsakhaṇḍa-Vastrapāthamāhātmya, ch. 1ff.; Brahmakhaṇḍa-Dharmāranyakhaṇḍa, ch. 36ff. These, however, do not prove that the *Skanda Purāṇa* did not exist in any form in earlier times. In the first-half of the 11th century, Albirūni had information about the 18 *Purāṇas* including the *Skanda* (Sachau, *loc. cit.*, pp. 130-31). For a Bengal manuscript of this *Purāṇa* written in Gupta hand, to which as early a date as the middle of the seventh century can be assigned on palaeographical grounds, see *JRAS*, 1903, p. 193; Smith *EHI*, 1924, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> A later list of 108 Pīthas is found in the *Prāṇatosaṇi Tantra*, p. 236 (cf. *Vācas-patya*, s.v. *pītha*). The verses appear to have been quoted from the *Bṛhan-Nīlantantra* (Paṭala V) which was known to the Prāṇatosaṇi (cf. p. 2). As there are several lists in it, the *Bṛhan-Nīla*, itself a late-medieval work, probably also drew from some slightly earlier sources. If it is the same as the *Mahā-Nīlantantra*, it must be regarded as earlier than c. 1550 A.D. when Brahmānanda mentioned it in his *Tārārahasya* (Paṭala I). But this date is doubtful, as the *Bṛhan-Nīla* quotes one list of 52 Pīthas.

[ पौडार्ग परमं पौड कामरूपं महाफलम् । ]

\* \* \* \* \*

पौडप्रसङ्गादेवेति पौडानि षट्पञ्च भैरवि ।

\* \* \* \* \*

पुष्करश्च गङ्गाक्षेत्रं अक्षय्याक्षयट्टया (v.l. अक्षयाद°) ।

बराहपर्वतश्चैव तीर्थक्षानरकण्डकम् (v.l. शिवश्च°) ॥

This interesting list of the 108 names of the mother-goddess and those of as many holy places in different parts of India includes the following names:

नमंदा यमुना पिङ्गा गङ्गाद्वारं तथा प्रिये ।  
 गङ्गासागरसङ्गच्छ कुशावर्तश्च विल्वकम् ॥  
 श्रीनीलपर्वतश्चैव कलाम्बुकुञ्जके (v.l. °कुञ्जिके) तथा ।  
 भृगुतुङ्गश्च (v.l. °भृङ्गश्च) केदारं सर्वप्रियमङ्गालयम् (v.l. °अलम्) ॥  
 ललिता च सुगन्धा च शाकभरीपुरं प्रियम् ।  
 कर्णतीर्थं मङ्गागङ्गा रुद्रिकाश्रम (गङ्गिका° ?) एव (v.l. °मेव) च ॥  
 कुमारारुद्रप्रभासौ च तथा धन्या सरस्वती ।  
 आवन्याश्रममिष्टं (v.l. अगस्त्या°) मे कल्याणममतः (v.l. कन्या°, काष्ठा°) परम् ॥  
 कौशिकीसरयूशीष्योतिःसरपुरःसरम् ।  
 कामोदकं (v.l. कासोदकं) प्रियं श्रीमत् प्रियसुत्तरमानसम् ॥  
 मातङ्गवापी सप्तार्चिमङ्गालविष्णुपदं (v.l. °मन्यद्विष्णु°) महत् ।  
 वैद्यनाथं मङ्गलतीर्थं प्रियः कालझरो गिरिः ॥  
 रामोष्धेदं गर्गोष्धेदं हरोष्धेदं मङ्गलम् ।  
 (v.l. वामो° ; रामोद्भेदं गङ्गोद्भेदं हरोद्भेदं मङ्गलम् ।)  
 भद्रेश्वर मङ्गलतीर्थं लक्ष्मणोष्धेदमेव (v.l. लक्ष्मणोद्भेद°) च ॥  
 जानौहि प्रियश्रेष्ठा (v.l. °श्रेष्ठा) च कावेरी कपिलोदका ।  
 सोमेश्वरं शृङ्गतीर्थं लक्ष्मणेश्वरा (v.l. °लक्ष्णा°) प्रभेदकः ॥  
 पाटला च मङ्गलार्चिर्नगतीर्थं मदन्तिका (v.l. °न्तिके) ।  
 पुष्पां रामेश्वरं देवि तथा मेघवनं चरेः ॥  
 ऐलं रमणकश्चैव (v.l. ऐलेयकवनश्चैव) गोवर्द्धनमङ्गप्रियम् ।  
 हरिचन्द्रं पुरचन्द्रं शृङ्गदकमये प्रियम् (v.l. °मय प्रिये ; त्रियम्) ॥  
 इन्द्रनीलं मङ्गलानादं तथैव प्रियमैलकम् ।  
 पञ्चाश्वरं (v.l. पञ्चाश्वर°) पञ्चवटी वटौ(ड)पर्वतिका तथा ॥  
 गङ्गाविल्वं प्रसङ्गश्च (v.l. °विल्वश्च प्रा°) प्रियनादवटं तथा (v.l. °वटश्च) ।  
 गङ्गावामाचलश्चैव (v.l. गङ्गारामा°) तथैव अक्षमोचनम् ॥  
 गौतमेश्वरतीर्थश्च वशिष्ठतीर्थमेव च ।  
 चारीतश्च (v.l. °तक) तथा देवि ब्रह्मावर्तं शिवप्रियम् (v.l. °प्रदम्) ॥  
 कुशावर्तमतिश्रेष्ठं चंसतीर्थं तथैव च ।  
 पिण्डारकवनं (v.l. °वकरणं) श्यातं हरिद्वारं तथैव च ॥  
 तथैव बदरीतीर्थं रामतीर्थं (v.l. °वाम°) तथैव च ।  
 जयन्तं विजयन्तं च सर्वकल्याणदं प्रिये ॥  
 विजया सारदातीर्थं भद्रकालेश्वरं तथा ।  
 अक्षतीर्थं सुविश्यातं तथा वेदशिरः प्रियम् (v.l. वेदशिराप्रियः ; देवि  
 शिवप्रियम्) ॥  
 ओषवती नदी चैव तीर्थमक्षप्रदं (v.l. °स्थ पदं) तथा ।  
 बागसिद्धं मातृमणं करवीरपुरं तथा ॥

(1) Viśālākṣī—Vārāṇasī, (2) Liṅgadhārīṇī—Naimiṣa, (3) Lalitā—Prayāga, (4) Kāmākṣī, Kāmukā or Kāmukī—Gandhamādāna, (5) Kumudā—Mānasa, (6) Viśvakāyā or Viśvakāmā—Ambara, (7) Gōmatī—Gomanta, (8) Kāma-cārīṇī—Mandara, (9) Madotkatā—Caitraratha, (10) Jayantī—Hastināpura, (11) Gaurī—Kānyakubja, (12) Rambhā—the Malaya or Amala mountain, (13) Kirtimati—Ekāmra, (14) Viśvā or Vilvā—Viśveśvara, (15) Pūruhūtā—Puṣkara, (16) Mārgadāyini—Kedāra, (17) Nandā or Mandā—the Himalayas, (18) Bhadrakarnikā or Bhadrakālīkā—Gokarna, (19) Bhavānī—Sthānviśvara or Sthāneśvara, (20) Vilvapatrikā—Vilvaka or Vilvala, (21) Mādhavī—Śrīśaila, (22) Bhadrā or Bhadrēśvarī—Bhadra, Bhadrēśvara or Madrēśvara, (23) Jayā—Varāhaśaila, (24) Kamalā—Kamalālaya, (25) Rudrāṇī or Kalyāṇī—Rudrakotī, (26) Kālī—Kālāñjara, (27) Kapilā—Mahāliṅga, (28) Mukteśvarī or Maṅgaleśvarī—Kota, Markoṭa, Mākota or Karkota, (29) Mahādevī—Śālagrāma or Śāligrāma, (30) Jalapriyā—Śivaliṅga, (31) Kumārī—Māyāpurī, (32) Lalitā—Santāna, (33) Utpalā or Utpalākṣī—Sahasrākṣa, (34) Mahotpalā—Sahasrākṣa or Hiranyākṣa, (35) Maṅgalā—the Gaṅgā or Gayā, (36) Vimalā—Puruṣottama, (37) Amoghākṣī—Vipāśā, (38) Pātālā—Punḍravardhana or Puṇyavardhana, (39) Nārāyaṇī—Supārśva, (40) Bhadrāsundarī or Rudrāsundarī—Trikuṭa, (41) Vipulā—Vipula, (42) Kalyāṇī—Mānasācala or Malayācala, (43) Koṭavī—Koṭitīrtha, (44) Sugandhā—Mādhavavāna or Madhavivāna, (45) Trisandhyā—Godāśrama, Godāvarī or Kuḍjāmṛaka, (46) Ratipriyā or Haripriyā—Gaṅgādvāra, (47) Śivānandā, Śubhānandā, Sunandā or Sabhānandā—Śivakuṇḍa, Śivakuṇja or Śivakuṇḍa, (48) Nandinī—the bank of the Devikā, (49) Rukmiṇī—Dvāravati, (50) Rādhā—Vṛndāvana, (51) Devakī—Mathurā, (52) Parameśvarī—Pātālā, (53) Sītā—Citrakuṭa, (54) Vindhyaśini—the Vindhya, (55) Ekavīrā—the Sahyādri (Western Ghats), (56) Candrikā—Hariścandra or Harmaçandra, (57) Ramanā—Rāmatīrtha, (58) Mṛgāvatī—the Yamunā, (59) Mahālakṣmī—Karavīra, (60) Umā or Rūpā—Vināyaka, (61) Arogā or Ārogyā—Vaidyanātha, (62) Maheśvarī—Mahākāla, (63) Abhayā—the Uṣṇatīrthas, or Puṣpatīrtha, (64) Amṛtā, Nitambā or Mṛgī—the Vindhyan cave, (65) Māṇḍavī or Māṇḍukī—Māṇḍavya or Māṇḍava, (66) Svāhā—Māheśvarapura or Māheśvaripura, (67) Pracandā—Chāgalāṇḍa, Chāgalāṇḍa, Chāgaliṅga or Vegala, (68) Candrikā—Amarakantaka, Makaraṇḍaka or Marakaṇḍaka, (69) Varārohā—Someśvara, (70) Puṣkarāvati—Prabhūsa, (71) Devamātā—Sarasvatī, (72) Mātā, Pārā or Pāvā—the shore of the sea or the bank of the Pārā, (73) Mahābhāgā or Mahāpadmā—Mahālaya, (74) Piṅgaleśvarī—the Payoṣṇī, (75) Simhikā—Kṛitasauca, (76) Yaśaskarī, Śaṅkarī or Atiśaṅkarī—Kārttikeya, (77) Lolā—Utpalāvartaka,

उपमोदावरं तीर्थं लिङ्गाख्यं सर्वमोहनम् (v.l. सर्वधर्मफलप्रदम्) ।

[चयोध्या मथुरा माया दुर्गा द्वारवती (v.l. द्वारा°) इति ॥

विद्यापुरमन्त्री च काशी-मङ्गलकोटकम् (v.l. °कोटरम् ; °कुडकम् ; मङ्गल-  
कोटरम् ; मङ्गलकोटरम्) ॥

काशीघटं गुप्ततीर्थं सिद्धाख्यं (v.l. लिङ्गाख्यं) सर्वमोहनम् ॥]

किरीटमुत्तरे (v.l. °रा°) तीर्थं दक्षिणे (v.l. °षा°) तीर्थमुत्तमम् ।

विशालतीर्थं कात्याय वनं हन्दावनं तथा ॥

ज्वालामुखी हिङ्गुला च मन्दातीर्थं गणेश्वरम् ।

जानीहि सर्वसिद्धीनां (v.l. °तीर्थाणां ; °सिद्धानां) हेतुस्त्वानाभि सुन्दरि ॥

The text is not free from defects. Names like Aila, Kuśāvarta, etc., have been duplicated.

(78) Subhadrā—Śoṇasaṅgama or Sindhusaṅgama, (79) Mātā Lakṣmī or Umā Lakṣmī—Siddhapura, Siddhavana or Siddhavata, (80) Aṅganā, Anaṅgā or Taraṅgā—Bharatāśrama, (81) Viśvamukhī—Jālandhara, (82) Tārā—the Kiskindhya hill, (83) Puṣṭi—Devadāruvana, (84) Medhā—Kāśmīra, (85) Bhīmā—the Himalayas, (86) Puṣṭi or Tuṣṭi—Vastreśvara or Viśveśvara, (87) Śuddhi or Śuddhā—Kapālamocana, (88) Mātā—Kāyāvarohaṇa, (89) Dhvani or Dharā—Śaṅkhoddhāra, (90) Dhṛti—Piṇḍāraka, (91) Kālā or Kalā—the Candrabhāgā, (92) Śivakāriṇī, Śivadhāriṇī, Siddhidāyini or Śaktidhāriṇī—Acchoda, (93) Amṛtā—the Beṇā, (94) Urvaśī—Badarī, (95) Oṣadhi or Auśadhi—Uttarakuru, (96) Kuśodakā—Kuśadvīpa, (97) Manmathā—Hemakūṭa, (98) Satyavādinī—Mukuta or Kumuda, (99) Vandaniyā or Vandinikā—Aśvattha, (100) Nidhi—in the home of Vaiśravaṇa, (101) Gāyatrī in grammar, (102) Pārvatī in the company of Śiva, (103) Indrāṇī in the world of gods, (104) Sarasvatī in the mouths of Brahman, (105) Prabhā (light) in the solar orb, (106) Vaiṣṇavī among the Divine Mothers,<sup>1</sup> (107) Arundhatī among chaste women, (108) Tillottamā among beautiful girls, (109) Brahmakālā in the hearts of men, and (110) Śakti (strength) in the living beings.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that the names are actually more

<sup>1</sup> They are usually regarded as seven or eight in number.

Cf. ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ।

माहेश्वरी चैव वाराहो चासुण्डा सप्त मातरः ॥ or

ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी सप्तो वाराहो वैष्णवी तथा ।

कौमारी चैव चासुण्डा चर्चिकेत्यष्ट मातरः ॥

(Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *mātr*). In place of Cāmūṇḍā of the first list, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. 88) gives Nārasiṃhī. These seven names are found in the list of the eight *nāyikās* or *yoginīs* to be worshipped along with the form of the mother-goddess called Kauṣikī-Candikā in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 61, 84:

ब्रह्माणी प्रथमा प्रोक्ता ततो माहेश्वरी मता ।

कौमारी चैव वाराहो वैष्णवी पञ्चमी तथा ॥

नारसिंही तथैवेन्द्री शिवदूती तथाष्टमी ॥

For Śivadūṭī, cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, loc. cit.

In place of Carcikā of the second list, the *Tantrasāra* (pp. 314, 320) reads Candikā or Mahālakṣmī. It is not known if they are associated with the eight Bhairavas:

असिताङ्गो दशरूपः शोधोन्मत्तभैरवः ।

कपाली भौषणश्चैव संहारश्चाष्टभैरवाः ॥ (ibid., pp. 332f.)

For a list of sixteen Mothers, see *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> See the text of the list edited in Appendix I. The *Bṛhan-Nīla* (Paṭala V) and *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* (pp. 237-38) *Tantras* supply a later list of similar nature.

Cf. पुष्करे कमलाक्षी च गयायाश्च गयेश्वरी ।

अक्षया अक्षयवटेश्वरीश्वरकण्ठके (v.l. अक्षयाक्षयवटेश्वरीश्वर<sup>०</sup>) ॥

वराहपर्वते च त्वं वाराहो धरणीप्रिया ।

नर्मदा (v.l. दुर्मदा) नर्मदायाश्च कालिन्द्यौ यमुनाजले ॥

शिवावृता च गङ्गायामम्बा देहलिकाश्रमे (v.l. त्वे<sup>०</sup>) ।

कुमारधामे कौमारी प्रभासे सुरपूजिता ॥

काश्याश्चैवान्नपूर्णा च द्वाविडे च सरस्वती ।

महाविद्या मत्तमेधा अगस्त्याश्रमके तथा ॥

than 108 in number, but that a number of the holy places are only imaginary. The fact that even in an attempt to find out 108 actual *tirthas* that

कौशौतकिप्रियं नाम कौशिकान्तः (v.l. घृत°) कौशिके ।

सारदा सरयूतीरे शोषे च कनकेश्वरी ।

अप्रकाशा यदा (v.l. सदा) देवी ज्योतिर्मय्यभिसंगमे ।

(v.l. स्वप्रकाशवशादेवि ज्योतिर्मती ह्यसङ्गमे ।)

त्रोनामा (v.l. त्रोरह) त्रोगिरौ चैव काली कालोदके तथा ।

महोदरी महातीर्थं मौला (v.l. महादेवी महाबुद्धिर्नी°) चोत्तरमानसे ।

मातङ्गी स्यामानङ्गे (v.l. मातङ्गिनी मतङ्गे ; स्यान्मतङ्गे) च गुप्तार्चिर्विष्णुपादके

(v.l. °पादुके) ॥

खर्गदा खर्गमार्गे च गोदावर्यां गवेश्वरी ।

विमुक्तिश्चैव मोमत्यां विपाशायां (v.l. विप्रगा वा) महाबला ।

भतद्रवां (भतद्रौ ; v.l. भतद्रां ; भतप्रभा) भतरूपा च चन्द्रभागा च तत्र वै ।

शेरावत्याश्च (इरा°) ईर्नाम सिद्धिदा सिद्धितीरके ॥

दक्षपद्मनदे चैव दक्षिणा त्वं प्रकीर्तिता ।

चौरसे (v.l. चौजसे ; चौजिसे) वीर्यदा च त्वं सङ्गमा तीर्थसङ्गमे ॥

बाहुदायामनन्ता (v.l. °सन्ता) त्वं कुबचेने रण्येक्षणा (v.l. °रण्येक्षणा ; व[रु?]

येक्षणा) ।

तपस्विनी पुष्पतमा भारती भरताश्रमे ।

सुकथा नैमिषारण्ये पाण्डौ च पाण्डुरामना (v.l. °वानना) ।

विशालायां (v.l. विशाल्याश्च) विशालाचौ सुष्ठुष्टे शिवात्मिका ॥

श्रद्धा कनकले तीर्थे शुद्धबुद्धिर्मुनीश्वरे ।

सुवेशा सुमना गौरी मानसे च सरोवरे ॥

मन्दापुरे महानन्दा ललिता ललितापुरे ।

ब्रह्माक्षौ ब्रह्माशिरसि महापातकनाशिनी ॥

पूर्णिमा चेन्दुमत्याश्च (v.l. चेन्दुमत्यादौः) सिद्धयन्ती (v.l. सिम्भोरति°)

प्रिया सदा ।

जाङ्गवौसङ्गमे हस्तिः (v.l. हस्तिः) स्वभा त्वं पितृमुद्रिदा ॥

पुष्पा त्वं वेणुवत्याश्च (v.l. वज्रसितायाश्च) प्रपायां पापनाशिनी ।

शङ्खसंस्कारिणौ (v.l. °संस्करणे) चैव घोररूपा महोदरी ॥

खर्गोष्धे (v.l. खर्गाङ्गेदे) महारात्रिः प्रबला च महावने ।

भद्रा च भद्रकाली च भद्रेश्वरीश्वरप्रिया ॥

भद्रेश्वरे रमा विष्णुप्रिया विष्णुपदे तथा ।

दाक्षणा जर्मदोष्धे (v.l. °ङ्गेदे) कावेर्यां कपिलेश्वरी ॥

भेदिनी कृष्णवेण्यायां संभेदे शुभवासिनी ।

श्रद्धा च शुक्रतीर्थे च प्रभासे चेश्वरी तथा ॥

(श्रद्धा च शुक्रतीर्थे च प्रभा रामेश्वरे तथा ॥)

महामोक्षी महाबुद्धिः पाठके पाठकेश्वरी ।

सुरसा (v.l. सुबला) जागतोर्थे च जागेशी नामवन्दिता ॥



could be associated with Śakti rather arbitrarily the author does not refer to Kāmarūpa and Uddiyāna may point to the author's aversion for these

मदन्ते च मदन्तो च प्रमदा च मदन्तिका ।

मेघसूना मेघवने (v.l. °वासे; मेघसूना मेघवने; मेघबला) विद्यात्

सौदामिनीच्छा ॥

रामेश्वरे महासिद्धिर्वीरा (v.l. महासुद्धि°; °वीरा) चैलापुरे सती ।

प्रिया रमयले (v.l. प्रिये; पियालमार्गके) दुर्गा दुवेशा सुरसुन्दरी ॥

कात्यायनी महादेवी गोवर्द्धने तथाम्बिका (v.l. °बिलात्मिका; °नेऽम्बिका तथा) ।

शुभेश्वरी हरिचन्द्रे पुरचन्द्रे पुरेश्वरी ॥

ष्टयूदके महावेगा मैनाकेऽखिलवर्द्धिनी ।

रुद्रनीले महाकान्तौ (v.l. °कान्ता) रत्नवेशा सुशोभना ॥

माहेश्वरी महानादे महातेजा महाबले (°वने; v.l. °बला) ।

पद्मासरसि सारङ्गा (v.l. पद्मासरसि; शारङ्गा) पद्मवर्णा (v.l. °कणां) तपस्विनी ॥

वटोपर्वटिकायाश्च ( वटपर्वतिका°; v.l. वटौशी°) पद्मवर्गा (v.l. सर्ववर्षे)

सुरङ्गिनी ।

सङ्गमे विन्ध्यमङ्गायां (v.l. °मङ्गाख्या) विन्ध्ये (v.l. विन्ध्य°) त्रीविन्ध्यवासिनी ॥

महामन्दा नन्दतटे (v.l. °वटे) गङ्गावामाक्षले (v.l. बाटाक्षले) शिवा ।

आर्यावर्ते महार्या त्वं विमुक्तिर्णमोचने ॥

अष्टहासे च चामुण्डा तन्त्रे श्रीगौतमेश्वरी (v.l. तन्त्रेशी) ।

वेदमयी ब्रह्मविद्या वशिष्ठे (v.l. वाशिष्ठे) त्वमसम्भती ॥

हारीते हरिणाक्षौ च ब्रह्मावर्ते त्रजेश्वरी (v.l. त्रते°) ।

गायत्री चैव सावित्री कुशावर्ते कुम्भप्रिया ॥

हंसेश्वरी महतीर्थे परहंसेश्वरेश्वरी (v.l. परहंसेश्वरीति च) ।

पिण्डारकवने (v.l. पिण्डावकरणे) धन्या सुरसा सुखदायिनी ॥

नारायणी वैष्णवी च गङ्गाद्वारे विमुक्तिदा ।

त्रीविद्या बदरीतीर्थे रामतीर्थे (v.l. वाम°) महाष्टतिः ॥

जयन्तो च जयन्ते त्वं विजयन्तेऽपराजिता ।

विजया च महाशुद्धिः सारदायाश्च सारदा ॥

सुभद्रे भद्रदा भव्या भद्रकालेश्वरे तथा ।

महाभद्रा (v.l. महाभद्रौ) भद्रकालौ (v.l. महाकालौ) हरतीर्थे (v.l. हय°)

गवैश्वरी ॥

वेददा वेदमाता च वेदेशा (v.l. विदेशे) वेदमस्तके ।

ओषवत्यां (v.l. युषत्याश्च) महाविद्या महानद्यां महोदया ॥

चण्डा च विपदे (v.l. चानपदे) चैव जगलिङ्गे वलिप्रिया ।

मातृदर्शे (v.l. °देशे) जगन्माता करवीरपुरे सती ॥

मालिनी (v.l. मालवे) रङ्गिनी वामा परमा परमेश्वरी ।

सप्तगोदावरे तीर्थे देवर्षिरखिलेश्वरी (देवी श्रीर°; v.l. देवर्षाव°; देवर्षीशा°) ॥

अयोध्यायां भवानी च जयदा जयमङ्गला ।

माधवी मधुरायाश्च देवकी यादवेश्वरी ॥

out-and-out Tantric *pīthas*. It cannot possibly be held that the text was composed before Uḍḍiyāna and Kāmarūpa attained to eminence.

हृन्दागोपेश्वरी (v.l. गोपेश्वरी) राधा रासहृन्दावने रसे (v.l. रसा) ।

कात्यायनी महाभाया भद्रकाक्षी कलावती ॥

चन्द्रमाला महाशान्तिमहायोगिन्यधीश्वरी (v.l. महायोगा म°) ।

व्रजेश्वरी यशोदेति व्रजत्रीगोकुलेश्वरी ॥

काष्ठां कनककाक्षी स्यारवन्त्यामतिपावनी (v.l. स्याद°) ।

विद्या विद्यापुरे चैव विमला नीलपर्वते ॥

रामेश्वरी सेतुबन्धे (v.l. राजेशी चेतगङ्गेशी) विमला पुष्पोत्तमे ।

विरजा यागपुर्यांश्च (v.l. नागपुर्यांश्च) भद्रेऽपि (v.l. भद्राश्च; भद्रेषी)

भद्रकर्षिका ॥

तमोक्षिणे तमोघ्नी च स्वाहा सागरसङ्गमे ।

कुलत्रीर्वेश्वरिण्य (v.l. ° वंश°) माधवी माधवप्रिया ॥

मङ्गला मङ्गले कोटे राटे मङ्गलचण्डिका ।

ज्वालामुखी शिवापीठे मन्दरे (v.l. मन्दारे) भुवनेश्वरी ॥

कालौघटे (v.l. °घाटे) गुह्यकाक्षी किरौटे च मण्डेश्वरी ।

किरौटेश्वरी महादेवो लिङ्गाख्ये लिङ्गधारिणी ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

अमरेशमहापीठे कुशतुङ्गारसंज्ञकः (v.l. ईशदुङ्गार°) ।

तत्र दुर्गादय नाम चण्डिका च मण्डेश्वरी ॥

प्रभासे सोमनाथोऽसौ (v.l. °नाथादौ) देवी च पुष्करक्षणा ।

देवदेवाधिपः शम्भुर्नैमिषे च मण्डेश्वरः ॥

तत्र प्रज्ञा च देवी च शिवानौ लिङ्गधारिणी ।

पुष्करे च राजगन्धिः पुरङ्गता मण्डेश्वरी ॥

श्रीपर्वते प्रियं नाम (v.l. त्रिया नाम्ना) शङ्करस्त्रिपुरान्तकः ।

मायावौ शङ्करौ (v.l. माया विषङ्करौ) तत्र भक्तानामखिलाद्यदा ॥

जयेश्वरे महास्थाने शङ्करौ च त्रिशूलिनी ।

त्रिशूलौ (v.l. त्रिशूलः) शङ्करस्तत्र सर्वपापविमोचकः ॥

आद्यात्मकपुरे (v.l. °तकेश्वरे) सूर्यः सूर्याख्या परमेश्वरी ।

( महाकाक्षी महाकाक्षी महाकाक्षी मण्डेश्वरी ॥

मध्ये शिवस्य [v.l. शिवस्य] सर्वत्र सर्वाणी परमेश्वरी ।

केदारेश्वर ईशानो देवी सन्मार्गदायिनी ॥

भैरवे भैरवः शम्भुर्भैरवी परमेश्वरी ।)

गर्गक्षेत्रे (v.l. गण°) मङ्गलाख्या शिवोऽयं प्रपितामहः ॥

कुवचने शिवः स्थापः शिवा स्थाणुप्रिया परा ।

हृदनाभे स्वयम्भूस्व देवी स्वायम्भवा मता ॥

अथः कनकले प्रोक्तः शिवोऽपे (शिवोपा; v.l. शिवोयः) शिववक्षभा ।

विमलेश्वरे विश्वशम्भुर्विद्या (v.l. °विश्वस्तु; °रिष्टा) विश्वप्रिया सदा ॥

*Freedom of the Writers on the Pithas from any Common Tradition.*

We have seen that the lists of the Pithas and those of the Devis and Bhairavas connected with each of them are variously prepared by different authors and have a great deal of discrepancy among them. There was apparently little influence on these writers of something like a recognized tradition about the number of the Pithas, the names of the deities worshipped at them, and their association with particular limbs of the mother-goddess. Names of the *tirtha*, Devi and Bhairava were often fabricated by the writers and the association of a *tirtha* with one of Sati's limbs was also determined usually by their individual imagination. The fact that in many cases entire countries are mentioned as Pithas suggests that the writers had only vague ideas about some of the *tirthas* and often took resort to imagination. That medieval writers on the subject of the Pithas took the greatest liberty in these respects is clearly demonstrated by the sixteenth century Bengali

षट्छासे मन्त्रानन्दो मन्त्रानन्दा मन्त्रेश्वरी ।  
 मन्त्रान्मकां मन्त्रे च पार्वती च मन्त्रान्मका ॥  
 भीमेश्वरी भीमपौत्रे शिवा भीमेश्वरी तथा ।  
 वस्त्रपादे ( वस्त्रापथे ? ) भवनाम भवानी भवनेश्वरी ॥  
 अद्रिकूटे मन्त्रायोगो बद्राणी परमेश्वरी ।  
 अविमुक्ते मन्त्रादेवो विशालाक्षी शिवा परा ॥  
 मन्त्रालये (v.l. मन्त्रामाये) श्वरो बद्रो मन्त्राभागा शिवा तथा ।  
 मन्त्राचलस्य गोकर्णे शिवभद्रा (v.l. शिवा ज्ञेया) च अष्टिका ॥  
 भद्रकर्णे मन्त्रादेवो भद्रा च कर्णिका तथा (च भद्रकर्णिका) ।  
 सुपर्णाक्षे (v.l. सुवर्णाक्षे) सङ्खाले उत्पला परमेश्वरी ॥  
 स्थाणुसंज्ञे शिवस्थो त्रीश्वरस्था (स्थाणुसंज्ञः शिवः स्थाण्वीश्वरः; v.l. स्थाणुसंज्ञे  
 शिवस्थो त्रीश्वरः स्त्रीश्वरा; शिवः स्थाण्वीश्वरः) त्रीश्वरा शिवा ।  
 कमलाक्षये (v.l. कलाक्षये) मन्त्रस्थाने (v.l. °स्थाने) कमलाक्षो मन्त्रेश्वरः ॥  
 कमलाक्षी मन्त्रेशानि सकलार्थप्रदायिनौ ।  
 हगण्डे (v.l. हागला तु) कपर्दी च प्रसरा (v.l. प्रसभा) च मन्त्रेश्वरी ॥  
 अर्द्धरेता वरेण्ये (v.l. लरपडे; अरण्ये) च सन्ध्याख्या परमेश्वरी ।  
 माकोटाक्षे (माकोटाक्षे; v.l. साकोटे च) मन्त्राकोटः शिवा च सुषुक्तेश्वरी ॥  
 (मण्डलेश्वरपौत्रे च शङ्करः स्थाण्वी शिवा ॥)  
 (कालभरे नौलकण्ठो हर [हरः] कालौ शिवा मता ।  
 खलीश्वरे (v.l. °श्वरी) खलीनाम्ना खलाख्या परमेश्वरी ॥)  
 मण्डलेश्वरपौत्रे (v.l. मातुली°) च करवीराचलेश्वरः (v.l. °राजेश्वरा) ।  
 श्रीमद्व्याघ्रपुरे साक्षाद्भगवता सभापतिः ॥

\* \* \* \*

अस्मिन् मन्त्रोत्तमे स्थाने शिवगङ्गाख्यमद्भुतम् ।

तडागमस्ति ततोरे दक्षिणे नृत्यतीश्वरः ॥

\* \* \* \*

[अष्टोत्तरशतशतम् अपेक्षया सुदाम्बितः ।]

poet Mukundarāma in the *Dakṣa-yajña-bhaṅga* section of his *Candīmāṅgalā*. According to an interpolated passage found in some manuscripts of this work, the following nine places are the Pīthas where Sati's limbs fell: (1) Ghāṭasīlā (between the Kharagpur and Tatanagar Railway Stations on the B.N.R.) where Sati's left foot fell and where the Devi is Rukmiṇī (apparently the Sanskritized form of the name of the aboriginal deity Raṅkiṇī whose worship is widely prevalent in the Burdwan Division of Bengal and the adjoining region of the west),<sup>1</sup> (2) Yājapura (in Orissa) where the right foot fell and where the Devi is Virajā, (3) Rājābolahāṭa (near Serampur in the Hooghly District) where the left hand fell and where the Devi is Viśālalocanī, (4) Bālidāṅgā (near Dhaniakhali in the Hooghly District) where the right hand fell and where the Devi is Rājeśvari, (5) Kṣīragrāma (near Katwa in the Burdwan District) where the back fell and where the Devi is Yogādyā, (6) Nagarakota where the head fell and where the Devi is Jvālāmukhi, (7) Hīṅglāja (in Baluchistan) where the navel fell,<sup>2</sup> (8) Kāmākhyā where the central part of Sati's body fell and where the Devi is Kāmarūpa-Kāmākhyā, and (9) Vārāṇasī where the chest fell and where the Devi is Viśālākṣī.<sup>3</sup> Needless to say that the unimportant

<sup>1</sup> For human sacrifices in the Raṅkiṇī temple at Burdwan, see an instance cited in the newspapers in January, 1837, and quoted by B. N. Banerji in *Samvādpitre Śākaler Kathā*, Vol. II, pp. 532-34.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to defect in the text, the name of the Devi at Hīṅglāja cannot be determined.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Calcutta University ed., pp. 49-50:

चक्र कौटुप धरि                      शरीरे प्रवेश करि  
 ग्रन्थे ग्रन्थे काटिते लागिल ।  
 वामचरण निहा                      पड़िल ये घाटशिला  
 तार नाम रक्खिणी रहल ॥  
 दक्षिण चरणवर                      पड़िल ये याजपुरे  
 तार नाम रहल विरजा ।  
 देवता सकल मेलि                      सिद्धपीठ तारे बलि  
 सुरपति तार करे पूजा ॥  
 चक्रे सय हात काटे                      पड़े राजबोलहाटे  
 विशाललोचनी महेश्वरी ।  
 सतीर दक्षिण हाथ                      बलिडाङ्गाथ हैल पात  
 राजेश्वरी बलि नाम धरि ॥  
 तवे सदाशिव धाय                      महापरित्रय पाय  
 लीरयामे करिला विनाम ।  
 ताके प्रहदेश पड़े                      देवेर चामन्द बाढे  
 योगाद्या रहल तार नाम ॥  
 तवे प्रभु धूर्कटे                      गेलीन नगरकोटे  
 दिवसेक रहिला पिशाची ।  
 मलक काटे चक्रकौट                      वेद महा सिद्धपीठ  
 तार नाम हैल ज्वालामुखी ॥

rural *devā-sthānas* in Rāḍha, such as Rājabolahāṭa and Bāliḍāṅgā, received the status of Pitha in the hands of Mukundarāma merely because the poet was originally an inhabitant of the village of Dāmuniyā in the Burdwan District. The *Pīthanirṇaya* (in its accepted form), likewise, includes in the list of Pīthas Chittagong, Tipperah, Nalahati, Vakresvara, Kiritakona, Jessore, Kalighat, etc., which are late and unimportant *deva-sthānas* in Bengal,

तवे त देवेर राज उत्तरिला हिंसाज  
नाभिखल पड़िल तथाय ।  
देवकरे तन्त्रमान (?) खेर महासिद्धस्थान  
जपिले पातक नाश पाथ ॥  
ईशाने ईशान थाय उत्तरिला कामिखाय  
तथा हेल देवीप्रियस्थान ।  
मध्य चङ्ग काटे कौट खेर महासिद्धपीठ  
काङ्कप कामाख्या तार नाम ॥  
तवे त कैलासवासो उत्तरिला वाराहसी  
वल्गुखल पड़िल ताहाते ।  
विशालाची रूप हेल सर्व देव पूजा कैल  
उठे शिव शूल करि चाते ॥  
प्रभु शूल शून्य देखि लेहेते सजल चाँचि  
चखिचण्ड पाइल शूलबागे ।  
कारण पदान्यवलि खेर चखि कण्ठे धरि  
ध्यान करि वसिलेन योगे ॥

It is very interesting to note that the name of Kālighāṭa near Calcutta is not found in this list prepared in South-west Bengal possibly a little later than the composition of the *Candimangala*. The popularity of Kālighāṭa is probably later than the foundation of Calcutta by Job Churnock in 1690. Cf. *supra*, p. 24, note 1. Certain editions of Vamśidāsa's *Manasāmangala*, said to be composed in 1570 A.D., has:

एतेक शूनिया हरि वल्गुकौट इइया ।  
खण्ड खण्ड करि काटे चङ्ग प्रवेशिया ॥  
सतीर माथार केश पड़िलेक यथा ।  
काशी नामे तीर्थ हेल पूजये देवता ॥  
चङ्गुला चसिया ये पड़िल येचाने ।  
उग्रतारा नाम तीर्थ विख्यात भुवने ॥  
मुचह'ते जिह्वा पड़िल यथा याकि ।  
देवेर दुर्लभ तीर्थ नाम ज्वालासुखौ ॥  
नाभि काटिया विष्णु पाड़िल येचाने ।  
नाभिगया नाम ताहा विख्यात भुवने ॥  
दुर चङ्ग चाहे माच केह नाहि बाड़ु ।  
नौलाचल गिरि गया योनिमुद्रा पड़े ॥  
कामाख्या नाम तार चारिवेदे गार ।

Note the non-mention of Kalighat and the differences of this account from the other. Mahal Kalkuttā in Sarkār S.ṭgāon is, however, mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* as paying in 1582, together with two other Mauzas, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905 (*J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 217).

but omits such important old names as Uḍḍiyāna and Pūrṇagiri. The absence of such celebrated deities as Vindhyavāsini is also striking. Some obscure names, e.g. Maṇiveda, Ratnāvali, etc., do not appear in the earlier lists. Another feature of the list is that it (in its usually accepted form) not only regards the Devi's *hāra* (necklace), *kuṇḍala* (ear-ring) *kirīṭa* (crown) and *nūpura* (anklet) as so many of her limbs but, strangely enough, even includes in the same category her *manas* (mind). The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was probably poor, while the copyists and modifiers of the work could hardly claim any knowledge of the language. As a result of this, different versions of the text before us are full of discrepancies and mistakes often of an extremely baffling nature. In some manuscripts of the work the text is found in an exceptionally modified form. It will be interesting to compare the probable original text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (reconstructed on the basis of Manuscript G and the *Annadāmaṅgala*) with the late modification in Manuscript H both quoted in Appendix I (A and B).

*The List of Pīṭhas in the Pīṭhanirṇaya (Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa).*

Reserving for the foot-notes on the text discussion on the discrepancies as regards the names of the Pīṭhas, the Pīṭha-devatās (forms of the Devi), the Kṣetrādhiśas (Bhairavas) and the Devi's *aṅga-pratyāṅga* (limbs including ornaments, etc.), the descriptive list supplied by the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*) may be offered in a tabular form.

Number	Pīṭha	Aṅga-pratyāṅga	Devi	Bhairava
1.	Hīṅgulā Hīṅgulāṭa	Brahmarandhra	Kottari Kottavi Koṭṭariśā	Bhīmalocana
2.	Karavīra Śarkarāra	Trinetra	Mahīsamardini	Krodhīśa Krodheśa
3.	Sugandhā	Nāsikā	Sunandā Sugandhā	Tryambaka
4.	Kāśmira	Kaṇṭha	Mahāmāyā	Trisandhyeś- vara Trinetreśvara
5.	Jvālāmukhī	Jihvā	Siddhidā Ambikā	Unmatta
6.	Jālandhara	Stana	Tripuramālīni Tripuranāśīni	Bhīṣaṇa Īśāna
7.	Vaidyanātha	Hṛdaya	Jayadurgā	Vaidyanātha
8.	Nepāla	Jānu	Mahāmāyā	Kapālī
9.	Mānasa Mālava	Dakṣiṇa-hasta	Dākṣāyaṇī	Hara Hari Amara
10.	Virajāksetra in Utkala	Nābhi	Vimalā Vijayā	Jagannātha Jaya
11.	Gaṇḍakī Gaṇḍaka	Gaṇḍa	Gaṇḍakī Caṇḍī	Cakrapāṇi Jagannātha
12.	Bahulā Bāhulā	Vāma-bāhu	Bahulā Bāhulā	Bhīruka Tivraka
13.	Ujjayini Ujāni Ujjāni Urjani Urjayini	Kūrpara	Maṅgalā Maṅgalacaṇḍī	Kapilāmbara Kapileśvara

<i>Number</i>	<i>Pīṭha</i>	<i>Aṅga-pratyāṅga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
14.	Caṭṭala (Candraśekhara)	Dakṣiṇa-bāhu	Bhavānī	Candraśekhara
15.	Tripurā	Dakṣiṇa-pāda	Tripurā Tripurasundarī	Nala Tripureśa Tripurākṣa
16.	Trisrotā (Sans. <i>Trisrotus</i> ) Tiroṭā	Vāma-pāda	Bhrāmari Amari	Īśvara Ambara Amara
17.	Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa (Ten Pīthas were originally located here)	Mahāmudrā (Yoni)	Kāmākhyā	Umānanda Śivānanda Rāmānanda Rāvānanda
18.	Yugādyā (Kṣīragrāma)	Dakṣiṇa-pādāṅ- guṣṭha	Yugādyā (Yogādyā)	Kṣīrakhaṇḍa Kṣīrakāṇṭha
19.	Kālīpīṭha Kālāpīṭha (Kalighat)	Dakṣiṇa-pādāṅ- guli	Kālī	Nakuleśa Nakulīśa Nalīśa
20.	Prayāga	Hast-āṅguli	Lalitā	Bhava
21.	Jayantī Jayantā	Vāma-jaṅghā	Jayanti	Kramadīśvara
22.	Kirīṭa Kirīṭakoṇā	Kirīṭa	Bhuvaneśī Vimalā	Siddhirūpa Saṁvarta
23.	Maṇikarnikā at Vārāṇasī	Kuṇḍala	Viśālākṣī	Kāla
24.	Kanyāśrama (see p. 37, note 1)	Prṣṭha Drṣṭi	Sarvānī	Nimisa
25.	Kurukṣetra	[Dakṣiṇa]-gulpha	Sāvitri	Sthāṇu Snāyu Sarvānanda
26.	Maṇiveda Maṇivedika Mānavedaka	Maṇibandha	Gāyatri	
27.	Śrīsaila Śrīhatta	Grīvā	Mahālakṣmī Mahāmāyā	Samvarānanda Samarānanda Sarvānanda
28.	Kāñci	Kaṅkāla	Devagarbhā	Ruru
29.	Kālamādhava	Nitamba	Kālī	Asitāṅga
30.	Narmadā Śoṇa Śaila	Nitamba	Śoṇā Narmadā	Bhadrāsena
31.	Rāmagiri Rājagiri Rāmākiṇī	Stana Nāsā Nalā	Śivānī	Caṇḍa
32.	Vṛndāvana (Umāvanā) Keśajāla	Keśa	Umā Kātyāyani	Bhūteśa Kṛṣṇanātha
33.	Śuci Anala	Ūrdhva-danta	Nārāyaṇī	Samhāra Samkrūra
34.	Pañcasāgara	Adhodanta	Vārāhi	Mahārudra
35.	Karatoyātata	Vāma-karṇa Talpa Gulpha	Aparṇā	Vāmana Vāmeśa

<i>Number</i>	<i>Pīṭha</i>	<i>Aṅga-pratyāṅga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
36.	Śrīparvata	Dakṣiṇa-karṇa Talpa [Dakṣiṇa]-gulpha	Sundarī	Sundarānanda Sunandānanda
37.	Vibhāsa	Vāma-gulpha	Bhīmarūpā Kapālīnī	Kapālī Suvānanda
38.	Prabhāsa	Udara Adhara	Candrabhāgā	Vakratuṇḍa
39.	Bhairavapārvata Bhīrupārvata	Ūrdhvoṣṭha Oṣṭha Tuṇḍa	Avantī	Lambakarṇa Namrakarṇa
40.	Janasthāna Jala-sthala	Civuka	Bhrāmārī	Vikṛta Vikṛtākṣa
41.	Godāvarītīra	[Vāma]-gaṇḍa	Viśveśī Rākīṇī	Viśveśa Daṇḍapāṇi Vatsanābha
42.	Ratnāvalī Ratnavatī	Dakṣiṇa-skandha	Kumārī Śivā	Śiva Kumāra
43.	Mithilā	Vāma-skandha	Umā Mahādevī	Mahodara

(The following Pīthas were omitted in the original text which located ten Pīthas in Kāmarūpa.)

<i>Number</i>	<i>Pīṭha</i>	<i>Aṅga-pratyāṅga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
44.	Nalāhātī	Nalā	Kālī	Yogīśa Yogeśa
45.	Kālīghāta (Kālīpīṭha)	Muṇḍa	Jayadurgā	Krodhīśa Krodheśa
46.	Vakreśvara	Manas	Mahisamardini	Vakranātha
47.	Yaśora	Pāṇi	Yaśorośvarī	Caṇḍa Caṇḍeśa
48.	Attahāsa	Oṣṭha	Phullarā	Viśveśa
49.	Nandipura	Hāra	Nandīnī	Nandikeśvara
50.	Laṅkā	Nūpura	Indrākṣī	Rākṣaseśvara Nandikeśvara
51.	Virāta	Padāṅguli	Ambikā	Amṛta Amṛtākṣa <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Manibandha, a name created out of a confused text, and for Magadha and Kārnāta interpolated by later modifiers of the text who could not make out 51 names from the text before them, see foot-notes on the text. Bhāratacandra omitted the last eight names together with Vārāṇasī and Kanyāśrama but recognized the fictitious Manibandha, while our G text omits only the last eight names and thus makes the number of Pīthas 52 (with Vārāṇasī and Kanyāśrama and with the extra nine Pīthas located at Kāmarūpa). It seems that the original text made a reference either to Kanyāśrama or to Vārāṇasī. The fifth Paṭala of the late *Bṛhan-Nīlatantra* contains no less than five lists of Pīthas. Four out of them together with another from the sixth Paṭala of the same Tantra have already been quoted (see *above*, pp. 21, note 1; 25, note 3; 28, note 2). A list like the following one quoted from the *Bṛhan-Nīla* may be regarded as the source of the belief, prevalent in some parts of Bengal, that the number of Pīthas is fifty-two (cf. our G text enumerating fifty-two Pīthas owing to confusion).

कानिशा कानरूपे तं पूर्वा काष्ठां विमुक्तिदा ।

नेपाके पुष्पाद्या पुष्पा सुवेरा योज्यवर्धने ॥



*Modification of the Pīṭhanirṇaya (Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa) in the Śivacarita.*

An attempt was made to utilize and improve upon the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*) by the author of the *Śivacarita* which

धर्मवृद्धिः सुधा चैव सुखदा पापमोचनी ।  
 पारस्ये परमानन्दा ब्रह्माणी कान्यकुब्जके ॥  
 पुण्याद्रौ च महापुण्या पूर्णा यज्ञफलेश्वरी ।  
 कात्यायन्यर्बुदे देवि धनदा शिववक्त्रभा ॥  
 एका कैकासके देशे सुरपेशासकेश्वरी ।  
 त्रिपुरे सुन्दरी दिव्यरूपाश्चिन्तमनोहरा ॥  
 कामकोटे महापीठे प्रमदा मदनालसा ।  
 कामेश्वरी रतिशैव भृगुपुर्यां त्रिश्वरी ॥  
 ब्रह्मेशा च तपोलक्ष्मीः कैलासे भवनेश्वरी ।  
 केदारि वरदा चैवास्तना चन्द्रपुरे सिता ॥  
 कलावती प्रभेशा च श्रीपुरे श्रीरमा प्रिया ।  
 कुमारौ ब्रह्मचर्या च कन्या च कन्यकापुरे ॥  
 जालान्तरे महापीठे नागर्याग्निमुखी शुभा ।  
 ज्वालामुखी लोलजिह्वा सुवेशा च सुरङ्गिणी ॥  
 मालवे च महाविद्याविस्वपीठे च रूपिणी ।  
 रूपवती महादेवी देवीकोटेश्चिलेश्वरी ॥  
 गोकर्णे प्रियपीठे त्वं वद्राणी सर्वमङ्गला ।  
 पवने हरपीठे च गन्धश्रीश्च सुगन्धिका ॥  
 चण्डिका महापीठे भीमकाली च कालिका ।  
 विरजे मुक्तिहेतुश्च नमःस्तुतिस्तुतिधामयी ॥  
 जयश्रीराजलक्ष्मीश्च सुवेशा राजपर्वते ।  
 शङ्कापुरे महासम्पत् मातेश्वरी महापथे ॥  
 गायत्री ब्रह्मरूपा च तत्सदोष्कारपीठके ।  
 जया जयपुरे देवी जयदा जयमङ्गला ॥  
 विजया मङ्गला गौरी उज्जयिन्यां सदाशिव ।  
 गौरीश्वरी महादेवी हरिद्रापीठके शिवा ॥  
 क्षीरपीठे युगाद्या च क्षीराब्ध्या नियमप्रभा ।  
 राजेश्वरी महालक्ष्मीर्हस्तिनापुरवासिनी ॥  
 कमला विमला भक्ती रौद्रौ च नीलपर्वते ।  
 यागेश्वरी चित्रेशी च त्रिलोतां ब्रह्मरूपिणी ॥  
 सिन्धुलक्ष्मी कामधेनु षष्ठी षष्ठीपुरे प्रिये ।  
 माया मायापुरे देवी सुरभी सौरभेश्वरी ॥  
 विलासिनी महानन्दा प्रियचन्दनपर्वते ।  
 महात्रिश्वरी श्रेष्ठा श्रमशिवरपीठके ॥  
 भवानी भवभक्ता च श्रीशैले शिववक्त्रभा ।  
 देवता या स्वर्गलक्ष्मीः कनकामरपर्वते ॥

has been analyzed by N. N. Vasu in the *Viśvakoṣa*, s.v. *pīṭha*. This work supplies a list of 51 Mahā-Pīṭhas (great Pīṭhas) and another of 26 Upa-Pīṭhas (Pīṭhas of lesser importance). Although the word *upapīṭha* is traced in such works as the *Sādhana-mālā* (p. 479), no early lists of the less important Pīṭhas are known to us. The *Śivacarita* closely follows the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* in regard to 41 (actually 42, but the name Maṇibandha is due to textual confusion) out of the 51 great Pīṭhas, the remaining 10 names as given in the latter not being found in that work. It is interesting to note in this connection that Bhāratacandra, who mentions 42 Pīṭhas (including Maṇibandha) by name and locates 10 Pīṭhas at one of them to make the number 51, closely follows in his *Annadāmaṅgala* the readings of the *Śivacarita* in spite of his avowed indebtedness to the *Mantracūḍāmaṇi* (for *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*) *Tantra*. These facts suggest that the original text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* actually but partially followed the *Kubjikā Tantra* in offering only the names of 42 Pīṭhas, while the number of the Pīṭhas was made 51 by locating the ten Mahāvidyās (manifestations of Śakti conceived in imitation of the Daśāvatāra of Viṣṇu) at Kāmarūpa. If such was the case, it is tempting to suggest that some verses containing the names of certain obscure Pīṭhas especially in the concluding part of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* text (cf. verses 48-55) were added to the original text at a later date. They may have been inspired and influenced by the *Śivacarita*. The above suggestion seems to be strongly supported by the fact that verses 48-55 of our *Pīṭhanirṇaya* text containing the names of Nalāhātī, Kālīghāṭa, Vakreśvara, Yaśora, Attahāsa, Nandipura, Laṅkā and Virātadeśa (including the variants Karpāṭa and Magadhā) are conspicuous by their absence from some manuscripts of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*; cf. our G text.

The evidence of the *Annadāmaṅgala* has been quoted in the foot-notes on the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, while the descriptive list of the *Śivacarita* is offered below in a tabular form.

*List of the Pīṭhas (Mahāpīṭhas) and Upapīṭhas in the Śivacarita.*

A - Mahāpīṭhas

Number	Pīṭha	Āṅga-pratyāṅga	Devī	Bhairava
1.	Hīṅgulā	Brahmarandhra	Kottarī	Bhīmalocana
2.	Śarkara	Trinetra	Mahīśamardini	Krodhīśa
3.	Tārā	Netrāṁśa-tārā	Tārīṇī	Uṇmatta

उमा गौरी सती सत्या पार्वती हिमपर्वते ।  
 इन्द्रेवरी सुराराध्या माहेन्द्रे जगदीश्वरी ॥  
 चण्डा भोगेश्वरी नित्या श्रीमद्भक्तिपुरे शिवा ।  
 सुवर्णा कमला रामा हिरण्यपुरपोतके ॥  
 महालक्ष्मीर्महेशानौ महालक्ष्मीपुरेऽम्बिका ।  
 चण्डपुरे प्रचण्डा च चण्डा चण्डवती शिवा ॥  
 हस्ते मेघस्त्रना चैव मायाश्चेश्वरी (बाया° ?) तथा ।  
 कालीघट्टे महापीठे काली कालात्मिका तथा ॥  
 लिङ्गाच्छे भैरवी विद्या विजया आक्रवीतटे ।  
 इति ते कथितं दिवं पीठक्रममुदाहृतम् ॥

It is to be noted that the six lists of Pīṭhas found in the *Brhan-Nīlantantra* do not agree fully with one another and are not free from mistakes.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Pīṭha</i>	<i>Āṅga-pratyāṅga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
4.	Karatoyātata	Vāma-karṇa	Aparṇā	Vāmeśa
5.	Śrīparvata	Dakṣiṇa-karṇa	Sundarī	Sundarānanda
6.	Sugandhā	Nāsikā	Sundandā	Tryambaka
7.	Vakranātha	Manas	Pāpaharā	Vakranātha
8.	Godāvari	Vāma-gaṇḍa	Viśvamātrkā	Viśveśa
9.	Gaṇḍakī	Dakṣiṇa-gaṇḍa	Gaṇḍakī	Čakrapāṇi
10.	Anala	Ūrdhva-danta	Nārāyaṇi	Samkrūra
11.	Pañcasāgara	Adho-danta	Vārāhi	Mahārudra
12.	Jvālāmukhī	Jihvā	Ambikā	Vatakeśvara
				Unmatta
13.	Kāśmīra	Kaṇṭha	Mahāmāyā	Trisandhya
14.	Śrīhatta	Grīvā	Mahālakṣmī	Sarvānanda
15.	Bhairavapārvata	Oṣṭha	Avantī	Namrakarṇa
16.	Prabhāsa	Adhara	Čandrabhāgā	Vakratuṇḍa
17.	Prabhāsakhaṇḍa	Marma	Siddheśvari	Siddheśvara
18.	Janasthāna	(Īvuka	Bhramarī	Vikṛtākṣa
19.	Prayāga	Dvi-hast-āṅguli	Kamalā	Veṇīmādhava
20.	Mānasa-sarovara	Dakṣiṇa-hastār- dha (Vāma- hasta)	Dākṣāyaṇī	Hara
21.	Cattagrāma	Dakṣiṇa-hast- ārdha	Bhavānī	Čandraśekhara
22.	Mithilā	Vāma-skandha	Mahādevī	Mahodara
23.	Ratnāvalī	Dakṣiṇa-skandha	Śivā	Śiva
				Kumāra
24.	Manibandha	Vāma-mani- bandha	Čāyatri	Śaṅkara
25.	Maṇiveda	Dakṣiṇa-mani- bandha	Sāvitṛī	Sarvāna
				Sthānu
26.	Ujānī	Vāma-kaphonī	Maṅgalacandī	Kapilāmbara
27.	Raṇakhaṇḍa	Dakṣiṇa-kaphonī	Bahulākṣī	Mahākāla
28.	Bahulā	Vāma-bāhu	Bahulā	Bhīruka
29.	Vakreśvara	Dakṣiṇa-bāhu	Vakreśvari	Vakreśvara
30.	Jālandhara	Vāma-stana	Tripuramālīnī	Bhīṣaṇa
31.	Rāmāgiri	Dakṣiṇa-stana	Śivānī	Čaṇḍa
32.	Vaivasvata	Prstha	Triputā	Śamanakarman
				Nimisa
33.	Vaidyanātha	Hṛdaya	Navaśurgā	Vaidyanātha
			Jayaśurgā	
34.	Utkala	Nābhi	Vijayā	Jaya
35.	Haridvāra	Jathara	Bhairavī	Vakra
36.	Kōkāmukha	Kōk (Śans Kukṣī)	Kōkeśvari	Kōkeśvara
37.	Kāñci	Kaṅkāla	Vedagarbhā	Ruru
38.	Kālamādhava	Vāma-nitamba	Kālī	Asitāṅga
39.	Narmadā	Dakṣiṇa-nitamba	Śoṇākṣī	Bhadrāsena
40.	Kāmarūpa	Mahāmudrā (Yoni)	Kāmākhya	Rāvānanda
			Nilapārvatī	Umānanda
41.	Mālava	Vāma-jānu	Śubhacandī	Tāmra
42.	Trisrotā (Śans. Trisrotas)	Dakṣiṇa-jānu	Čaṇḍikā	Sadānanda
43.	Jayanti	Vāma-jaṅghā	Jayanti	Kramadīśvara
44.	Nepāla	Dakṣiṇa-jaṅghā	Mahāmāyā Navadurgā	Kapālī

Number	Pīṭha	Aṅga-pratyāṅga	Devī	Bhairava
45.	Trihuta (Sans. <i>Tirabhukti</i> )	Vāma-pāda	Amari	Amara
46.	Tripurā	Dakṣiṇa-pāda	Tripurā	Nala
47.	Kṣīragrāma	Dakṣiṇa-pād- āṅguṣṭha	Yogōdyā	Kṣīrakhaṇḍa
48.	Kālighāṭa	Dakṣiṇa-pād- āṅguli	Kālikā	Nakuleśa
49.	Vibhāsa	Vāma-gulpha	Ḥīmarūpā	Kapālī
50.	Kurukṣetra	Dakṣiṇa-gulpha	Samvārī	Samvarta
			Vimalā	
51.	Vindhyasēkhara	Vāma-pād- āṅguli	Vindhyavāsini	Puṇyabhājana

## B—Upapīṭhas

1.	Kirītakonā	Kirīta	Bhuvaneśī	Kirītin
2.	Keśajāla	Keśa	Umā	Bhūteśa
3.	Vārāṇasī	Kundala	Viśālākṣī	Kālabhairava
			Annapūrnā	Viśveśvara
4.	Uttarā	Vāma-gaṇḍ-āṁśa	Uttarinī	Utsādana
5.	Nalasthāna	Dakṣiṇa-gaṇḍ- āṁśa	Bhrāmari	Virūpākṣa
6.	Atṭahāsa	Osthāṁśa	Phullarā	Viśvanātha
7.	Samhāra	Dantāṁśa	Śūreśī	Śūreśa
8.	Nilācala	Uchista	Vimalā	Jagannātha
9.	Ayodhyā	Kantha-hāra	Annapūrnā	Harihara
10.	Nandipura	Hār-āṁśa	Nandinī	Nandīśvara
11.	Śrīśaila	Grīv-āṁśa	Sarveśvari	Caritānanda
12.	Kālipīṭha	Śiroma	Caṇḍeśvari	Caṇḍeśvara
13.	Čakradvīpa	Astra	Čakradhārīnī	Śūlapānī
14.	Yaśora	Pāni	Yaśoreśvari	Pracaṇḍa
15.	Saticala	Kurāṁśa	Sumandā	Sumanda
16.	Vṇḍāvana	Skandhāṁśa	Kumārī	Kumāra
17.	Gaurīśekhara	Yasā	Yugōdyā	Bhīma
18.	Nalahātī	Śīrānālī	Śephalikā	Yogīśa
19.	Šarvaśaila	Kaksāṁśa	Viśvamātā	Dandapānī
20.	Šona	Nitambāṁśa	Bhadrā	Bhadreśvara
21.	Trisrotā (cf. p. 40, No. 42)	Pādāṁśa	Pārvatī	Īśvara
22.	Laṅkā	Nūpura	Indrākṣī	Rāksaseśvara
23.	Kataka	Čarmāṁśa	Katakeśvari	Vāmadeva
24.	Puṇḍra	Loma	Sarvākṣīnī	Sarva
25.	Ṭailaṅga	Lomakhaṇḍa	Caṇḍadāyikā	Caṇḍeśa
26.	Śvetabandha	Bhagnāṁśa	Jayā	Mahābhīma <sup>1</sup>

*Materials utilized in the Present Edition of the Pīṭhanirṇaya  
(Mahāpīṭhanirūpana).*

The subjoined text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpana*) is based upon the following sources.

A—Manuscript No. 196, entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (and probably also *Mahāpīṭhalakṣaṇa*), in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> I have failed to secure and examine any copy of the *Śivacarita*.

- B—Manuscript No. 3400, entitled *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- C—Manuscript No. 5303, entitled *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- D—Text entitled *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, quoted from the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* in the *Prānatosanī Tantra*, Vasumatī ed., pp. 234ff
- E—Text entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, quoted from the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* in the *Śabdakalpādruma*, s.v. *pīṭha*.
- F—Text quoted in the *Vācaspatya* by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, s.v. *pīṭha*.
- G—Manuscript entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, in the Collection of Mr S. K. Saraswati of the Calcutta University. This manuscript, collected from Rajshahi, was copied about the second quarter of the eighteenth century
- H—Manuscript No. 10863, entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, in the Indian Museum Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. As the text found in this manuscript has wide variations it has been quoted in Appendix I—B. Cf. this text with that of the *Sivacarita*
- I—Manuscript No. 402 (Sanskrit), entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, in the Collection of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat, Calcutta; copied on the 14th Bhādra, Śaka 1760 (1838 A.D.) and B S. 1245.
- AM—The Bengali version of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*) in the Pīṭhamālā section of the *Annadāmaṅgala* by Bhāratacandīa, Vaṅgavāsī ed., pp. 43-47.

*Text of the Pīṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*

## पौठनिर्णयः (महापौठनिरूपणम्)<sup>1</sup>

[Sections within square brackets are due to later modifications of the text. They have either to be omitted or to be corrected according to indications given in the foot-notes. Vide Appendix I]

ईश्वर उवाच ।<sup>2</sup>

मातः पशत्यरे देवि सर्वज्ञानमयौश्वरि ।

कथ्यतां मे सर्वपौठशक्तिभैरवदेवताः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १ ॥

<sup>1</sup> The section is styled पौठनिर्णयः in AEGHI; but महापौठनिरूपणं in BCD. The expression महापौठलक्षणं also occurs in A.

<sup>2</sup> A—अथ महापौठलक्षणं ॥ श्रीईश्वर उवाच ॥ B—श्रीगुरुव नमः ॥ श्रीईश्वर उवाच ॥ CD—तन्त्रचूडामणौ (चन्द्रचूडामणौ in C) महापौठनिरूपणं यथा । ईश्वर उवाच । E—ईश्वर उवाच । G—श्रीहरिः । ईश्वर उवाच । H—ॐ नमो भगवत्यै ॥ उक्तं भावचूडामणौ । अथ पौठनिर्णयः । I—ॐ नमः शिवाय । ईश्वर उवाच । Reference to the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* is found in the colophon of ABEL.

<sup>3</sup> BCDE—शक्तिभैरव°

देव्युवाच ।<sup>1</sup>

प्रदग् वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि दयाल भक्तवत्सल ।

याभिर्विना न सिध्यन्ति जपसाधनसत्क्रियाः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २ ॥

पञ्चाशदेकपौठानि एवं भैरवदेवताः<sup>3</sup> ।

अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गपातेन विष्णुचक्रक्षतेन च<sup>4</sup> ।

ममाद्यवपुषो<sup>5</sup> देव हिताय त्वयि कथ्यते ॥ ३ ॥

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं हिङ्गुलायां<sup>6</sup> भैरवो भौमलोचनः ।

कोट्टरी<sup>7</sup> सा महादेव त्रिगुणा या दिगम्बरी ॥ ४ ॥

<sup>1</sup> A—त्रौपार्वत्युवाच ; G—त्रौदेव्युवाच ।

<sup>2</sup> ABDEI— तत्क्रियाः ; G—मन्त्रसाधनतत्क्रियाः ; I—यासां विना ।

<sup>3</sup> A—एकपञ्चाशतं पौठं शक्तिभैरवदेवताः ; BCD—एकपञ्चाशत पौठ शक्तिभैरवदेवताः ;

F—एकपञ्चाशच्च पौठाः शक्तिभैरवदेवताः । I—पञ्चाशदेकपौठश्च ।

AM— तयाय सतीर देह मिया चक्रपाणि ।

काटिलेन चक्रधारे करि चानि खानि ॥

येखाने येखाने चक्र पडिल सतीर ।

महापौठ संद स्थान पूजित विधिर ॥

करिया एकाम्ब खण्ड काटिला केशव ।

विधाना पूजिला भव चरला भैरव ॥

Although AM refers to 51 Pīthas, it actually speaks of 42 and omits Vārānasi, Kanyāśrama, Nalāhātī, Kālipītha or Karnāta, Vakreśvara, Attahāsa, Yaśora (Jessoro), Virāta-deśa, Nandipura and Laṅkā. This is because AM locates ten Pīthas (associated with the ten fingers of Sati's hands) at Prayāga. AM's readings in most cases tally with those of the *S'ivacarita*. Our G text omits all the extra names excepting Vārānasi and Kanyāśrama, while AM's original suggested Mamibandha instead. The original text seems to have had 42 names (with 10 Pīthas located in Kāmāruṇa) including either Vārānasi or Kanyāśrama.

<sup>1</sup> च is omitted in A. G—हरिचक्र<sup>1</sup> ।

<sup>2</sup> A—समान्यवपुषोः B—[ममा]द्यवपुषा ; CDE—समान्यवपुषोः ; F—समान्य वपुषोः G—समान्य वपुषो देव हितायामररक्षसां ; I—समान्यवपुषो देव हिताय देवरक्षसां ।

<sup>6</sup> I—हिङ्गुलाटे ।

<sup>7</sup> AGI—कोट्टरी सा महादेवी ; B—क[ट्टरी] सा महादेवी त्रिगुणा च ; C—कोट्टरी सा महादेवी ; D—कोट्टरी सा महादेव ; E—कोट्टरी सा महामाया ; F—कोट्टरी सा महादेव ।

AM— हिङ्गुलाय ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं फेलिल केशव ।

देवता कोट्टरी भौमलोचन भैरव ॥

The words *Kotari*, *Kotavi* and *Kottavi* are found in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a naked woman'; cf. *digambari* (naked) as an epithet of the Indian mother-goddess. Hingulā is modern Hinglaj (lat. 25° N., long. 65° E.) in Baluchistan. The goddess is locally known as Bibi Nāni, probably the same as Nana known from the Kuṣāṇa coins. Nana was the great mother-goddess worshipped in wide regions of Western and Central Asia.

करवीरे<sup>1</sup> त्रिनेत्रं मे देवी महिषमर्दिनी ।

क्रोधीशो<sup>2</sup> भैरवस्तत्र

सुगन्धायास्तु नासिका<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५ ॥

देवस्यम्बकनामा च सुगन्दा तत्र देवता ॥ ६ ॥

काश्मीरे कण्ठदेशस्तु<sup>4</sup> त्रिसन्धेश्वरभैरवः ।

महामाया भगवती गुणातीता वरप्रदा ॥ ७ ॥

ज्वालामुख्यां तथा जिह्वा<sup>5</sup> देव उन्मत्तभैरवः ।

अम्बिका सिद्धिदा नाम्नी (देवी)<sup>6</sup>

स्तनं<sup>7</sup> जालन्धरे मम ॥ ८ ॥

<sup>1</sup> D (v.l.) EGI—शर्करारे ।

AM - शर्करारे तत्र चतुर्भुजभैरव (वैभव) ।

महिषमर्दिनी देवी क्रोधीश भैरव ॥

Karavīra or Karavīrapura is often identified with Śarkarāra which is supposed to be no other than modern Sukkur, the chief city of the District of that name in Sind. According to the *Kālikā Purāna* (chs. 38-39), Karavīrapura was the capital of the Brahmāvarta country (Eastern Punjab) and was situated near the river Dṛśadvatī; but the city is usually identified with Kolhapur (locally called Karvir) in the Bombay Presidency.

<sup>2</sup> ABI—क्रोधीश ।

<sup>3</sup> GI—सुगन्धा नासिका मम ; I—सुगन्धा तत्र देवता ;

E—क्रोधीशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥

सुगन्धायां नासिका मे देवस्यम्बकभैरवः ।

सुन्दरी सा महादेवी सुगन्दा तत्र देवता ॥

The elaboration of the text in E seems to be a later modification of the original.

AM — सुगन्धाय नासिका पङ्क्ति चक्रवर्ता ।

चाम्बक भैरव तां सुगन्दा देवता ॥

The Pīṭha is located at Shikārpur (about 13 miles to the north of Barisal in the Buckergunge District) on the Sondha (Sugandhā). The temple of Tryambakeśvara stands at Ponābālī-Sāmraīl (about 3 miles to the south of Jhālākāṭī) on the same stream.

<sup>4</sup> B—कण्ठदेशं मे ; I—त्रिनेत्रेश्वरभैरवः ।

AM — काश्मीरेते कण्ठ देवी महामाया तत्र ।

त्रिसन्ध-ईश्वर नाम भैरव तथाय ॥

As there is no reference to the celebrated Śāradā (Sardi) and Amaranātha tīrthas of Kāśhmīr, there seems to be a fantastic element in the description of this Pīṭha.

<sup>5</sup> A—महाजिह्वा देवस्यम्बक ; B—तथा जिह्वा ; CDEF—महाजिह्वा ; G—महाजिह्वा देवता ; I—महाजिह्वा देव उन्मत्तभैरव ।

<sup>6</sup> A—लक्ष्मीः ।

AM — ज्वालामुखे जिह्वा तां अग्नि अनुभव ।

देवीर अम्बिका नाम उन्मत्त भैरव ॥

This seems to suggest the reading अम्बिका सिद्धिदा देवी । Jvālāmukhī (lat. 31° N., long. 76° E.) lies in the Kangra District of the Punjab.

<sup>7</sup> F—स्तनो ।

भीषणो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरमासिनी<sup>1</sup> ॥ ९ ॥

हार्दपीठं<sup>2</sup> वैद्यनाथे वैद्यनाथस्तु भैरवः ।

देवता जयदुर्गाख्या

नेपाले जानु मे शिव<sup>3</sup> ॥ १० ॥

कपाली भैरवः श्रीमान् महामाया च देवता ॥ ११ ॥

मानसे दक्षहस्तो<sup>4</sup> मे देवी दाक्षायणी हर (हरः) ।

[अमरो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः] ॥ १२ ॥

[उत्कले नाभिदेशस्तु<sup>5</sup> विरजाक्षेत्रमुच्यते] ।

विमला सा महादेवी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ॥ १३ ॥

<sup>1</sup> E—त्रिपुरमासिनी ; B—ईशानो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरमासिनी ।

AM— जालन्धरे तांवार पड़िल एक स्तन ।

त्रिपुरमासिनी देवी भैरव भीषण ॥

Jālundhara (lat. 31° N., long. 75° E.) is the chief city of the Jullundur District of the East Punjab. But the Pītha is located near Jvālāmukhi.

<sup>2</sup> ACF—हृदपीठं ; B—हृदं पीठं ; I—देवताख्या जयदुर्गा ।

AM— वैद्यनाथे हृदय भैरव वैद्यनाथ ।

देवी तांजे जयदुर्गा सर्वसिद्धि साध ॥

Vaidyanātha is the same as Dooghur-Vaidyanathdharm (lat. 86° E., long. 24° N.) in the Santal Parganas District of Bihar.

<sup>3</sup> DE—जानुनी मम ।

AM— नेपाले दक्षिण जङ्गल कपाली भैरव ।

देवी ताथ महामाया सदा महोत्सव ॥

The non-mention of Paśupatiātha, the most famous deity in Nepal, in this connection seems to expose the imaginary character of the description.

<sup>4</sup> I—°हस्तं ; AB(—मालवे दक्षहस्तं ; F—मालवे ; G—दाक्षायणी हरिः ।

AM— चार अर्ध डाजि हस्त मानसरोवरे ।

देवी दाक्षायणी हर भैरव विहरे ॥

AM suggests the reading हरः and the omission of the second half of the verse. The Mānasa lake (lat. 30° N., long. 81° E.), the source of the river Śatadru (Satlej), is in the Himalayas. Since Ujjayini, a city in Mālava, is separately mentioned (v. 16), मानसे appears to be the reading intended. But nothing can be said definitely as Ujjayini in this case may actually represent a village of Bengal. It is, however, to be noted that the celebrated god Mahākāla (Śiva) is not mentioned in connection either with Ujjayini or with Mālava. Mālava is modern Malwa; but the name often indicated East Malwa of which the ancient capital was Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in the Gwalior State).

<sup>5</sup> ABCF—नाभिदेशस्तु ; I—°देशस्तु ।

G— विरजा चोत्कले ख्याता नाभिर्मे मम(जय ?) भैरवः ।

गण्डर्वा गण्डकी(गण्डकः?) चण्डी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ॥

Although not free from mistake, this probably points to the original reading of verses 13-14. For elaboration of the earlier text as a later trait, cf. p. 44, note 3.



गण्डक्यां<sup>1</sup> गण्डपातश्च तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः ।

तत्र सा<sup>2</sup> गण्डकी चण्डी चक्रपाणिस्तु भैरवः ॥ १४ ॥ ]

बज्रलायां वामबाहुर्बज्रलास्या च देवता ।

भौवकी भैरवस्तत्र<sup>3</sup> सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥ १५ ॥

उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्च<sup>4</sup> माङ्गल्य-कपिलाम्बरः (मङ्गला कपिलाम्बरः) ॥

[भैरवः सिद्धिदः साक्षाद्देवी मङ्गलचण्डिका] ॥ १६ ॥

AM— उत्कले पङ्क्ति नाभि मोक्ष याज्ञा सेवि ।

जय नामे भैरव विजया नामे देवी ॥

AM suggests the reading विजया सा महादेवी जयनामा तु भैरवः । or

विजया चोत्कले श्याता नाभिर्मे जयभैरवः ॥

Virajā or Virajākṣetra is identical with modern Jājjpur (lat. 20' N., long. 86 E.) in the Cuttack District of Orissa.

Cf. ततो वैतरणीं गच्छेत् सर्वपापप्रमोचनीम् ।

विरज तोर्यमासाद्य विराजति यथा शशी ॥

( महाभारत । १। ८५। १६ )

The name of the Bhairava in the modified text is apparently borrowed from the god Jagannātha at Puri and probably hints at an attempt of claiming that deity to be a manifestation of Śiva.

1 B—गण्डके गण्डपातश्च; E—गण्डपातश्च; I—गण्डक्यां गण्डकी चण्डी चक्रपाणिस्तु भैरवः ।

AM— गण्डकीते जानि गण्ड पङ्क्ते चक्रपाय ।

चक्रपाणि भैरव गण्डकी चण्डी ताथ ॥

This suggests the reading गण्डक्यां दक्षगण्डश्च । The Gaṇḍakī (modern Gandak) is a tributary of the Ganges and meets the latter river near Bakhtyarpur in Bihar. The Pīṭha has been located at Śālagrāma at the source of the Gandak.

2 A—सा तत्र ।

3 I—बाज्रलायां; तौवकी भैरवो देवः; D—भैरवो देवः ।

AM— बाज्रलाय वामबाहु फेलिला केशव ।

बाज्रला चण्डिका तादे भौवक भैरव ॥

AM suggests the reading बाज्रलायां वामबाहुर्बाज्रलास्या । The Pīṭha is located at Ketugrāma near Katwa in the Burdwan District.

4 A—उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्चैव; B—उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्चापि; G—उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्च माङ्गले (मङ्गला ?);

I—तर्ज्यन्यां च कूर्परं माङ्गले कपिलेश्वर ।

AM— उज्जानीते कफोनि मङ्गलचण्डी देवी ।

भैरव कपिलाम्बर शुभ यारे सेवि ॥

AM seems to refer to Ujāni or Kogrām in the Burdwan District of Bengal, although Ujjayini (modern Ujjain) in the early lists of Pīṭhas must be identified with the famous city in Avanti or West Mālava, now lying in the Gwalior State in Western India. Note that the name of the Bhairava is not Mahākālā who is known to have been the tutelary deity of Ujjayini. The 12 *vyotirlingas* as enumerated in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (I, 38, 17-20) are Somanātha in Saurāstra, Mallikārjuna on the Śrīśaila, Mahākālā at Ujjayini, Onkāra at Amaroṣvara, Kedāra in the Himalayas, Bhīmaśaṅkara at Dākini

चट्टले दक्षबाऊर्मे भैरवखन्त्रशेखरः ।

यत्कृत्वा भगवती भवानी यत्र<sup>1</sup> देवता ।

विशेषतः कलियुगे वसामि चन्द्रशेखरे ॥ १७ ॥

त्रिपुरायां दक्षपादो देवी त्रिपुरसुन्दरी (देवता त्रिपुरा नलः)<sup>2</sup> ।

[भैरवस्त्रिपुरेश्वर<sup>3</sup> सर्वाभीष्टप्रदायकः<sup>4</sup>] ॥ १८ ॥

त्रिखोतायां वामपादो आभरी भैरवेश्वरः<sup>5</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

योनिपीठं कामगिरौ<sup>6</sup> कामाख्या तत्र देवता ।

यत्रास्ते त्रिगुणातीता रक्तपाषाणरूपिणी<sup>7</sup> ॥ २० ॥

(at the source of the Bhīnā north-west of Poona), Vīśveśvara at Vārānasi, Tryambaka on the bank of the Gautamī (Godāvari) near Nasik, Vaidyanātha at Ītābhūmī (Deoghar-Baidyanāthdham in the Santal Parganas), Nāgeśa at Dārūkāvana (Aundh ?), Rāmeśvara at Setubandha, and Ghr̥ṣeśa (Ghuśr̥ṣeśa, Ghuśmeśa) at Śivālaya (Ellora near Daulatabad). The original reading of the passage may have been उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्च मङ्गला कपिलाम्बरः with the second line of the verse omitted. Cf. pp. 44, note 3 ; 45, note 5.

<sup>1</sup> BDEFI—तत्र ।

AM— चट्टपामे डानिहस चर्द अनुभव ।

भवानी देवता चन्द्रशेखर भैरव ॥

The Pītha is located at the Sitākūṇḍa on the Chandranath hill in the Chittagong District of East Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> D (v.l.) E—देवता त्रिपुरा नला; G—देवता त्रिपुरा नलः ।

AM— दक्षिण चरणस्थानि पङ्के त्रिपुराय ।

नल नामे भैरव त्रिपुरा देवी ताय ॥

The original reading was apparently त्रिपुरायां दक्षपादो देवता त्रिपुरा नलः with the second line of the verse omitted (cf. p. 46, note 4). The Pītha is located at Radhakishorepur (old Rāṅgāmātī or Udaypur) in the Tripurā (Hill Tipperah) State in Bengal. The city of Tripura or Tripurī, mentioned in early literature, has, however, to be identified with modern Tewar near Jubbulpur in the Central Province. The temple of the goddess at Radhakishorepur was built by king Dharmamānikya in Śaka 1423 (1501 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> A—°स्त्रिपुराश्च । See the *Śivacarita*, AM, and the G text which speak of the Bhairava as Nala (cf. note 2 above).

<sup>4</sup> E—°फलप्रदः ।

<sup>5</sup> DEG—भैरवोऽम्बरः; I—भैरवाम्बरः ।

AM— तिरोताय पङ्के वामपद मनोहर ।

अमरी देवता ताङ्गे भैरव अमर ॥

AM suggests the reading तिरोतायां वामपादस्थामरी भैरवोऽम्बरः । It is interesting to note that the word *tirotā* stands for Sanskrit *strī* in the Assamese language. But AM here follows the *Śivacarita* passage referring to *Trihuta* (Sanskrit *Tirabhukti*), modern Tirhut or North Bihar. Trirotā is of course the modern Tista, a tributary of the Brahmaputra or Yamunā. The Pītha is located at Sālbāri in the Jalpaiguri District.

<sup>6</sup> G—कामरूपे ।

<sup>7</sup> AG—यत्ना (I—यत्न°) पाषाण°; G—°स्त्रिवानन्दोऽय भैरवः; तन्मात्रीसाधनी यत्र; I—

°साक्षात् वामानन्दाय; भस्माचली भवेद्याय ।

AM— मन्त्रासुद्धा कामरूपे रज्जोवाम याय ।

वामानन्द (v.l. रावा°) भैरव कामाख्या देवी ताय ।

यत्रास्ते माधवः साक्षादुमानन्दोऽथ भैरवः ।  
 सर्वदा विहरेद्देवी तत्र मुक्तिर्न संशयः ॥ २१ ॥  
 तत्र श्रीभैरवी देवी तत्र च क्षेत्रदेवता<sup>१</sup> ।  
 प्रचण्डचण्डिका तत्र मातङ्गी त्रिपुरात्मिका<sup>२</sup> ।  
 वगला कमला तत्र भुवनेश्वरी सध्मिनी<sup>३</sup> ॥ २२ ॥

AM suggests the reading साक्षाद् रामानन्दोऽथ वा साक्षाद् रामानन्दोऽथ । The Kāmarūpa Pīṭha has been located near Gauhati in Assam. The homage paid by certain early rulers of Assam to Kāmeśvara and Mahāgaurī (Kāmākhyā) seems to point to the old name of the Bhairava at the Kāmarūpa Pīṭha.

<sup>१</sup> ABCE—नक्षत्रदेवता; D—न क्षेत्रदेवता; GI—यत्र च भैरवी देवी यत्र नक्षत्रदेवता ।

Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa is represented as the seat of the ten Mahāvidyās whose names are given as Bhairavī, Kāmākhyā (Kṣetradevatā), Praçaṇḍacaṇḍikā (i.e. 'Chinnamastā'; cf. *Tantrasāra*, pp. 802ff.), Mātāṅgī, Tripurā, Ambikā, Vagalā, Bhuvaneśī (Bhuvaneśvari) and Dhūmini (Dhūmāvatī). The usually recognized names of the Mahāvidyās (a late medieval Śākta adaptation of the Daśāvatāra conception) are however Kālī, Tārā, Śodāśī, Bhuvaneśvari, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Vagalā, Mātāṅgī and Kamalā (the *Brhadharmu P*, II, 6, 126, having Sundersī for Kamalā and Bagalāmukhī for Bagalā). Cf.

काली तारा महाविद्या षोडशी भुवनेश्वरी ।

भैरवी विघ्नमस्ता च विद्या धूमावती तथा ।

वगला चिखविद्या च मातङ्गी कमलात्मिका ॥

referred to the *Cāmundā Tantra* in the *Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v., and to the *Mundamālā Tantra* (cf. *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 164) in the *Tantrasāra* (p. 14). Only some of the names are common to the two lists. That, however, there was no unanimity about the names of the ten Mahāvidyās is demonstrated by another list quoted from the *Mālinīvijaya* in the *Tantrasāra* (loc. cit.):

काली नीला महादुर्गा ललिता विघ्नमस्तका ।

वाग्वादिनी चान्नपूर्णा तथा प्रत्यङ्गिरा पुनः ॥

कामाख्यावासिनी बाला मातङ्गी शैलवासिनी ॥

This list agrees with that of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* in recognizing Kāmākhyā as one of the ten Mahāvidyās. The name Praçaṇḍacaṇḍikā, recognized by the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, is found in the following list of the ten Mahāvidyās quoted from the *Tantracintāmaṇi* in *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 388: (1) Śyāmā (Kālī), (2) Tārā, (3) Praçaṇḍacaṇḍikā, (4) Śrī (Kamalā), (5) Bhairavī, (6) Mahālakṣmī, (7) Mātāṅgī, (8) Bhuvaneśvari, (9) Dhūmāvatī, and (10) Vagalā. An interesting list of the Mahāvidyās in the *Guhyātīguhya Tantra* (*Des. Cat.*, p. 206) identifies the manifestations of the mother-goddess with the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu :

कण्ठवृत्तिः कालिका स्याद् रामवृत्तिस्तु तारिणी ।

विघ्नमस्ता वृषिचः स्याद् वामनो भुवनेश्वरी ॥

जामदग्नयः सुन्दरी स्नात्कीनो धूमावती भवेत् ।

बाला(वगला ?) क्रूरवृत्तिः स्याद् लक्ष्म्यश्च भैरवी ॥

महालक्ष्मीर्भवेद्गुह्यो दुर्गा स्यात् कालिकपिणी ।

स्वयं भवती काली कण्ठस्तु भगवान् स्वयं ॥

Cf. Mahālakṣmī and Durgā for Kamalā and Mātāṅgī. The *Tantracintāmaṇi* (*ibid.*, p. 385) also says, कालिकाकण्ठयोस्सारारामयोश्चैककृता । The *Mundamālā* list of the Mahāvidyās quoted in the *Tantrasāra* is elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 580) ascribed to the *Vīśvasāra* or the *Cāmundā Tantra*.

<sup>२</sup> ABCF—त्रिपुरात्मिका; G—यत्र मातङ्गी; I—°चण्डिका देवी ।

<sup>३</sup> A—दुर्वासिनी; F—धूमिनी; G—यत्र भुवनेश्वरी दुर्धूमिनी; I—यत्र; दुर्धूमिनी ।

एतानि परपौठानि <sup>1</sup> शंसन्ति वरभैरवाः <sup>2</sup> ।  
 [एवं तु <sup>3</sup> देवताः सर्वा एवं तु <sup>4</sup> दश भैरवाः <sup>5</sup> ॥ २२ ॥  
 सर्वत्र विरक्ता चाहं <sup>6</sup> कामरूपे गृहे गृहे ।  
 गौरीश्रिखरमावृणु पुनर्गन्ध न विद्यते <sup>7</sup> ॥ २३ ॥  
 करतोयां समारम्भ <sup>8</sup> यावद्विक्करवासिनीम् <sup>9</sup> ।  
 श्रतयोजनविस्तीर्णं <sup>10</sup> त्रिकोणं सर्वसिद्धिदम् ।  
 देवा मरणमिच्छन्ति <sup>11</sup> किं पुनर्मानवदयः <sup>12</sup> ॥ २५ ॥ ]  
 भूतधात्री (क्षौरयामे) महामाया (°देव) भैरवः क्षौरखण्डकः <sup>13</sup> ।  
 युगाद्या सा <sup>14</sup> महामाया दक्षाङ्गुष्ठं पदो मम ॥ २६ ॥

<sup>1</sup> ACDF—नव°; EGI—वर° ।

<sup>2</sup> ADE—वरभैरव; BF—नवभैरवाः ।

<sup>3</sup> A—ते; DEGI—ता । The whole line is omitted in C.

<sup>4</sup> ADEGI—ते ।

<sup>5</sup> ABC read verse 28 after verse 23. F omits the second line of verse 23 as well as verses 24-25. I reads verse 28 between verses 23 and 24, and verse 25 between verses 27 and 29.

<sup>6</sup> B—देवौ; I—कामरूपे ।

<sup>7</sup> A reads verse 26 after verse 24.

<sup>8</sup> A—समावृणु; I—समासाद्य ।

<sup>9</sup> I—°वासिनी; BDE—यावद्विक्करवासिनीम् । The seat of Dikkaravāsini is located in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* in the eastern part of Kāmarūpa which is the Gauhāti region of Assam. See *supra*, pp. 13, note 1; 17, note 3.

<sup>10</sup> C—°विस्तारं ।

<sup>11</sup> A—°मिच्छन्ति; I—शरणमिच्छन्ति ।

<sup>12</sup> G—पुनर्मानुषादयः । C adds here: इति कामरूपमाहात्म्यम् । It is probable that some of the verses in the description of the Kāmarūpa Pīṭha were a later addition. F reads verses 26-27 after verse 28.

<sup>13</sup> AFG—क्षौरकण्डकः; I—क्षौरखण्डज ।

AM— क्षौरयामे क्षानिपार चङ्गुष्ठवैभव ।

युगाद्या देवता क्षौरखण्डक भैरव ॥

AM suggests the reading

क्षौरयामे महादेव भैरवः क्षौरखण्डकः ।

युगाद्या सा महामाया दक्षाङ्गुष्ठं पदो मम ॥

The Pīṭha is located at Khiragrām near Katwa in the Burdwan District. Cf. note 14 *infra*. B has for verses 26-27:

भूतधात्री महामाया वामपदाङ्गुली मम ।

नक्षत्रोः कालीपौठे दक्षपदाङ्गुली मम ॥

<sup>14</sup> A—युगाद्या सा महामाया दक्षाङ्गुष्ठपदौ; F—युगाद्या सा महादेव दक्षाङ्गुष्ठः; BCDE—युगाद्यायां महादेव; G—युगाद्या सा महादेवौ दक्षाङ्गुष्ठे; I—महादेवौ दक्षाङ्गुष्ठपदे ।

The *Caṇḍimangala* mentions the goddesses as Yogādyā and connects Kṣiragrāma with Sati's back. For the goddess Yogādyā at Kṣiragrāma, see also *Des. Cat. Vernacular MSS. in the collection of the R.A.S.B., IX* (Bengali MSS.), pp. 317-18 (Nos. 318, 5372).

मकुलोशः कालोपीठे<sup>1</sup> दक्षपादाङ्गुली च मे<sup>2</sup> ।

<sup>3</sup> [सर्वसिद्धिकरी देवी कालिका तच्च देवता] ॥ २७ ॥

अङ्गुलीद्वन्द्वं<sup>4</sup> हस्तस्य प्रयागे कलिता भवः<sup>5</sup> ।

जयन्त्यां वामजङ्घा<sup>6</sup> च जयन्ती क्रमदोश्वरः ॥ २८ ॥

भुवनेशौ सिद्धिरूपा (सिद्धरूपः) किरौटस्था<sup>7</sup> किरौटतः

(किरौटाखे किरौटकः) ।

[देवता विमला नाम्नी संवर्त्तो भैरवस्तथा] ॥ २९ ॥

<sup>1</sup> ABDE—कालि<sup>०</sup>; G—मकुलोशः कालोपीठे च ।

AM— कालोपीठे चारिदि अङ्गुलि डाणि पार ।

मकुलोश भैरव कालिका देवी तार ॥

G explains कालोपीठे as कालोपीठस्थिते while AM suggests the reading मकुलोशः कालोपीठे । Cf. verse 49 below (p. 56). The Pīṭha is located at Kāl ghūt in the southern suburb of Calcutta. Cf. the description of the Pīṭha in the *Sivacarita* (p. 41 above). The original text seems to refer to Kālīpīṭha indicating 'the Pīṭha which is the resort of Kālī'. The name of the Pīṭhadevī was possibly not mentioned separately.

<sup>2</sup> ABCDEG—पादाङ्गुलीषु मे; I—पादाङ्गुलीषु च ।

<sup>3</sup> This line is omitted in ABCGI. It was interpolated to provide separate mention of the goddess at the Pīṭha.

<sup>4</sup> A—अङ्गुलीद्वन्द्वं; B—अङ्गुलीषु तु; F—अङ्गुलीष्वेव; GI—अङ्गुलीषु च ।

AM— प्रयागते दुर्गातेर अङ्गुली सरस ।

तादाते भैरव दश महाविद्या दश ॥

It seems that the manuscript consulted by Bhāratacandra read verses 22-23 after verse 28 and, therefore, the ten Mahāvidyās, associated in the text with Kāmarūpa, were transferred to Prayāga. It was also easy to connect the ten Mahāvidyās with the ten fingers of Sati's hands that are said to have fallen at Prayāga (modern Allahabad). The *Sivacarita* speaks of the Bhairava as Venimādhava whose temple stands at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

<sup>5</sup> I—भवेत्; ABC—भव ।

<sup>6</sup> G—जङ्घा मे; I—जयन्त्यां वामजङ्घायां;

AM— जयन्त्या वामजङ्घा फलित केशव ।

जयन्ती देवता क्रमदोश्वर भैरव ॥

The Pīṭha is located at Kalajor-Bāurbhog in the Sylhet District of East Pakistan. Gait says (*History of Assam*, p. 268), 'There is a spot in the Faljur Pargana where part of Sati's left leg is said to have fallen, and here human victims were immolated yearly on the ninth day (*mahānavami*) of the Durgā Pūjā. Similar sacrifices were also offered on special occasions, such as the birth of a son in the royal family, or the fulfilment of some request made to the gods. Frequently the victims were self-chosen, in which case, for some time previous to the sacrifice, they enjoyed the privilege of doing whatever they pleased without let or hindrance. Sometimes, however, the supply of voluntary victims ran short, and then strangers were kidnapped for the purpose from foreign territory.'

<sup>7</sup> AI—किरौटास्था; B—किरौटस्था किरौटिनो; G—किरौटाखे किरौटकः ।

AM— किरौटकोषाय पङ्के किरौट सुरूप ।

भुवनेशौ देवता भैरव सिद्धरूप ॥

AM suggests the reading सिद्धरूपः and the omission of the following line (cf. p. 47. note 2). The Pīṭha is located at Vāṇanagar near Lālbāg in the Murshidabad District.

[वाराणस्यां विद्यानाम्नी देवता कालभैरवः ।

मणिकर्णौति विख्याता कुण्डलं च मम श्रुतेः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ३० ॥

कन्याश्रमे च<sup>2</sup> पृष्ठं मे<sup>3</sup> निमिषो भैरवस्तथा ।

सर्वाङ्गी देवता तत्र<sup>4</sup>

कुरुक्षेत्रे च गुह्यतः<sup>5</sup> ॥ ३१ ॥

स्यायुर्गाम्ना च सावित्री देवता

मणिवेदके<sup>6</sup> ।

मणिवन्द्ये<sup>7</sup> च गायत्री सर्वानन्दस्तु भैरवः ॥ ३२ ॥

<sup>1</sup> A—श्रुतेर्मम; G—मणिकर्णिकेति; I—श्रुतिः । E reads verso 29 after this verse. The reference is to Manikarnikā at Benares in U.P. AM substitutes the fictitious Manibandha for Kanyāśrama or Vārāṇasī. Vārāṇasī, not found in the AM, may have been later inserted in the original text (cf. p. 43, note 3). Śiva omits Kanyāśrama and connects Sati's back with Vāivasvata.

<sup>2</sup> B—तु । The name of the Pīṭha reminds one of Kanyākubja or Kānyakubja (modern Kanoj) in the United Provinces. But Kanyāśrama was well known to Bengali Tantric writers who located it in Eastern India. In a discussion on the places which are not suitable for *dikṣā* (Tantric initiation), the *Tantrasūtra* (Vaṅgavāsī ed., p. 41) quotes the verso

गयायां भास्करक्षेत्रे विरजे चन्द्रपर्वते ।

चट्टले च मतङ्गे च तथा कन्याश्रमेषु च ॥

with the following note: भास्करक्षेत्रं दक्षिणदेशे कोणार्क इति प्रसिद्धम् । विरजे विरजक्षेत्रे । चन्द्रपर्वते चन्द्रशेखरपर्वते । चट्टले चाटगं इति ख्याते । मतङ्गे मतङ्गदेशे । कन्याश्रमश्चन्द्रशेखर-मिरिसमीपवर्तितकुमार्याश्रमत्वेन कामरूपे प्रसिद्धः । The location of Kanyāśrama, in the passage, near the Candrasekhara hill and in Kāmarūpa suggests its identification with Kumārīkuṇḍa in the Chittagong District.

<sup>3</sup> AF—मे पृष्ठं; G—दृष्टिर्म; I—पौठं मे निमेषो ।

<sup>4</sup> G—चाच ।

<sup>5</sup> AM— कुरुक्षेत्रे ङानि पार गुह्यतः अनुभव ।

विमला तावते देवो संवत् भैरव ॥

AM apparently reads the second line of verse 29 after verse 31. The Bhairava Sthānu has to be associated with Sthānuśvara (modern Thanesar) in the Karnal District of the Punjab.

<sup>6</sup> ABCDI—स्यायुर्गाम्ना च सावित्री अथनाथस्तु भैरवः; F—मणिवेदिकदेशतः; G—स्यायुर्गाम्ना सावित्री देवता मानवेदके ।

AM— मणिवेदे मणिवन्द्य पङ्क्तिस्तद्वार ।

स्यायुर्गामे भैरव सावित्री देवो तार ॥

This is because of the textual confusion referred to in note 5 above.

<sup>7</sup> A—मणिवन्द्ये; BI—मणिवन्द्ये; G—मुनिवन्द्ये ।

AM— मणिवन्द्ये वाममणिवन्द्य अभिराम ।

सर्वानन्द भैरव गायत्री देवो नाम ॥

This is also due to the textual confusion referred to in note 5 above. Manibandha (i.e. wrist) cannot be regarded as the name of a place; cf. the confusion in the *Śivacarita* (p. 40 above).

श्रीशैले (श्रीहृष्टे) च मम श्रीवा महालक्ष्मीस्तु<sup>1</sup> देवता ।

भैरवः सम्बरानन्दो<sup>2</sup> देशे देशे व्यवस्थितः ॥ ३३ ॥

काञ्चीदेशे च कङ्कालो<sup>3</sup> भैरवो रत्ननामकः ।

देवता देवगर्भाख्या<sup>4</sup>

नितम्बः कालमाधवे<sup>5</sup> ॥ ३४ ॥

भैरवश्चासिताङ्गश्च देवी काली सुसिद्धिदा<sup>6</sup> ।

वृद्धा वृद्धा<sup>7</sup> नमस्कृत्य<sup>8</sup> मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ३५ ॥

<sup>9</sup>[कुजघारे भूततिथौ निष्कार्जे यस्तु साधकः ।

नत्वा प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ३६ ॥ ]

<sup>1</sup> G—महामाया; I—महालक्ष्मी च ।

<sup>2</sup> E—सम्बरानन्दो; G—कचः स्थितः ।

AM— श्रीहृष्टे पङ्क्ति श्रीवा महालक्ष्मी देवी ।  
सर्वानन्द भैरव वैभव याँचा सेवि ॥

AM therefore suggests the readings श्रीहृष्टे and सर्वानन्दश्च in places respectively of श्रीशैले and सम्बरानन्दो; cf. *Śivacarita* (p. 40, Nos. 5, 14). As Śrīparvata, probably identical with Śrīśaila, is separately mentioned in verse 41, the reference in this case may actually be to Śrīhaṭṭa (modern Sylhet) in East Pakistan. The Pīṭha is located at Gotatīkar-Jainpur near Sylhet. The expression देशे देशे is not quite happy.

<sup>3</sup> G—कङ्काली भैरवो रत्ननामकः; I—काञ्चीदेशे च कङ्कालि भैरवो रत्ननामकः ।

<sup>4</sup> A—वेदगर्भाख्या ।

AM— काञ्चीदेशे पङ्क्ति काँकालि अभिराम ।  
देवगर्भा देवता भैरव रत्न नाम ॥

Kāñcī, mentioned in the early lists, certainly stands for modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District of the Madras Presidency. The Pīṭha in this case, however, is usually located on the Kopāi near Bolpur in the Birbhum District of Bengal.

<sup>5</sup> A—नितम्बं; B—नितम्बं कालमाधवे; I—नितम्बकाक्षिसाधवे ।

AM— नितम्बेर चर्च कालमाधवे ताँचार ।  
असिताङ्ग भैरव देवता काली तार ॥

<sup>6</sup> E—च सुसिद्धिदा; G—भैरवोऽचासिताङ्गश्च ।

<sup>7</sup> A—वृष्टावृष्ट; G—वृष्टावृष्टा ।

<sup>8</sup> ABEGI—महादेव ।

<sup>9</sup> This verse is omitted in CF and may be a later interpolation.

शोणाख्या<sup>1</sup> भद्रसेनस्तु नर्मदाख्ये<sup>2</sup> नितम्बकः ।  
 रामगिरौ<sup>3</sup> स्तनान्यच्च<sup>4</sup> शिवानी चण्डभैरवः ॥ ३७ ॥  
 [हन्दावने केशजालमुमा<sup>5</sup> नाम्नी च<sup>6</sup> देवता ।  
 [भूतेशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः] ॥ ३८ ॥  
 संहाराख्य<sup>7</sup> ऊर्ध्वदन्तो<sup>8</sup> देवी (°नले) नारायणी शुची ।  
 अधोदन्तो<sup>9</sup> महाबन्धो वाराहो पञ्चसागरे ॥ ३९ ॥

1 AFG—शोणाख्ये; I—शैलाख्ये; B—शोणभद्रे भद्रसेनो ।

AM— नितम्बेर चार अर्धे पड़े नर्मदाय ।

भद्रसेन भैरव शोणाचो देवो नाथ ॥

AM suggests the reading शोणाचो भद्रसेनस्तु । There is some doubt whether the Pīṭha has to be located on the Sone or on the Narmada.

2 BCD—नर्मदाख्या नितम्बके; F—नर्मदाख्या नितम्बकम्; G—नर्मदाख्ये नितम्बके; I—नर्मदाख्ये नितम्बके ।

3 B—राजगिरौ; G—रामाकिन्यां; I—रामगिर्यां । Rāmagiri is modern Ramtek near Nagpur in the Central Province. There is also a tradition identifying Rāmagiri with the Chitrakūṭa in Bundelkhand.

4 AB—तथा नासा; CDE—तथा नासा; I—स्तनान्यच्च ।

AM— चार स्तन पड़े तार रामगिरि स्थाने ।

शिवानी देवता चण्ड भैरव सेखाने ॥

Note that the nose of Satī is associated in verse 5 (p. 44 above) with Sugandhā.

6 B—°जाखान्; CD—°जाख; EF—°जाली; G—उमानाम्नी केशजाली भूतेशः परभैरवः (with the second line of the verse omitted)

I— हन्दावने केशजाली कृष्णनाथस्तु भैरवः ।

कात्यायनी तत्र देवी सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिनी ॥

AM— केशजाल नाम स्थाने पड़े तार केश ।

उमा नामे देवी ताचे भैरव भूतेश ॥

It seems that the original reading was उमावने केशजालं भूतेशः परभैरवः ॥ Umāvana was a name of Devikotta; cf. style of v. 27 (*supra*, p. 50, notes 1 and 3). AM supports the reading in G. In the modified text there is reference to the fanciful Śākta claim on the celebrated Vaiṣṇava tīrtha near Mathurā (Muttā) in the United Provinces (cf. Kṛṣṇa referred to in the I text). Keśajāla was sometimes regarded as the name of the Pīṭha owing to confusion; cf. the case of Maṇibandha in verse 32. See the confusion in the *Sivacarita*.

6 A—नाम्नीति ।

7 ABI—संहाराख्ये ।

AM— ऊर्ध्व दन्तपातिर खनले चरल धाम ।

संज्ञूर भैरव देवो नारायणो नाम ॥

AM suggests the reading संज्ञूराख्य ऊर्ध्वदन्तोऽनले । The *Sivacarita* regards *Samhāra* as the name of an Upapīṭha; cf. ABI.

8 ACFGH—ऊर्ध्वदन्ते ।

9 ACFGH—अधोदन्ते ।



करतोयातटे तत्पं (कर्णे) वामे<sup>1</sup> वामनभैरवः ।

अपर्णा देवता यत्र ब्रह्मरूपाकरोद्भवा<sup>2</sup> ॥ ४० ॥

श्रीपर्वते दक्षगुल्फ( कर्ण )स्त्रत्र<sup>3</sup> श्रीसुन्दरी परा ।

सर्वसिद्धीश्वरी<sup>4</sup> सर्वा सुन्दरानन्दभैरवः<sup>5</sup> ॥ ४१ ॥

कपालिनी (कपाली च) भीमरूपा वामगुल्फो<sup>6</sup> विभाषके ।

<sup>7</sup> [भैरवश्च महादेव सर्वानन्दः शुभप्रदः] ॥ ४२ ॥

AM— पञ्चसागरते पङ्के अर्धोदन्तसार ।

महाब्रह्म भैरव वाराही देवी तार ॥

Pañcasāgara seems to indicate the oceans, the traditional number of which was, however, four or seven. The reference may also be to the five *Kuṇḍas* near Hardwar.

<sup>1</sup> B—तन्यात् बलि°; G—गुल्फं; I—तत्प ।

AM— करतोयातटे पङ्के वामकर्ण तार ।

वामेश भैरव देवी अपर्णा तारार ॥

AM suggests the reading कर्णे वामे वामेशभैरवः । The Karatoyā is a sacred river of northern Bengal. The Pīṭha is located at Bhavānīpur in the Bogra District. G has a note reading भवानोपुरख्याते ।

<sup>2</sup> A—°करोद्भवः; I—तत्र । The last word of the verse is not quite satisfactory.

<sup>3</sup> ACI—गुल्फं; E—तत्प; FG—गुल्फं तत्र ।

AM— श्रीपर्वते ङानि कर्ण फेलिजेन हरि ।

भैरव सुन्दरानन्द देवता सुन्दरी ॥

AM suggests the reading दक्षकर्णस तत्र । Śrīparvatā is the same as the Śrīsāila in the Nallamālur range to the south of the Krishna. But the non-mention of Mallikārjuna (Śiva) and of Devī Bhramarāmbā on the Śrīsāila shows that the description is probably fantastic. As two other places are associated with Sati's *gulpha* (verses 31 and 42), AM possibly suggests the correct reading of the verse.

<sup>4</sup> ABGI—°सिद्धेश्वरी; E—°सिद्धिकरी ।

<sup>5</sup> CDE—सुनन्दानन्द° ।

<sup>6</sup> C—गुल्फ; DI—गुल्फे; B—गुल्फा; F—गुल्फविभागतः; G—कपालिनी क्रोधरूपा वामगुल्फे विभाषके ।

AM— विभाषते वाम गुल्फ फेलिहा केशव ।

भीमरूपा देवी ताचे कपाली भैरव ॥

AM suggests the reading कपाली च भीमरूपा and the omission of the second line of the verse (cf. p. 50, note 7). The Pīṭha is located near Tamluk in the Midnapur District.

<sup>7</sup> This line is omitted in ABE and may be a later interpolation. Cf. p. 50, notes 3 and 7.

उदरश्च (अधरश्च) प्रभासे मे<sup>1</sup> चन्द्रभागा यशस्विनी ।

वक्रतुण्डो भैरव-

खोर्द्धोष्टो भैरवपर्वते<sup>2</sup> ॥ ४३ ॥

अवन्तौ<sup>3</sup> च महादेवौ लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः ॥ ४४ ॥

चिबुके<sup>4</sup> भामरी देवी विहताक्षो<sup>5</sup> जले स्थले (जनस्थाने)<sup>6</sup> ।

गण्डो गोदावरीतीरे विश्वेशौ (विश्वेशो) विश्वमातृका<sup>7</sup> ॥ ४५ ॥

1 A—प्रभासे; BCDE—प्रभासे; G—अधरश्च प्रभासे मे चन्द्राभामा; I—अधरश्च ।

AM— प्रभासे अधर देवौ चन्द्रभागा तादे ।

वक्रतुण्ड भैरव प्रत्यक्षरूप यादे ॥

AM suggests the reading अधरश्च प्रभासे; of, verse 52 below. Prabhāsa or Somnath is a famous holy place in southern Kathiawar.

2 B—खोर्द्धो भैरवपर्वते; A—जर्द्धो भैरवपर्वते; G—तुण्ड भैरवपर्वते; I—तुण्डो भैरव° ।

AM— भैरव पर्वते खोर्द्ध पड़े चक्रघाय ।

नक्षर्ण भैरव अवन्तौ देवी ताय ॥

AM suggests the reading नक्षर्णस्तु भैरवः । The Devi's name seems to refer the Pīṭha to West Malwa.

3 ABCDFI—अवन्त्या ।

4 ABC—चिबुके ।

5 ABFG—विहताक्ष्या; I—विहताक्ष; C—किङ्कुभाक्ष्या; D—किङ्कुभाक्षी । Probably विहताक्षी is intended.

6 AM— जनस्थाने चिबुक पड़िल अभिराम ।

विहताक्ष भैरव भामरी देवौ नाम ॥

AM suggests the reading विहताक्षो जनस्थाने । Janasthāna, celebrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, lay in the upper Godavari valley in the present Nasik region of the Bombay Presidency. CDF read after this verse: भैरवः सर्वसिद्धोऽस्तु च सिद्धिरनुत्तमा apparently because the reading विहताक्ष्या invited a name of the Bhairava at the Pīṭha.

7 I—गण्डे;

AM— गोदावरी तीरे पड़े वाम गण्डस्थानि ।

विश्वेश भैरव विश्वमातृका भवामौ ॥

AM suggests the reading विश्वेशो विश्वमातृका which shows that verse 46 is probably an interpolation. The reading विश्वेशौ necessitated the fabrication of the name of the Bhairava at the Pīṭha. The two lines of verse 46 appear to have been inserted by two different hands. Cf. p. 56, note 8.

[दक्षपाणिभैरवस्तु<sup>1</sup> वामगच्छे तु<sup>2</sup> राकिणी ।

<sup>3</sup> भैरवो वत्सनाभस्तु तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ४६ ॥ ]

रत्नावल्यां (रत्नवत्यां) दक्षस्त्रान्वः कुमारी भैरवः शिवः<sup>5</sup> ।

मिथिलायामुमा देवी<sup>6</sup> वामस्त्रान्वो<sup>7</sup> मन्त्रोदरः<sup>8</sup> ॥ ४७ ॥

<sup>9</sup> [नलाहत्यां नलापातो योगीशो<sup>10</sup> भैरवस्तथा ।

तत्र सा कालिका देवी सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिका<sup>11</sup> ॥ ४८ ॥

<sup>12</sup> कालीघाटे मुण्डपातः क्रोधीशो<sup>13</sup> भैरवस्तथा ।

देवता जयदुर्गाख्या नानाभोगप्रदायिनी ॥ ४९ ॥

<sup>1</sup> A—दक्षपाणि; G—भैरवश्च वामगच्छे च । Rākinī is the same as Rāṅkinī; cf. *supra*, p. 33 and note 1.

<sup>2</sup> I—च । For the right cheek, see verse 14 (p. 46) above.

<sup>3</sup> D(v.l.)E read in place of this line: चमायौ भैरवो वत्स सर्वशैलात्मकोपरि । The reference to Sarvasāila (literally, all hills) is no doubt fanciful; cf. Pañcasāgara.

<sup>4</sup> B—वत्सनाभश्च तत्र सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात्; GI—वसामि भैरवो वत्स सर्वशैलात्मकोपरि (I—<sup>0</sup>गोविधः) ।

<sup>5</sup> G—रत्नवत्यां दक्षस्त्रान्वः कुमारी भैरवो शिवा । I—रत्नावल्यां दक्षिणस्त्रान्वः कुमारी भैरवो शिव ।

AM— रत्नावली स्थाने ङानि स्त्रान्व चभिराम ।  
कुमार भैरव तादृ देवी शिवा नाम ॥

AM suggests the reading कुमारी भैरवो शिवा as in G. A city called Ratnavatī is mentioned in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*; but probably Khanakul-Krishnanagar, on the river Ratnākara (Kānānadi) in the Hooghly District and famous for its temple of Ghaṇṭeśvara Śiva, is indicated. Cf. also the Pramodā *śrīṭha* at the confluence of the Vāgmatī and the Ratnāvatī in Nepal.

<sup>6</sup> A—नाली; CFI—मन्त्रादेवी; G—मिथिलायां वामस्त्रान्वो मन्त्रादेवी मन्त्रोदरी ।

AM— मिथिलाय वामस्त्रान्व देवी मन्त्रादेवी ।  
मन्त्रोदर भैरव सर्वार्थ धरि सेवि ॥

AM supports the reading in G with मन्त्रोदरः for मन्त्रोदरी । Mithilā has been identified with Janakpur in the Nepalese Tarai.

<sup>7</sup> ABE—स्त्रान्वो; CFI—स्त्रान्वे ।

<sup>8</sup> D—मन्त्रोदर । I reads after this line भैरवो वत्सनाभस्तु तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः (*vide* verse 46).

<sup>9</sup> The following eight verses are not found in G (and the AM original) and were apparently interpolated.

<sup>10</sup> EI—योगेशो । The Pīṭha is located at Nalahati in the Birbhum District of West Bengal. The word *nalā* is a Bengali corruption of Sanskrit *nalaka* (any long bone).

<sup>11</sup> B—तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः ।

<sup>12</sup> Verse 49 is omitted in I. DEF have in place of this line: कर्पाटे चैव कर्षो (v.l. कर्षं) मे चमोच (v.l. लभोच) नाम भैरवः । Cf. verse 27 (p. 50) above. This Kālī Pīṭha is located at Juranpur near Katwa in the Burdwan District. The Pīṭha was not mentioned in the original text.

<sup>13</sup> D (v.l.)—क्रोधीशो; B—क्रोधीश्च ।

वक्रेश्वरे मनुपातो वक्रनाथस्तु भैरवः । <sup>1</sup>

नदौ पापहरा तत्र देवी महिषमर्दिनी ॥ ५० ॥

यशोरे पाणिपद्मश्च देवता यशोरेश्वरी ।

चण्डश्च <sup>2</sup> भैरवो यत्र तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः <sup>3</sup> ॥ ५१ ॥

अट्टहासे चोत्पातो देवी सा पुस्तुरा स्मृता ।

विश्वेशो <sup>4</sup> भैरवस्तत्र सर्वाभौष्टप्रदायकः ॥ ५२ ॥

हारपातो नन्दिपुरे भैरवो नन्दिकेश्वरः ।

नन्दिनी सा महादेवी तत्र सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् <sup>5</sup> ॥ ५३ ॥

लङ्कायां नूपुरश्चैव भैरवो राक्षसेश्वरः । <sup>6</sup>

इन्द्राक्षौ देवता तत्र इन्द्रेणोपासिता पुरा ॥ ५४ ॥

विगाटदेशमध्ये तु <sup>7</sup> पादाङ्गुलिनिपातनम् ।

भैरवश्चास्यतांश्च <sup>8</sup> देवी तत्राम्बिका स्मृता ॥ ५५ ॥ <sup>9</sup> ]

<sup>1</sup> I—सुण्डपातं । The Pīṭha, which had no mention in the original text, is located near Dubrajpur in the Birbhum District. The *Sivacarita* separately mentions Vakreśvara and Vakranātha, which, however, appear to be the same place.

<sup>2</sup> A—चण्डस्तु; BF—चण्डश्च भैरवस्तत्र; I—चण्डेशो भैरवो देवस्तत्र ।

<sup>3</sup> I—सिद्धिरवाप्नुयात्; BE—तत्र सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात्; CF—यत्र सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् । The Yaśora Pīṭha is located at Iśvaripur (about 25 miles from the Hasanabad Railway Station) in the Khulna District and not actually at Jessore.

<sup>4</sup> C—विश्वेशो । The Pīṭha, which was not mentioned in the original text, is located near Lābhpur in the Birbhum District.

<sup>5</sup> BCDEFI—सिद्धिर्न संशयः । The Pīṭha is located near Sainthia in the Birbhum District.

<sup>6</sup> I—नन्दिकेश्वरः । The name of the Bhairava suggests that this Laṅkā is identical with Ceylon, although the author may have had no knowledge of the Ceylonesse *īrthas*. Laṅkā (literally, an island) was not referred to in the original text.

<sup>7</sup> A—विराट मध्यदेशे तु; I—°निपातनः । The ancient Virāṭa or Matsya country lay in the Jaipur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rajputana; but late medieval writers often placed a Virāṭa country in northern Bengal (cf. *I.C.* VIII, pp. 53-54). This Pīṭha had no place in the original text.

<sup>8</sup> AE—चमृतांश्च; I—भैरवोऽमृतांश्च ।

<sup>9</sup> D (v.l.) EF add after this verse:

मगधे (v.l. मागधे) दक्षजङ्गमे श्योमकेशस्तु भैरवः ।

सर्वाङ्गन्दमयी (v.l. °करौ) देवी सर्वकाम (v.l. सर्वानन्द) फलप्रदा ॥

This verse was fabricated by one who could not find out all the 51 Pīṭhas owing to errors in the manuscripts consulted; cf. the case of Kārṇāta (p. 56, note 12).

एतास्ते कथिताः पुत्र पौठनायाधिदेवताः<sup>1</sup> ।

क्षेत्राधिपं<sup>2</sup> विना देव पूजयेत् पौठदेवताम्<sup>3</sup> ।

भैरवैर्हियते सर्वं जपपूजादिसाधनम्<sup>4</sup> ॥ ५६ ॥

अज्ञात्वा भैरवं पौठे पौठशक्तिश्च शङ्कर<sup>5</sup> ।

प्राणनाथ न सिध्येत्<sup>6</sup> कल्पकोटिजपादिभिः ॥ ५७ ॥

न देयं परशिश्याय<sup>7</sup> निन्दकाय दुरात्मने ।

शठाय क्रूरकार्याय<sup>8</sup> दत्त्वा मृत्युमवाप्नुयात् ।

दद्याच्छान्ताय<sup>9</sup> शिष्याय मन्त्री मन्त्रार्थसिद्धये ॥ ५८ ॥<sup>10</sup>

1 A—पौठनायादि°; G—एतस्ते कथितं वत्स पौठनायादि°; I—एतस्ते कथित ।

2 D—क्षेत्राधीश; G—क्षेत्राधीशं विना यस्तु; I—क्षेत्राधीशं विना देवि ।

3 CDF—पूजयेचान्य° ।

4 G—जपपूजादिकं धनम्; I—भैरवे हृदयः सर्वं ।

5 BCDE—पौठ; A—भैरवपौठ; G—पौठं पौठशक्ति; I—अज्ञत्वा भैरवं पौठं ।

6 A—सिध्यन्ति; B—सिद्धे तु; CEG—सिध्येत; I—सिद्धेत ।

7 A—°शिष्येभ्यो; I—देया ।

8 B—क्रूरकर्माय; EG—वक्षकायेदं; I—वक्षकायेत्यं ।

9 A—दद्यात् शान्ताय शिष्याय;

EI—दद्यात् शान्ताय शिष्याय नैष्ठिकाय शुचौ त्रये (I—धरे) ।

साधकाय कुलौनाय मन्त्री मन्त्रार्थसिद्धये ॥

G supports the reading of E with शिष्याय शान्ताय for शान्ताय शिष्याय and शुचि for शुचौ. Here is an attempt to make a complete verse in the *anushtubh* out of a half verse. Similar cases are also noticed elsewhere in the text. Cf. pp. 44, note 3; 45, note 5, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Colophon: A—इति तन्त्रचूडामणौ पार्वतीशिवसंवादे एकपद्याशद्विद्योत्पत्तौ पौठ-निर्णयः समाप्तः; B—इति तन्त्रचूडामणौ शिवपार्वतीसंवादे मन्त्रापौठनिरूपणं समाप्तं; C—goes on to quote some verses of the *Mahāmālatantra*; E—इति तन्त्रचूडामणौ शिवपार्वतीसंवादे एकपद्याशद्विद्योत्पत्तौ पौठनिर्णयः समाप्तः; G—इति चन्द्रचूडामणितन्त्रे (cf. p. 42, note 2 पार्वतीशिवसंवादे विद्योत्पत्तौ पौठनिर्णयः समाप्तः। औदुर्गा। औरमानाथशर्मणः पुस्तक-मिदम्। H—इति औभावचूडामणौ षट्कर्मसाधनविधौ पौठनिर्णयः पटलः। I—इति तन्त्रचूडामणौ विद्योत्पत्तौ (विद्यो°) पौठनिर्णयः समाप्तः॥ ॐ नमः परमदेवतायै। शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १७।६० (१७६०) सन १२।४५ (१२४५) साल तारिख १४ भाद्रपद औकासौनाथदेवशर्मणः स्वाक्षरं पुस्तकम्॥ औश्रीविश्वेश्वराय नमः। औश्रीदुर्गा।

Cf. AM— एकमत ना जय पुराण मत यत ।

आमि कछि मन्त्रचूडामणि तन्त्र मत ॥

It has been noted above that the *Tripurā Rājamālā* says about a verse of our text: शिववाक्य पौठमाज्ञा तन्त्रे प्रमाण । See p. 4, note 1. Note also that Bhāratacandra was aware of the differences of opinion about the Pīṭhas.

## APPENDIX I

## A

*Probable Original Text of the Pūthanirṇaya (Mahāpūṭha-nirūpaṇa) Reconstructed on the Basis of Manuscript G and the Annadāmaṅgala.*

ईश्वर उवाच ।

मातः परात्परे देवि सर्वज्ञानमयीश्वरि ।

कथ्यतां मे सर्वपौठशक्तिभैरवदेवताः ॥ १ ॥

देव्युवाच ।

भृशं वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि दयाल भक्तवत्सल ।

यभिर्दिना न सिध्यन्ति जपसाधनसत्क्रियाः ॥ २ ॥

पञ्चाशदेकपौठानि एवं भैरवदेवताः ।

अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गपातेन विष्णुचक्रक्षतेन च ॥ ३ ॥

ममाद्यवपुषो देव हिताय त्वयि कथ्यते ।

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं हिङ्गुलायां<sup>१</sup> भैरवो भीमलोचनः ॥ ४ ॥

कोट्टरी सा महादेवी त्रिगुणा या दिगम्बरी ।

शर्करारे<sup>२</sup> त्रिनेत्रं मे देवी महिषमर्दिनी ॥ ५ ॥

क्रोधीशो भैरवस्तत्र

सुगन्धायाश्च<sup>३</sup> नामिका ।

देवस्त्यम्बकनामा च सुनन्दा तत्र देवता ॥ ६ ॥

काश्मीरे<sup>४</sup> कण्ठदेशश्च त्रिसन्धेश्वरभैरवः ।

महामाया भगवती गुणातीता वरप्रदा ॥ ७ ॥

ज्वालामुख्यां<sup>५</sup> तथा जिह्वा देव उन्मत्तभैरवः ।

अम्बिका सिद्धिदा देवी

स्तनं जालन्धरे<sup>६</sup> मम ॥ ८ ॥

भीषणो भैरवस्तत्र देवो त्रिपुरनाशिनी ।

हार्दपौठं वैद्यनाथे<sup>७</sup> वैद्यनाथस्तु भैरवः ॥ ९ ॥

देवता जयदुर्गाख्या

नेपाले<sup>८</sup> जानु मे शिव ।

कपाली भैरवः श्रीमान् महामाया च देवता ॥ १० ॥

मानसे<sup>९</sup> दक्षहस्तो मे देवो दाक्षायणी हरः ।

विरजा चोत्कले<sup>१०</sup> ख्याता नाभिर्मे जयभैरवः ॥ ११ ॥

गण्डव्यां<sup>११</sup> गण्डकच्छाडी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ।

बज्रलायां<sup>१२</sup> वामबाहुर्बज्रलाख्या च देवता ॥ १२ ॥

भौवको भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ।

उज्जयिन्यां १९ कूर्परश्च मङ्गला कपिलाम्बरः ॥ १३ ॥

चट्टले १४ दक्षबाहुर्मे भैरवस्तत्रशेखरः ।

व्यक्तरूपा भगवतो भवानी तत्र देवता ॥ १४ ॥

विशेषतः कलियुगे वसामि चन्द्रशेखरे ।

त्रिपुरायां १५ दक्षपादो देवता त्रिपुरा नलः ॥ १५ ॥

त्रिस्तोतायां १६ वामपादो भ्रामरी भैरवोम्बरः ।

योनिपीठं कामरूपे १७-१९ कामाख्या तत्र देवता ॥ १६ ॥

यत्रास्ते त्रिगुणातीता व्यक्ता पाषाणरूपिणी ।

यत्रास्ते माधवः साक्षाच्छिवानन्दोऽथ भैरवः ॥ १७ ॥

तत्र श्रीभैरवो देवो तत्र च क्षेत्रदेवता ।

प्रचण्डचण्डिका तत्र मातङ्गी त्रिपुराम्बिका ॥ १८ ॥

वगला कमला तत्र भुवनेश्वरी सधूमिनी ।

एतानि दशपीठानि श्रंसन्ति दशभैरवाः ॥ १९ ॥

क्षीरयात्रे २० महादेव भैरवः क्षीरकण्ठकः ।

युगाद्या सा महामाया दक्षाङ्गुष्ठं पदो मम ॥ २० ॥

नकुलीशः कालीपीठे २८ दक्षपादाङ्गुलीषु मे ।

अङ्गुलीषु च हस्तस्य प्रयागे २९ ललिता भवः ॥ २१ ॥

जयन्त्यां २० वामजङ्घा च जयन्ती क्रमदीश्वरः ।

भुवनेश्वरी सिद्धिरूपः किरीटाख्ये २१ किरीटकः ॥ २२ ॥

कन्याश्रमे २२ च पृष्ठं मे निमिषो भैरवस्तथा ।

सर्वाङ्गी देवता तत्र

कुरुक्षेत्रे २३ च गुल्फतः ॥ २३ ॥

स्थायार्णवो च सावित्री देवता

मणिवेदके २४ ।

मणिवन्द्ये च गायत्री सर्वानन्दस्तु भैरवः ॥ २४ ॥

श्रीहृद्रे २५ च मम ग्रीवा महालक्ष्मीस्तु देवता ।

भैरवः सम्बरानन्दो देशे देशे व्यवस्थितः ॥ २५ ॥

काक्षीदेशे २६ च कङ्कालो भैरवो खरनामकः ।

देवता देवगर्भाख्या

नितम्बः कालमाधवे २७ ॥ २६ ॥

भैरवोऽजासिताङ्गश्च देवो कालो सुसिद्धिदा ।

वृद्धा वृद्धा नमस्कृत्य मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ २७ ॥

शोणाख्या भद्रसेनस्तु नर्मदाख्ये १८ नितम्बकः ।  
 रामगिरौ १९ स्नानान्यच्च शिवानो चण्डभैरवः ॥ २० ॥  
 उमावने ४० केशजालं भूतेशः परभैरवः ।  
 संझाराख्य ऊर्ध्वदन्तेऽनले ४१ नारायणी मुखौ ॥ २६ ॥  
 अधोदन्ते महारुद्रो वाराहो पञ्चसागरे ४२ ।  
 करतोयातटे ४३ कर्णो वामे वामनभैरवः ॥ ३० ॥  
 अपर्णा देवता तत्र ब्रह्मरूपाकरोद्भवा ।  
 औपर्वन्ते ४४ दक्षकर्णस्तत्र औसुन्दरी परा ॥ ३१ ॥  
 सर्वसिद्धीश्वरी देवी सुन्दरानन्दभैरवः ।  
 कपालो च भीमरूपा वामगुह्यो विभाषके ४५ ॥ ३२ ॥  
 अधरश्च प्रभासे ४६ मे चन्द्रभागा यशस्विनी ।  
 वक्रतुण्डो भैरवश्च

ओष्ठो भैरवपर्वन्ते ४७ ॥ ३३ ॥

अवन्ती च महादेवी लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः ।  
 चिबुके भामरी देवी विह्वताख्यो जनस्थाने ४८ ॥ ३४ ॥  
 गण्डो गोदावरीतीरे ४९ विश्वेशो विश्वमातृका ।  
 रत्नवत्यां ५० दक्षस्तन्यः कुमारो भैरवी शिवा ॥ ३५ ॥  
 मिथिलायां ५१ महादेवी वामस्तन्यो महोदरः ।  
 एतास्ते कथिताः पुत्र पौठनाथाधिदेवताः ॥ ३६ ॥  
 क्षेत्राधीशं विना देव पूजयेत्पीठदेवताम् ।  
 भैरवैर्ह्रियते सर्वं जपपूजादिसाधनम् ॥ ३७ ॥  
 अज्ञात्वा भैरवं पीठे पीठशक्तिश्च शङ्कर ।  
 प्राणनाथ न सिध्येत्तु कल्पकोटिजपादिभिः ॥ ३८ ॥  
 न देयं परशिष्याय निन्दकाय दुरात्मने ।  
 शठाय क्रूरकार्याय दत्त्वा मृत्युमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ३९ ॥  
 दद्याच्छान्ताय शिष्याय मन्त्रौ मन्त्रार्थसिद्धये ॥ ४० ॥

B

*Modified Text of the Pīṭhanirṇaya as found in Manuscript H (with slight emendation of the faulty language of the original).*

श्रीशिव उवाच ।

षट्कर्मसाधनं देवि कस्मिन् स्थाने प्रशस्तकम् ।  
 मातः परावरे नित्ये सर्वज्ञानमहेश्वरि ॥  
 कथ्यतां मे सर्वपीठं तथा षट्कर्मसाधनम् ।  
 शक्तिभैरवदेव्यश्च साधूनां हितकाव्यया ॥



ओदेव्यवाच ।

षट्शु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि दयाल भक्तवत्सल ।  
 यानि विना न सिध्यन्ति जपसाधनसत्क्रियाः ॥  
 पञ्चाशदेकपीठानि चैवं भैरवंदेवताः ।  
 प्रघनं पौठकं देव यथा भैरवदेवताः ॥  
 यत्र साधनं प्रशस्तं तथा षट्कर्म भैरव ॥  
 गङ्गाद्याः सततं सर्वाः समुद्राश्च तथा नदाः ।  
 सर्वतीर्थानि सर्वत्र ममाङ्गे षट्शु भैरव ॥  
 अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गपातेन विष्णुचक्रक्षतेन च ।  
 ममास्य वपुषो देव हिताय च नृणां षट्शु ॥  
 ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं हिङ्गलायां भैरवो भीमलोचनः ।  
 कुटुवी सा महाकाली त्रिगुणा या दिगम्बरौ ॥  
 शङ्कर्यां दक्षनेत्रं मे देवी महिषमर्दिनी ।  
 क्रोधीशो भैरवस्तत्र सुगन्धनामकाननः ॥  
 ताराद्यायां वामनेत्रं ताराख्या तारिणी परा ।  
 उन्मत्तो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वलक्षणमयुतः ॥  
 मानसे दक्षहस्तो मे तत्र दाक्षायणी हरः ॥  
 विजये उत्कले ख्याते नाभिर्मे अम्बभैरवः ।  
 सोऽयश्च सिद्धिदः साक्षाद् देवौ मङ्गलचण्डिका ॥  
 सदाने दक्षकूर्मे(?) मे भैरवश्चण्डिसंज्ञकः ।  
 व्यक्तरूपा भगवती भवानी यत्र देवता ॥  
 सुगन्ध (?) नासिका यत्र देवस्त्यम्बकभैरवः ।  
 आनन्दा देवता तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिनी ॥  
 काष्ठीरे कण्ठदेशश्च त्रिसन्धेश्वरभैरवः ।  
 महामाया भगवती गुणातीता वरप्रदा ॥  
 ज्वालामुख्यां तथा जिह्वा भैरवो वटकेश्वरः ।  
 अम्बिका सिद्धिदा नास्ती स्तने जालन्धरे मम ॥  
 भीषणो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरमालिनी ॥  
 वामस्तनं वक्त्रकेश्वरे भैरवश्चन्द्रशेखरः ।  
 देवता भैरवी तत्र सर्वपौठेषु नायिका ॥  
 नासा मे नवखण्डे च वैद्यनाथश्च भैरवः ।  
 देवता दुर्गाख्या च सा सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिनी ॥  
 नेपाले जयदुर्गाख्या तत्र वै तालुकं शिव ।  
 कपालो भैरवस्तत्र महामारौ च देवता ॥

विशेषतः कलियुगे वसामि चन्द्रशेखरे ॥  
 त्रिपुरायां दक्षपादो देवौ त्रिपुरसुन्दरो ।  
 भैरवस्त्रिपुरो देवः सर्वसम्पत्प्रदायकः ॥  
 त्रिखोतायां वामपादो देवता भ्रामरौ स्वयम् ।  
 योनिपीठं कामगिरौ कामाख्या देवता स्वयम् ॥  
 यन्त्रास्ते त्रिगुणात्मिका व्यक्तपाषाणरूपिणौ ।  
 यत्र श्रीभैरवौ देवौ यत्र नक्षत्रदेवता ॥  
 प्रचण्डचण्डिका चैव मातङ्गी त्रिपुरात्मिका ।  
 वगला कमला तत्र भवानौ हरनायिका ॥  
 महाकालौ स्वयं तत्र भद्रकालौ तथापरा ।  
 सर्वशक्तिः स्वयं तत्र सर्वभैरवदेवताः ॥  
 महाकालः स्वयं तत्र सर्वदेवसमन्वितः ।  
 सर्वत्र विरला चाहं कामरूपे गृहे गृहे ॥  
 एतानि वरपौठानि प्रशंसन्ति च भैरवाः ।  
 एषां ते देवताः सर्वास्तथा क्षेत्राधिदेवताः ॥  
 चङ्गुलीषु च सर्वेषु प्रयागे ललिता स्वयम् ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे तथा देवा भैरवाः पुण्यभाजनाः ।  
 क्षेत्रेशो देवता तत्र सर्वपापविनाशिनौ ॥  
 विन्ध्यशेखरमासाद्य पतिता चाङ्गुली मम ।  
 सर्वेशो भैरवो नामा तत्र तिष्ठति नित्यशः ॥  
 जयन्त्यां वामजङ्घा मे जयन्ती कुमुदेव्यरौ ।  
 कौंकि कौंकिश्वरौ देवौ भैरवो रुद्रनामकः ॥  
 मेखले<sup>1</sup> मेखली देवौ वामाङ्गुली प्रभेदतः ।  
 [तत्र च भैरवस्त्र्यङ्गनामकः स महाबलः] ॥  
 गौरीशेखरमारुह्य पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ।  
 तत्राहं भवता सार्द्धं वसामि नियतं शिव ॥  
 भूतघात्रौ महादेवौ भैरवः क्षीरखण्डभाक् ।  
 युगाद्या सा महाविद्या सिख्याता भुवनत्रये ॥  
 गङ्गुलीशः कालीघाटे कालिका तत्र देवता ।  
 तत्र मे पतिता वत्स केशा मस्तकसंयुताः ॥

<sup>1</sup> It is tempting to suggest the emendation मेखले referring to the old Mekala country about the Amarkantak hills. But the author may have actually had in his mind Mekhliganj in the Coch Bihar State in North Bengal. Cf. Mekhalā of the Rudrayāmala list quoted above (p. 18).

करतोयां समारम्भ यावद्विष्कारवासिनीम् ।  
 प्रतयोजनविस्तोर्णं योनिचक्रं महेश्वर ।  
 देवा मरणमिच्छन्ति किं पुनर्मानुषादयः ॥  
 भुवनेश्वरी सिद्धिरूपा किरौटाख्यायां किरौटिका ।  
 देवेशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वमङ्गलदायकः ॥  
 फुल्लरायामाभरणं देवता विमला च वै ।  
 संवर्त्तो भैरवो देव सर्वदेवगमस्तृतः ॥  
 वाराणस्यां विष्णालाक्ष्मी देवता कालभैरवः ।  
 तत्र मे पतितं लिङ्गं (?) स्वयमेव सदाशिवं ॥  
 मणिकर्णिकेति विख्याता कुण्डले च मम श्रुतेः ॥  
 अयोध्यायाश्च मे हारो भैरवो हरिहरात्मकः ।  
 तत्र सा देवता पूर्णा महालक्ष्मीः सुखप्रदा ॥  
 कल्यास्तु मे (कन्याश्रमे ?) कात्यायनी वामदेवश्च भैरवः ।  
 तत्र मे पतितं चर्म नमोषो नाम एव च ॥  
 कुमारी देवता तत्र सर्वाङ्गः सर्व भैरवः ।  
 तत्र मे पतितं रोम तस्माद् भैरवदेवता ॥  
 स्थाननामा च सावित्री देवता मणिवेदका (°वेदके ?) ।  
 मणिवन्द्ये च गायत्री सर्वानन्दश्च भैरवः ॥  
 श्रीशैले च मम ग्रीवा महालक्ष्मीश्च देवता ।  
 भैरवः संभृतानन्दो देशे देशे व्यवस्थितः ॥  
 काञ्चीदेशे च कङ्काली भैरवो मदनः स्वयम् ।  
 तत्र मे पतिते देव नितम्बे देववक्त्रभ ॥  
 देवता वेदगर्भाख्या माधवो भैरवः स्वयम् ।  
 तत्र मे पतिता विद्या तथा च कालमाधवे ॥  
 भैरवः शुङ्गनामा च देवी काली सुसिद्धिदा ।  
 मणिकौपे महाबाहो पतितं मे सुवस्त्रकम् ।  
 दृष्ट्वा स्मृत्वा महादेव मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥  
 कुजवारं भूततिथौ निशार्द्धं यस्तु साधकः ।  
 गत्वा प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥  
 सोमाख्ये भद्रसेनश्च तत्र भद्रा च देवता ।  
 वामपार्श्वे शुभाख्या च गर्त्तकी दण्डभैरवः ॥  
 उमानाक्षौ केशपाशे भूतेशः पूर्णभैरवः ।  
 संहाराख्ये चोर्द्धदन्तो देवी नारायणी शुची ॥

अघोदनो महाब्रह्म वाराही सप्तसागरः (°सागरे ?) <sup>1</sup> ॥  
 करतोयातटे श्रय्या तत्र वामनभैरवः ।  
 अपर्णा देवता तत्र सर्वेशो भैरवः स्वयम् ॥  
 श्रीपर्वते गूपुरश्च सुन्दरी तत्र देवता ।  
 सुन्दरी भैरवो देव योगिनीवल्लभप्रसुः ॥  
 सिद्धेश्वरी महाविद्या समुद्रो भैरवः स्वयम् ।  
 दन्तावलीषु मे देव जाता भैरवदेवताः ॥  
 प्रभासे धन्मैकं देव तत्र कपालिनी परा ।  
 भैरवः सर्वदेवश्च सर्वभैरवगायकः ॥  
 गोदावरीमहातीर्थे हरिद्वारे च विभ्यसे ।  
 वक्रेशो भैरवस्तत्र भैरवी देवता स्वयम् ॥  
 ओष्ठं वैवस्वते तीर्थे हरिता त्रिपुटा तथा ।  
 भैरवः सोमहन्ता च सर्वदेवी तथापरा ॥  
 चिबुके डामरी (भामरी) देवी विकटाख्या जले स्थले ।  
 गण्डे गर्गा सुपर्वा च विन्धेशी विश्वमाह्वका ।  
 दण्डपाणिभैरवश्च वामगण्डे च राकिणी ॥  
 शैलखण्डस्थखण्डे मे सर्वभौतिकदेवताः ।  
 रत्नावल्यां स्तब्धदेशः कुमारो भैरवः स्वयम् ॥  
 देवता च शिवा देवी भैरवश्च स्वयं शिवः ॥  
 मिथिलायां वामदेशे उग्रदेवी महोदरी ।  
 सेतुबन्धे महाभीमो भैरवो देवता जया ।  
 लोमखण्डे च देवेशस्तैलाङ्गे (तैलाङ्गे ?) चण्डनायिका ॥  
 चण्डेशो भैरवस्तत्र नित्यं तत्र वसाम्यहम् ॥  
 भैरवो दीर्घदर्शी च चक्रपाणिश्च भैरवः ।  
 क्षेत्रवती महादेवी सर्वसम्पत्प्रदायिनी ॥  
 पृथिव्यां यानि तीर्थानि याश्च भैरवदेवताः ।  
 पर्वतेषु श्रमशानेषु गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥  
 वैष्णवी सा महादेवी माधवो भैरवः स्वयम् ।  
 महाकायो महायोगो भैरवः सर्वविघ्नहृत् (°हृत्) ॥  
 कलौ नीलाचलक्षेत्रं तथा च सुवनेश्वरः ।  
 विमला विरजा भद्रा जगन्नाथश्च भैरवः ॥  
 तत्र मे पतितं देव उच्छिष्टं शुद्धिता तथा ।  
 सुवनेशो भैरवस्तत्र वसामि च हृदया सदा (त्वया सह ?) ॥

<sup>1</sup> Note the attempt to correct पञ्च into सप्त. See *supra*, p. 53, note 9.

उच्छिष्टचण्डालिनी देवी सर्वप्रीतेन्दुरी परा ॥  
 चक्रदीपे शूलपाणिर्देवता चक्रधारिणी ।  
 तत्र मे पतितश्चास्त्रं तेन जातो मञ्जोरगः ॥  
 एतत्ते कथितं देव पीठगाथादिदेवतम् ॥  
 क्षोत्राघोशं विना देव पूजयेत् पीठदेवताम् ।  
 भैरवीरहितं सर्वं जपसाधनकं क्रियाः (?) ॥  
 अज्ञात्वा भैरवं पीठं शक्तिश्च कुलभैरवम् ।  
 प्राणनाथ न सिध्यन्ति कल्पकोटिजपादिभिः  
 न देयं परशिश्याय निन्दिताय दुरात्मने ।  
 श्रुताय वक्षकायासु दत्त्वा न्यस्यमवाप्नुयात् ॥  
 देयं शिष्याय श्रान्ताय नैष्ठिकाय ममाश्रया ।  
 एषु स्थानेषु देवेश षट्कर्मसाधनं चरेत् ॥  
 साधकाय कुलीनाय मन्त्री मन्त्रार्थसिद्धये ।  
 दद्याच्चैव महादेव अन्यथा पतनं भवेत् ॥

## APPENDIX II

*Puranic Text containing 108 Names of the Mother-goddess.*

### नामाष्टोत्तरशतम्

Mts = Matsya Purāṇa: a Venkatesvara Press ed.; b Ānandāśrama ed.;  
 c Vaṅgavāsī ed. (ch. 13, verses 26-53).  
 DBh = Devībhāgavata, Vaṅgavāsī ed. (Bk. VII, ch. 30, verses 55-83).  
 Pdm = Padma Purāṇa-Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, Vaṅgavāsī ed. (ch. 17, verses 184-211).  
 Skd = Skanda Purāṇa-Āvantiyakhaṇḍa, Vangavāsī ed. (Revākhaṇḍa, ch.  
 98, verses 64-92).

<sup>1</sup> वाराणस्यां विशालाक्षी नैमिषे लिङ्गधारिणी <sup>2</sup> ।

<sup>1</sup> Pdm begins the section with the additional line: चाविनी पुष्करे नाम तीर्थाक्षी  
 प्रवरे श्रुते and reads कर्षिके for पुष्करे in verse 4.

It is interesting to note that a number of the holy places mentioned here are also known from the *Viṅṇusaṃhitā* (ch. 85) as *tīrthas* suitable for performing funerary rites. The list of 54 in the *Viṅṇusaṃhitā* includes: Puṣkara, Gayāśrīṣa, Akṣayaṇḍa, Amara-kaṇṭaka, Varāhaparvata, Narmadātīra, Yamunātīra, Gaṅgā, Kuśāvarta, Binduka, Nīlaparvata, Kanakhala, Kubjānra, Bhṛgutuṅga, Kedāra, Mahālaya, Nāṇṭikā, Sugandhā, Śākambharī, Phalgutīrtha, Mahāgaṅgā, Trihalikāgrāma, Kumārādhārā, Prabhāsa, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgādvarā, Prayāga, Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama, Naimiṣāranya, Vārāṇasī, Agastyāśrama, Kaṇvāśrama, Kauṣīki, Sarayūtīra, Sonajyotiṣāsaṅgama, Śrīparvata, Kālodaka, Uttaramānasa, Vāḍavā, Mataṅgavāpi, Septārṣa, Viṣṇupada, Svargamārgapada, Godāvarī, Gomatī, Vetravati, Vipāsā, Vitastā, Satadrutīra, Candra-bhāgā, Irāvati, Sindhutīra, Dakṣiṇa-Pāñcanada and Ausaja. Cf. the *Prāṇatopaniṣad* lists quoted above, pp. 25, note 3; 28, note 2. Note also the long list of *Pūrātīrthas* or *Svādātīrthas* in the *Padma Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, ch. 11. For an important but later list of Śākta *tīrthas*, see DBh, VII, 38, 5-30.

\* DBh—गौरीमुचनिवासिनी ।

येने नैमिषारण्ये प्रोक्ता सा लिङ्गधारिणी ।

The elaboration (cf. p. 58, note 9) points to later modification of the original text.

प्रयागे जलिता देवी<sup>1</sup> कामाक्षी<sup>2</sup> गन्धमादने ॥ १ ॥  
 मानसे कुमुदा नाम विश्वकाया तथाम्बरे<sup>3</sup> ।  
 गोमन्ते गोमती नाम मन्दरे कामचारिणी ॥ २ ॥  
 मदोत्कटा चैत्ररथे जयन्ती हस्तिनापुरे<sup>4</sup> ।  
 कान्यकुब्जे तथा गौरी रम्भा मलयपर्वते<sup>5</sup> ॥ ३ ॥  
 एकाम्बके<sup>6</sup> कौर्त्तिमतौ विश्वा<sup>7</sup> विश्वेश्वरे<sup>8</sup> विदुः ।  
 पुष्करे पुष्कतेति केदारे मार्गदायिनी<sup>9</sup> ॥ ४ ॥  
 गन्दा<sup>10</sup> हिमवतः पृष्ठे गोकर्णे भद्रकार्णिका<sup>11</sup> ।  
 ख्यातौन्धरे<sup>12</sup> भवानी तु विष्णुके<sup>13</sup> विष्णुपत्रिका ॥ ५ ॥  
 श्रीशैले माधवी नाम<sup>14</sup> भद्रा भद्रेश्वरे<sup>15</sup> तथा ।  
 जया वराहशैले तु<sup>16</sup> कमला कमलाक्षये ॥ ६ ॥  
 रद्रकोष्णाक्ष<sup>17</sup> रद्राणी काली कालझरे गिरौ<sup>18</sup> ।  
 19 महालिङ्गे तु कपिला मर्कोटे<sup>20</sup> मुकुटेश्वरी ॥ ७ ॥

1 DBh—प्रोक्ता ।

2 DBh—कासुकी ; Pdm, Skd—कासुका ।

3 Skd—°परे ; DBh—प्रोक्ता दक्षिणे चोत्तरे तथा ।

विश्वकामा भगवतौ विश्वकामप्रपूरिणी ॥ (Cf. p. 66, note 2.)

4 Skd—जयन्ती हस्तिने पुरे ।

5 DBh—गौरी प्रोक्ता कान्यकुब्जे रम्भा तु मलयाचले ।

6 Mts ab—एकाम्बके ; DBh—एकाक्षपीठे सम्प्रोक्ता देवी सा कौर्त्तिमत्यपि ।

विश्वे विश्वेश्वरौ प्राङ्गः पुष्कताक्ष पुष्करे ।

केदारपीठे सम्प्रोक्ता देवी सन्मार्गदायिनी ॥ (Cf. note 3 above ; also p. 66 note 2.)

7 Pdm—विष्वा ।

8 Pdm (v.l.)—विश्वेश्वरी ।

9 Pdm—कर्णिके पुष्कतेति केदारे मार्गदायिका । Skd—पुष्कता च ।

10 DBh—गन्दा ; Skd—हिमवतः प्रस्थे ।

11 Pdm—भद्रकार्णिका ।

12 Mts, DBh, Skd—खानेश्वरे ।

13 Mts ab—विष्णुके । Cf. विन्दुक in the *Viṣṇusamhitā*.

14 Pdm—देवी ; DBh—प्रोक्ता ।

15 Mts c—मधेश्वरे ; Skd—भद्रे भद्रेश्वरीति च ।

16 DBh—वराहशैले तु जया ।

17 Pdm—रद्रकोष्णाक्ष ; DBh—रद्राणी रद्रकोष्णाक्ष ; Skd—रद्रकोष्णाक्ष कल्याणी ।

18 Skd, Pdm, DBh—तथा ।

19 DBh reads this line after the following line.

20 Skd, DBh—माकोटे ; Pdm—मर्कोटे महालेश्वरी ।

शालग्रामे<sup>1</sup> महादेवो शिवलिङ्गे जलप्रिया ।  
 मायापुत्रीं कुमारौ तु सन्ताने कलिता तथा ॥ ८ ॥  
 उत्पलाक्षौ<sup>2</sup> सहस्राक्षे कमलाक्षे<sup>4</sup> महोत्पला ।  
 गङ्गायां<sup>5</sup> मङ्गला नाम<sup>6</sup> विमला पुष्पोत्तमे ॥ ९ ॥  
 विपाशायाममोक्षाक्षौ पाटला पुष्पवर्द्धने<sup>7</sup> ।  
 नारायणौ सुपार्श्वे तु चिकूटे<sup>8</sup> भद्रसुन्दरी<sup>9</sup> ॥ १० ॥  
 विपुले विपुला नाम<sup>10</sup> कल्याणौ मानसाक्षौ<sup>11</sup> ।  
 कोटवौ कोटितीर्थे तु<sup>12</sup> सुगन्धा माधवे वने<sup>13</sup> ॥ ११ ॥  
 गोदाश्रमे<sup>14</sup> चिसन्ध्या तु गङ्गाद्वारे रतिप्रिया<sup>15</sup> ।  
 शिवकुण्डे<sup>16</sup> शिवानन्दा<sup>17</sup> नन्दिनी देविकातटे ॥ १२ ॥  
 रुक्मिणी द्वारवत्यान्तु राधा हन्दावने वने<sup>18</sup> ।  
 देवकौ मधुरायान्तु पाताले परमेश्वरी ॥ १३ ॥  
 चिचकूटे तथा सीता विन्धे विन्ध्यनिवासिनी<sup>19</sup> ।  
 सद्माद्रावेकवीरा तु हरिश्चन्द्रे<sup>21</sup> तु चन्द्रिका ॥ १४ ॥

<sup>1</sup> Skd—शालग्रामे ।

<sup>2</sup> DBh reads this line after the following line.

<sup>3</sup> Pdm—उत्पलाक्ष्या ।

<sup>4</sup> Skd, Pdm, DBh—हिरण्याक्षे ।

Cf. गोवर्धनं हरिश्चन्द्रं पुरश्चन्द्रं प्रह्लादकम् ।

सहस्राक्षं हिरण्याक्षं तथा च कदली नदी ॥ पद्मपुराण । वृष्टिशुद्ध । ११ । ४२ ।

<sup>5</sup> Pdm, DBh—गयायां; Skd—गयायां विमला नाम मङ्गला पुष्पोत्तमे ।

<sup>6</sup> DBh—प्रीता ।

<sup>7</sup> Pdm—पुष्पवर्द्धने । The accounts of Hiuen Tsang appear to support this form of the name.

<sup>8</sup> Mts—चिकूटे ।

<sup>9</sup> DBh—वर्द्ध ।

<sup>10</sup> DBh—देवी ।

<sup>11</sup> Skd, Mts, DBh—मन्दायाक्षौ । After this line DBh reads the last line of verse 14 and the first of verse 15.

<sup>12</sup> Skd—तीर्थेषु ।

<sup>13</sup> Pdm—माधवौ; Skd—गन्धमादने (cf. verse 1). Cf. सुगन्धा in the V.S.

<sup>14</sup> Pdm—गोदावर्या; Mts a (v.l.)—कुलाशके. Cf. कुलाश in the V.S.

<sup>15</sup> Pdm—हरिप्रिया ।

<sup>16</sup> DBh—शिवकुण्डे; Skd—शिवचण्डे ।

<sup>17</sup> Mts a (v.l.)—सुगन्धा तु; b (v.l.), DBh—शुभानन्दा; Skd—सुभानन्दा ।

<sup>18</sup> Pdm—तथा ।

<sup>19</sup> Mts—विन्ध्याधिवासिनी ।

<sup>20</sup> DBh reads this line after the following one.

<sup>21</sup> Mts a (v.l.)—हर्षचन्द्रे; Skd—चन्द्रिका । For the name हरिश्चन्द्र, see *Padma Purāṇa*, Śṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, ch. 11, v. 42 quoted in note 4 above.

रमणा रामतीर्थे तु यमुनायां मृगावती ।  
 करवीरे महालक्ष्मीरमादेवौ <sup>1</sup> विनायके ॥ १५ ॥  
 अरोगा <sup>2</sup> वैद्यनाथे तु महाकाले महेश्वरी ।  
 अभयैत्युष्णीशतीर्थे तु <sup>3</sup> चामुता विन्ध्यकन्दरे ॥ १६ ॥  
 माण्डव्ये <sup>4</sup> माण्डवी नाम स्वाहा माहेश्वरे <sup>5</sup> पुरे ।  
 जगन्नाथे <sup>6</sup> प्रचण्डा तु चण्डिकामरकण्डके <sup>7</sup> ॥ १७ ॥  
 सोमेश्वरे वरारोहा प्रभासे पुष्करावती ।  
 देवमाता <sup>8</sup> सरस्वत्यां पारावारतटे माता <sup>9</sup> ॥ १८ ॥  
 महालये महाभागा <sup>10</sup> पयोधरां पिङ्गलेश्वरी ।  
 सिंहिका कृतशौचे तु कार्तिकेये यशस्वरी <sup>11</sup> ॥ १९ ॥  
 उत्पलावर्त्तके लोला सुभद्रा शोणसङ्गमे <sup>12</sup> ।  
 माता सिद्धपुरे <sup>13</sup> लक्ष्मीरङ्गना <sup>14</sup> भरताश्रमे ॥ २० ॥  
 जालन्धरे विन्ध्यमुखी तारा कुक्किन्धपर्वते <sup>15</sup> ।  
 देवदारवने पुष्टिर्मेधा काशीरमण्डले ॥ २१ ॥  
 भीमादेवौ हिमाद्रौ तु <sup>16</sup> तुष्टिर्वस्त्रेश्वरे <sup>17</sup> तथा ।  
 कपालमोचने शुद्धिर्माता <sup>18</sup> कायावरोहणे ॥ २२ ॥

1 Skd—रूपादेवौ ।

2 Mts b (v.l.), DBh, Skd—आरोग्या ।

3 Skd—°तीर्थे तु मृगी वा ; Pdm—पुष्पतीर्थे तु चामुता ; DBh—नितम्बा विन्ध्य° ।

4 DBh—माण्डवे ; Skd—माण्डुकौनाम ।

5 Skd—महेश्वरे ; DBh—माहेश्वरी° ।

6 DBh—जगन्नाथे ; Skd—जगन्निष्ठे ; Pdm—वेगले तु प्रचण्डाय ।

7 Mts—मकरन्दके ; b (v.l.)—मरकण्डके ।

8 Skd—वेदमाता ।

9 Pdm—पारापारे तटे स्थिता ; DBh—पारावारतटे कृता ; Skd—पारा पारातटे मुने ।

10 Pdm—महापद्मा ।

11 Pdm—तु शङ्करौ ; DBh—°लतिशङ्करौ ; Skd—कार्तिके चैव शङ्करौ ।

12 Pdm—सिन्धुसङ्गमे ।

13 DBh—सिद्धवने ; Skd—सिद्धवटे ; Pdm—उमा सिद्धवने ।

14 Pdm, DBh—लक्ष्मीरङ्गना ; Skd—लक्ष्मीरङ्गा ।

15 Skd—कुक्किन्ध° ।

16 Pdm—च ।

17 DBh—तुष्टिर्विन्ध्येश्वरी ; Mts—पुष्टिर्विन्ध्येश्वरे ; Skd—पुष्टिर्वस्त्रेश्वरे ।

18 Pdm—शुद्धा माता ।



शङ्खोद्घाटे ध्वनिर्नाम<sup>1</sup> हृतिः पिङ्गारके तथा ।  
 काला<sup>2</sup> तु चन्द्रभागायामम्बोदे शिवकारिणी<sup>3</sup> ॥ २३ ॥  
 वेणायाममृता नाम<sup>4</sup> बदर्यामुर्वशी तथा ।  
 औषधी<sup>5</sup> चोत्तरकुरो कुशद्वीपे कुशोदका ॥ २४ ॥  
 मन्मथा हेमकूटे तु मुकुटे<sup>6</sup> सत्यवादिनी ।  
 अश्वत्ये वन्दनीया<sup>7</sup> तु निधिवैश्रवणालये ॥ २५ ॥  
 गायत्री वेदवदने पार्वती शिवसन्निधौ ।  
 देवलोक<sup>8</sup>े तथेन्द्राणी ब्रह्मास्थेषु<sup>9</sup> सरस्वती ॥ २६ ॥  
 सूर्यविम्बे प्रभा नाम मातृणां वैष्णवी मता ।  
 अरुन्धती सतीनान्तु रामासु च तिलोत्तमा ॥  
 चित्ते<sup>10</sup> ब्रह्मकला नाम शक्तिः सर्वेश्वरीरिणाम् ॥ २७ ॥<sup>11</sup>  
 एतदुद्देश्यतः<sup>12</sup> प्रोक्तं नामाष्टशतमुत्तमम् ।  
 अष्टोत्तरश्च तीर्थाणां शतमेतदुदाहृतम् ॥ २८ ॥

## APPENDIX III

### *Evolution of the Dakṣayajña Story.*

#### दक्षयज्ञकथामूलम्

- (a) प्रथिष्ट यस्य वीरकर्ममिष्ठादनुष्ठितं नु नर्यो अपौहत् ।  
 पुनस्तदा दृष्टि यत् कनाया दुहितुरा अनुभूतमनर्वा ॥

<sup>1</sup> Mts a—धरा नाम ।

<sup>2</sup> DBh—कला ।

<sup>3</sup> DBh—शिवधारिणी; Pdm—सिद्धिदायिनी; Skd—शक्तिधारिणी ।

<sup>4</sup> Pdm—देवी ।

<sup>5</sup> Mts b—औषधी; DBh—औषधिचोत्तर<sup>०</sup> । Cf. औषज in the V.S.

<sup>6</sup> DBh, Pdm, Skd—कुमुदे ।

<sup>7</sup> Skd—वन्दनीया ।

<sup>8</sup> DBh—वेदलोके ।

<sup>9</sup> Pdm, Skd—ब्रह्मास्थे तु ।

<sup>10</sup> Pdm—चित्ते ।

<sup>11</sup> Skd adds after this line : शूलेश्वरी भृगुसेने भगो सोभाग्यसुन्दरी ।

<sup>12</sup> Pdm—एतद्वृत्त्या मया ;

DBh—इमान्यष्टशतानि स्युः पौठानि जगमेजय ।

तस्यैककासदीशान्यो देवश्च परिकीर्तितः ॥

सतीदेवभूतानि पौठानि सन्ति तानि च ।

अन्यान्यपि प्रसिद्धानि यानि मुष्णानि भूतके ॥

मध्या यत्तत्त्वमभवद्भौके कामं कृतवाने पितरि युवत्याम् ।  
 मनागग्नेतो जहत्तुर्वियन्ता सानौ निषिक्तं सुकृतस्य योनौ ॥  
 पिता यत् खां दुहितरमघिष्कान् क्षया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्चत् ।  
 खाधोऽजनयन् ब्रह्म देवा वाक्तोष्यतिं व्रतपां निरतन्तन् ॥  
 (ऋग्वेद, १०।६१।५-७)

(b) प्रजापतिर्है वै खां दुहितरमभिदध्यौ दिवं वोषसं वा मिथुन्येनया  
 स्यामिति । तां सम्भूव । तद्वै देवानामाग आस य इत्थं खां दुहितरमस्माकं  
 खसारं करोतीति । ते ह देवा उचुः । योऽयं देवः पशूनामीष्टेऽतिसंधं वा  
 व्ययं चरति य इत्थं खां दुहितरमस्माकं खसारं करोति विधेममिति । तं  
 ब्रह्मोऽभ्यायत्य विद्याध । तस्य सामि रेतः प्रचक्षन् । तथेन्नं तदास । तस्मादेत-  
 दृषिणाभ्यनूक्तम् । पिता यत्खां दुहितरमघिष्कान् क्षया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्च-  
 दिति । तदाभिमारुतमित्युक्तं तस्मिंस्तदाख्यायते यथा तदेवा रेतः प्राजनयन् ।  
 तेषां तदा देवानां क्रोधो व्येदय प्रजापतिमभिषज्यंस्तस्य तं शल्यं निरकन्तन् । स वै  
 यज्ञ एव प्रजापतिः । ते होचुः । उपजानीत यथेदं नामुयासत्कनीयो ह्य  
 ऊतेर्यथेदं स्यादिति । ते होचुः । भगायैन्दक्षिणत आसीनाय परिहरत  
 तद्गगः प्राशिष्यति तद्यथाऊतमेवं भविष्यतीति । तद्गगाय दक्षिणत आसीनाय  
 पर्याजकुः । तद्गगोऽवेक्षां चक्रे । तस्याक्षिणी निर्ददाह । तथेन्नं तदास ।  
 तस्मादाऊरन्धो भगइति । ते होचुः । गो न्वेवात्राश्रमत्पूष्णाऽएनत् परिहरतेति ।  
 तत्पूष्णे पर्याजकुः । तत्पूषा प्राश । तस्य दतो निर्जघान । तथेन्नं तदास ।  
 तस्मादाऊरदन्तकः पूषेति । \* \* \* (शतपथब्राह्मण-माध्यन्दिनब्राह्मण १।७।८।  
 १-७ ।

(c) प्रजापतिर्वै खां दुहितरमभ्यायद्विवमित्यन्य आऊरवसमित्यन्ये । तामृश्यो  
 भूत्वा रोहितं भूतामभ्येत् । तं देवा अपश्यन् न कृतं वै प्रजापतिः करोतीति ।  
 ते तमेष्ट्वन्य एनमारिष्यत्येतमन्योन्यस्मिन्नाविन्दन् । तेषां या एव चोरतमास्तन्य  
 आसंस्ता एकघा समभरंस्ताः संभृता एष देवोऽभवत्तदस्यै तद्भूतवन्नाम भवति वै  
 स योऽस्यै तदेवं नाम वेद । तं देवा अभ्रुवन्नयं वै प्रजापतिरकृतमकरिमं विधेति ।  
 स तथेत्थब्रवीत् स वै वो वरं दद्या इति दृणीष्वेति । स एतमेव वरमदृणीत  
 पशूनामाधिपत्यम् । तदस्यैतत्पशुमन्नाम पशुमान् भवति योऽस्यै तदेवं नाम वेद ।  
 तमाभ्यायत्याविध्यत् । स विद्ध ऊर्ध्वं उदप्रपततमेतं नृग इत्याचक्षते । य उ एव  
 नृगव्याधः स उ एव स या रोहित्वा रोहिणी य एवेष्टुस्त्रिकायदा स एवेष्टु-  
 स्त्रिकायदा । तदा इदं प्रजापते रेतः सित्तमधावत्तत्सरोऽभवत् । ते देवा अभ्रुवन्  
 मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति । यदभ्रुवन् मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति तन्मादुषम-  
 भवत् । \* \* \* (शैतरेयब्राह्मण १।३३)

(d) प्रजापतिर्वै ब्रह्मं यज्ञान्निरतजत् । सोऽस्मानयत् मेऽयमस्मा आकूतिः  
समृद्धिर्यो मा यज्ञान्निरमाक्षीदिति । स यज्ञमभ्यायम्याविध्य तदाविद्धं निरक्तमत् ।  
तत् प्राशित्रमभवत्तदुदयस्तद्गुणाय पर्यहरंस्तत्तत्तीक्ष्णत । तस्य चक्षुः परापतत्-  
स्मादाङ्गरन्धो वै भग इत्यपि हतं नेच्छेद्यमिच्छति तत् सवित्रे पर्यहरंस्तत्तत्तद्गुणाय  
तस्य पाणौ प्रतिच्छेद तस्मै हिरण्यमयौ प्रत्यदधुस्तस्माद्धिरण्यपाणिरिति  
स्तुतस्तत् पूष्णे पर्यहरंस्तत् प्राञ्जास्तस्य दन्ताः परोप्यन्त तस्मादाङ्गरदन्तकः पूष्ण  
पिष्टभाजन इति । \* \* \* (गोपयन्नाङ्गण । २।१) ।

(e) कस्यचित्त्वय कालस्य दक्षनामा प्रजापतिः ।

पूर्वोक्तेन विधानेन यक्षमायोऽन्वपद्यत ॥

ततस्तस्य मुखं देवाः सर्वे शक्रपुरोगमाः ।

गमनाय समागम्य बुद्धिमापेदिरे तदा ॥

ते विमानैर्महात्मानो ज्वलनार्कसमप्रभैः ।

देवस्यानुमते गच्छन् गङ्गाद्वारमिति श्रुतिः ॥

प्रस्थिता देवता वृष्टा शैलराजसुता तदा ।

उवाच वचनं साध्वी देवं पशुपतिं पतिम् ॥

भगवन् क्व नु यात्येते देवाः शक्रपुरोगमाः ।

ब्रूहि तत्त्वेन तत्त्वञ्च संश्रयो मे महानयम् ॥

महेश्वर उवाच ॥

दक्षो नाम महाभागे प्रजानां पतिरुत्तमः ।

यद्यमेघेन यजते तज यान्ति दिवौकसः ॥

उमोवाच ॥

यज्ञमेतं महादेव किमर्थं नाधिगच्छसि ।

केन वा प्रतिषेधेन गमनं ते न विद्यते ॥

महेश्वर उवाच ॥

सुरैरेव महाभागे पूर्वमेतदनुष्ठितम् ।

यज्ञेषु सर्वेषु मम न भाग उपकल्पितः ॥

पूर्वोपायोपपन्नेन मार्गेण वरवर्णिनि ।

न मे सुराः प्रयच्छन्ति भागं यज्ञस्य घर्मतः ॥

उमोवाच ॥

भगवन् सर्वभूतेषु प्रभावाभ्यधिको गुणैः ।

अजय्यश्चाप्यहृष्यश्च तेजसा यशसा श्रिया ॥

अनेन ते महाभाग प्रतिषेधेन भागतः ।

अतीव दुःखमुत्पन्नं वेपथुश्च ममानघ ॥

भौम उवाच ॥

एवमुक्त्वा तु सा देवी तदा प्रभुपतिं पतिम् ।  
तुष्योन्मूताभवद्राजन् दह्यमानेन चेतसा ॥  
अथ देव्या मतं ज्ञात्वा हृद्गतं यच्चिकीर्षितम् ।  
स समाज्ञापयामास तिल त्वमिति नन्दनम् ॥  
ततो योगबलं कृत्वा सर्वयोगेश्वरेश्वरः ।  
तं यच्च स महातेजा भौमैरनुचरैस्तदा ॥  
सहसा चातयामास देवदेवः पिण्णाकष्टक् ॥ \* \* \*

(महाभारत । १२।२८३।१६-३६) ।

(f) \* \* \* केचिद्वभङ्गः प्राग्वंशं पत्नीशालां तथापरे ।

सद आभीध्रशालाश्च तद्विहारं महानसम् ॥  
रुक्मजुयंश्चपात्राणि तत्रैकेऽभीननाश्रयन् ।  
कुण्डेष्वमूत्रयन् केचिद्विभिदुर्वेदिमेखलाः ॥  
अवाधन्त मुनीन्ये एके पत्नीरतर्जयन् ।  
अपरे जगज्जर्दवान् प्रत्यासन्नान् पलायितान् ॥  
भृगुं बबन्ध मणिमान् वीरभद्रः प्रजापतिम् ।  
चण्डेशः पूषणं देवं भगं गन्दीश्वरोऽग्रहीत् ॥  
सर्व एवत्विजो दृष्ट्वा सदस्याः सदिवौकसः ।  
तैरर्द्यमानाः सुभृशं ग्रावभिर्नैकधाद्रवन् ॥  
जुह्वतः खुरहस्तस्य श्मश्रूणि भगवान् भवः ।  
भृगोर्लुलुचे सदसि योऽहसत् श्मश्रु दर्शयन् ॥  
भगस्य नेत्रे भगवान् पातितस्य रुषा सुवि ।  
उज्जहार सदःस्थोऽह्णा यः श्रपन्तमस्रसुचत् ॥  
पूष्यो ह्यपातयदन्तान् कलिङ्गस्य यथा बलः ।  
श्रप्यमाने गरिमणि योऽहसदर्शयन् दतः ॥ \* \* \*

(भागवतपुराण । ४।५।१४-२१) ।

(g) \* \* \* वीरभद्रोऽपि दीप्तात्मा शक्रस्यैवोद्यतं करम् ।

व्यष्टम्भयददीनात्मा तथान्येषां दिवौकसाम् ॥  
भगस्य नेत्रे चोत्पाद्य करजायेण लीलया ।  
निहत्य मुष्टिना दन्तान् पूषास्त्रैवमपातयत् ॥  
तथा चन्द्रमसं देवं पादाङ्गुलेन लीलया ।  
धर्षयामास बलवान् स्मयमानो गणेश्वरः ॥  
वह्नेर्हस्तद्वयं हित्वा जिह्वासुत्याद्य लीलया ।  
जघान मुर्द्धि पादेन मुनीनपि मुनीश्वराः ॥  
तथा विष्णुं सगर्बं समाधानं महाबलः ।  
विध्याद्य निश्चितैर्बाणैः स्तम्भयित्वा सुदर्शनम् ॥ \* \* \*

(कूर्मपुराण । १।१५।६०-६४) ।

## APPENDIX IV

*Date of the Tantrasāra.*

The celebrated Tantric encyclopedia entitled *Tantrasāra*, composed or rather compiled by the great Bengali leader of Tantric thought named Kṛṣṇānanda, is well known to all students of the Tantra literature. In the colophons added to some of the chapters of the *Tantrasāra* the author calls himself 'Mahāmahopādhyāya-Kṛṣṇānanda-Vāgīśa-Bhaṭṭācārya'; but later writers usually refer to him as Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa. *Vāgīśa* seems to have been an abbreviated form of *Āgamavāgīśa*.

The late Mr. N. N. Vasu gave the following description of the family, to which Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, author of the *Tantrasāra*, belonged, in the *Vārendra-Brāhmaṇa-Vivarana* Volume of his *Vaṅger Jāṭiya Itihāsa* (in Bengali): 'This family is known in the community of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas as the Kāśyapa-gotriya Maitras of Maṇḍalajāni. It originally flourished at Āgameśvari-talā at Śrīdhāma-Navadvīpa; but later, owing to an expansion of the family, its members scattered themselves over different parts of Bengal. A branch of the family still lives at Śrīdhāma and is devoted to the worship of the goddess Āgameśvari' (p. 157). A number of traditions about Kṛṣṇānanda's religious life have also been quoted in the work. In connection with the date of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, Mr. Vasu says (*loc. cit.*), 'Kṛṣṇānanda, Śrīcāitanya and Raghunātha Śīromani were co-students at the Catuspāthi of the same Guru at Navadvīpa. At first Kṛṣṇānanda and Caitanya were great friends; but dissension separated them when Caitanya preferred to worship Kṛṣṇa according to the principle known as the Sakhi-bhāva. Kṛṣṇānanda requested his friend not to take up the new course, but was insulted; and from that time they began to preach the Śākta and Vaiṣṇava doctrines separately. Kṛṣṇānanda attained perfection with the Śakti-mantra and conceived and popularized the form of the image of the goddess Kālī.<sup>1</sup> Before this, Kālī was usually worshipped at a Ghaṭa. The Ghaṭa established for the purpose of worshipping the goddess by Kṛṣṇānanda at the temple of Āgameśvari at Navadvīpa still exists and a large number of Śāktas flock to it for worshipping Mahāmāyā.'

The story narrated by Mr. Vasu invites comments. In the first place, we know that Kṛṣṇānanda began his work with an adoration to Lord Kṛṣṇa, identified with Viṣṇu (*Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsi edition, p. 1):

नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वन्द्वं ब्रह्मादिसुरपूजितम् ।

गुरुश्च ज्ञानदातारं कृष्णानन्देन धौमता ॥

<sup>1</sup> According to a tradition recorded by Vasu, Kṛṣṇānanda was ordered by the goddess Kālī in a dream to popularize the form of her image. On being questioned as to how the form could be realized, the goddess replied that it would be revealed to the devotee the next morning. Early next day when Kṛṣṇānanda came out of his house, he found a young cowherdess engaged in preparing cowdung cakes. She was standing in the *āṅghra* pose (with the right knee thrown to front and the left leg firm behind in a slanting position) and had a large ball of cowdung in her left hand and a small one in the right, upraised to be set on a wall in the form of a cake. On the sudden consciousness of her being noticed by Kṛṣṇānanda the woman felt very much ashamed and pressed her tongue, that lolled, with her teeth (cf. Bengali *কল্লোচ জিহ্বা কাটা* which gives an expression to the feeling of shame). The appearance of the cowherdess as seen by Kṛṣṇānanda that morning was popularized by him as the form of the image of Dakṣiṇa-Kālī. Kṛṣṇānanda began to worship small images of this type made of mud by himself every day to be immersed early next morning in the waters of the Ganges. Later the king of Navadvīpa introduced the worship of large images of the same type on the newmoon of the month of Kārttika.

This seems to show that Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa was not initiated into the Śakti-mantra, but was a Tantric devotee who received his initiation into the Vaiṣṇava formula.<sup>1</sup> In the Śyāmā or Kālī section of the *Tantrasāra*, the author quotes the opinions of various Tantra works, but does not express any special view of his own (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 472ff; also Pūrṇānanda's *Śyāmārahasya*, ed. R. N. Chatterji, pp. 11-12).

In the second place, it is extremely difficult to regard Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa as a co-student of the celebrated Vaiṣṇava saint Caitanya of Navadvīpa and the great Bengali logician Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. Caitanya was born on the full-moon day of Phālguna in Śaka 1407, corresponding to the 18th February, 1486 A.D., and died at the age of 48 on the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āśāḍha in Śaka 1455 (1533 A.D.). *Vide* D. C. Sen, *Varṅabhāṣā O Sāhitya*, 5th edition, pp. 256, 266; R. G. Bhandarkar's *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 118-19. According to the *History of Indian Logic* (pp. 463-65) by S. C. Vidyabhushan, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi flourished between 1477 and 1547 A.D., although recent writers on the subject suggest that the Śiromaṇi was born about 1460-65 A.D., composed his famous *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti* about 1490-1500 A.D. and was therefore about a generation earlier than Caitanya (cf. *V.S.P.P.*, Vol. L, p. 13; LIII, pp. 1, 3). If, therefore, the story narrated by Mr. Vasu has to be believed, we have to assume that Kṛṣṇānanda was born about 1480 A.D. and died sometime about the middle of the sixteenth century. There is, however, evidence to show that the *Tantrasāra* was composed several years after 1577 A.D.

The great Tantric teacher Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa, who was an inhabitant of the Mymensing District of Bengal (cf. Introduction to the Calcutta Sanskrit Series edition of the *Śrīttattvacintāmaṇi*), wrote his famous work entitled *Śrīttattvacintāmaṇi* in the Śaka year 1499 corresponding to 1577 A.D. This is clear from the following passage of the work:

श्रीमत्परमहंस-परिव्राजक-श्रीगुरु-ब्रह्मानन्द-सुखारविन्द-निखन्दमान-परमरहस्यति-  
रहस्य-निगममकरन्द-सन्दोहतुन्दिलानन्दः श्रीपूर्णागन्दपरमहंसः श्रीतत्त्वचिन्तामणिं

चतुर्दशशताधिकवयववतिशकाब्दे वितनोति । The *Śrīttattvacintāmaṇi* by Pūrṇānanda has been quoted by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa in his *Tantrasāra* (p. 155). Now even if Pūrṇānanda and Kṛṣṇānanda were contemporaries, it is difficult to believe that in that age, when there was little facility of communication, Kṛṣṇānanda of Navadvīpa in the Nadia District could have information about the work of Pūrṇānanda of Mymensing and secure a copy of it immediately after its composition. The *Tantrasāra* thus does not appear to have been composed much earlier than circa 1600 A.D. If, under the circumstances, it is conjectured that the *Tantrasāra* was written by Kṛṣṇānanda when he was more than hundred years old, the story of Kṛṣṇānanda, Caitanya and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi having been co-students under the same Guru may not be altogether impossible. But such a suggestion, if not wholly absurd, is certainly rather improbable. It can hardly be accepted without any corroborative evidence. The *Tantrasāra*

<sup>1</sup> That Kṛṣṇānanda was not anti-Vaiṣṇava is even admitted by a tradition recorded by Vasu, according to which Śākta Kṛṣṇānanda had a brother named Sahasrākṣa who was a Vaiṣṇava. One day a number of bananas, preserved by Kṛṣṇānanda with a view to offering them to the goddess Āgameśvarī (Kālī), was, during his absence, dedicated by Sahasrākṣa to his own tutelary deity, the god Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu. At this Kṛṣṇānanda became very much annoyed. But when at night the Āgamavāgiśa was worshipping the goddess, he and his Vaiṣṇava brother, who happened to be near him, noticed with surprise that the goddess had Gopāla (child Kṛṣṇa) on her lap and was feeding him with bananas like a mother. Thereafter the two brothers realized that there was really no difference between the Vaiṣṇava and Śākta forms of worship.

also quotes Rāghava Bhaṭṭa (*loc. cit.*, p. 16 *et passim*), who wrote the *Padārthādarśa* commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* and flourished in 1493-94 A.D., and the *Tantrakaumudī* (*loc. cit.*, p. 374) composed by the Maithila Devanātha at the court of king Malladeva Naranārāyaṇa of Kamta (1555-87 A.D.; cf. *Pravāsi*, 1354 B.S., pp. 507-08).

In the preface to the *Kālikhaṇḍa* or Section I of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Dr. B. Bhattacharya has made an attempt to determine the date of the composition of the *Śaktisaṅgama* and has incidentally discussed the date of the *Tantrasāra* by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa. Dr. Bhattacharya says that Kṛṣṇānanda, author of the *Tantrasāra*, was a disciple of Pūrṇānanda Paramahamṣa, author of the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi*. As the preceptor, i.e. Pūrṇānanda, wrote his work in 1577 A.D., the disciple, i.e. Kṛṣṇānanda, in Dr. Bhattacharya's opinion, may have composed his *Tantrasāra* about thirty years later, that is to say, about 1607 A.D. Unfortunately however the suggestion that the author of the *Tantrasāra* was a disciple of that of the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* is absolutely unwarranted.

It is well known that Tantric devotees regard the Guru or preceptor as equal or even superior to all the gods as an object of veneration. Kṛṣṇānanda himself quotes the following verse in praise of the Guru from the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* in his *Tantrasāra* (p. 2):

गुरुः पिता गुरुर्माता गुरुर्देवो गुरुर्गतिः ।

शिवे बद्धे गुरुस्त्राता गुरौ बद्धे न कश्चन ॥

In this connection, the attention of scholars may be drawn to the views of various Tantra works quoted in the Guru-śiṣya-Prakarṇa of the *Prāṇa-toṣaṇi Tantra* (Vasumatī edition, pp. 91-103), especially to the following citations from the *Guru Tantra* and the *Guptasādhana Tantra* (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 94-95):

न गुरोरधिकं श्रास्त्रं न गुरोरधिकं तपः ।

न गुरोरधिकं मन्त्रो न गुरोरधिकं फलम् ॥

न गुरोरधिका देवो न गुरोरधिकाः शिवः ।

न गुरोरधिका मूर्तिर्न गुरोरधिको जपः ॥

(गुरुतन्त्र)

गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुर्गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।

गुरुस्तोत्रं गुरुर्यज्ञो गुरुर्दानं गुरुर्जपः ॥

गुरुर्भिर्गुरुः सूर्यः सर्वं गुरुमयं जगत् ॥

(गुप्तसाधनतन्त्र)

The section from Pūrṇānanda's *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* quoted above, in which the author introduces himself as a disciple of another Tantrācārya named Brahmānanda Paramahamṣa, demonstrates very clearly how much respectfully a Tantric devotee is expected to refer to his Guru. In his *Syāmā-rahasya* Pūrṇānanda refers to himself as श्रीगुरुपादपद्मपरामोदान्तज्ञावितः पूर्वानन्दगिरिः । There is a distinct injunction as regards the mention of

one's preceptor in the *Kulārṇava Tantra* from which the following verses have been quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* (p. 103):

श्रीगुरुं कुलशास्त्राणि पूजास्थानानि यानि च ।  
भक्त्या श्रीपूर्वकं देवि प्रणम्य च प्रकीर्तयेत् ॥  
गुरुं नाम्ना न भावेत् जपकालादृते प्रिये ।  
श्रीनाथदेवस्वामीति विवादे साधने वदेत् ॥

It is very interesting to note in this connection that the following lines of the *Tantrasāra* (p. 489) attributes a particular view to Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa and refutes it categorically:

पूर्वागन्दमतोऽन्येन लक्षणपे पुरस्चरयं; तत् सन्दिग्धमतं; नानातन्त्रे लक्षणदयदर्शनात्  
लक्षणदयैवैव पुरस्चरयं सिद्धमिति ।<sup>1</sup>

If Pūrṇānanda had been the preceptor of the author of the *Tantrasāra*, he would not certainly have been mentioned in the above passage merely as *Pūrṇānanda* but would have been called at least *Śrī-Pūrṇānanda* (if living).<sup>2</sup> This non-reverential reference to the author of the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* in the *Tantrasāra* shows beyond doubt that Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa was not a disciple of Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa.

On the title page as well as in the introduction (p. 21) of the Vasumati edition of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*, its author Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra is represented as the *ṛddhapraparitra* or great-great-grandson of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa author of the *Tantrasāra*. Curiously enough the book itself proves clearly that the statement is wrong. Vasu's statement (*loc. cit.*) that the author of the book represents himself as the grandson of Sātu Ācārya seems also to be wrong. It is well known to the students of Tantra literature that Rāmatoṣaṇa's work was prepared and published under the patronage of Bābu Prānakṣṇa Viśvāsa of Khardaha near Calcutta, who was a great patron of Sastric learning. The author calls his work a *latā* (*vallī*, etc.) or creeper styled *Prāṇa-toṣaṇī* wherein parts of the names of both himself and his patron were cleverly accommodated. In a large number of passages in the work, Rāmatoṣaṇa refers to his indebtedness to Prānakṣṇa as well as to the latter's qualities, laudable activities and family relations. In many passages he also speaks of himself and his family. The following passage (p. 147):

श्रीप्राणकृष्णकृतिरस्य निदेशवती  
मैत्रेयवंशजकुलान्वितचक्रवर्ती । etc.

says that Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra belonged to a Vamśaja (non-Kulin) family of the Maitreyas of the Varendra Brāhmaṇa community. Elsewhere (p. 77) he refers to his father Kṛṣṇamaṅgala Vidyāvāgīśa and his mother Gaṅgādevī:

लक्ष्मणकृष्णविद्यावागीशसुतः सतां मुदे  
गङ्गादेवीसुतोऽकार्षीद्भर्मकाण्डं द्वितीयकम् ॥

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 488: चक्षुः पुरस्चरयं लक्षणपे पूर्वागन्दमतोऽन्येन । The reference is to Ch. v of Pūrṇānanda's *Syāmārahasya* which was composed later than his *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* (1577 A.D.). The mention of Pūrṇānanda and the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* is noticed in the old and complete manuscripts of the *Tantrasāra* including one said to be copied in 1658 A.D. (probably during the author's lifetime).

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the Guru's name (if he was dead) was mentioned without honorific expressions when he was clearly said to have been one's preceptor: cf. *tripurānandena mad-gururṇa vyākhyātam* in Brāhmānanda's *Tārārahasya*.



In another passage (p. 105) Rāmatoṣaṇa speaks of his elder brother Rāma-locana Vidyābhūṣaṇa who is said to have been the author of a commentary on the *Vāstuyāga* entitled *Vāstuyāgapradīpikā*; cf.

मद्यजरामलोचनविद्याभूषणकृत-वास्तुयागप्रदीपिकादृतहयश्रीर्षपञ्चरात्रे, etc.

There are several passages referring to Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa, author of the *Tantrasāra*, as a distinguished member of the family to which Rāmatoṣaṇa belonged; cf.

अस्मद्गोष्ठोगरिष्ठकृष्णानन्दागमवागीशेन खल्लततन्त्रसारे सर्वं लिखितम् (p. 104);

अस्मद्गोष्ठोगरिष्ठकृष्णानन्दागमवागीशेन खल्लततन्त्रसारग्रन्थे लिखिता (p. 143).

It is evident that the Āgamavāgiśa was an ancestor of the author of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇi Tantra*. Fortunately, however, there are some sections of the work which clearly define the relationship between Kṛṣṇānanda and Rāmatoṣaṇa and says that the former was the latter's *atyativṛddhaprapitāmaha*, i.e. great-grandfather's great-grandfather; cf.

अस्मदत्यतिवृद्धप्रपितामह-कृष्णानन्दागमवागीशेन तन्त्रसारे लिखिते (p. 116);

अस्मदत्यतिवृद्धप्रपितामह-सहृदयगोष्ठोगरिष्ठ-कृष्णानन्दागमवागीश-भट्टाचार्यैः

खल्लततन्त्रसारे लिखितम् (p. 75).

Rāmatoṣaṇa was therefore the *atyativṛddhaprapautra*, i.e. great-grandson's great-grandson, of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa Bhattacharya and certainly not the latter's *vṛddhaprapautra* or great-grandson as asserted by the editor of the Vasumatī edition of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇi Tantra*. There is moreover a detailed genealogy in the work (p. 146) which makes the relation between the author of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇi* and that of the *Tantrasāra* absolutely clear.

Cf.

घौमान् औमान् सुवनविदिततन्त्रसारस्य कर्ता

कृष्णानन्दोऽजनि सुवि नवद्वीपदेशप्रदीपः ।

काशीनाथोऽभवदिह सुतन्त्रस्य सारावलीकृत

विद्वान् मान्योऽजनि तदनुजो विम्बनायाश्चयोऽतः ॥

गोपालो निर्णयकृतियशस्वी मधोः सुदनाच्चा (सुदनखा)-

भूतां पुत्रौ मधुसुत इतः कालिदासः प्रसिद्धः ।

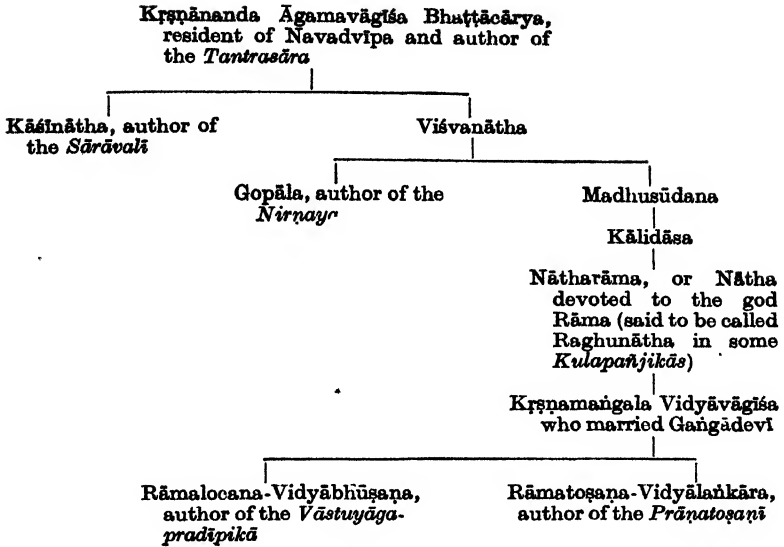
तत्पुत्रोऽभूद्भुववरपरो नाथ एकान्तबुद्धि-

कृतसूनुश्चाभवदिह सुधीर्मङ्गलः कृष्णपूर्वः ॥

श्रीकृष्णमङ्गलसुतो नववह्निकायाः

श्रीरामतोषण इदं कृतवान् द्वितीयम् । etc.

From the above details as well as those quoted before, the following genealogy of the Maitra or Maitreya family, to which Kṛṣṇānanda and Rāmatoṣaṇa belonged, may be prepared and offered in a tabular form:

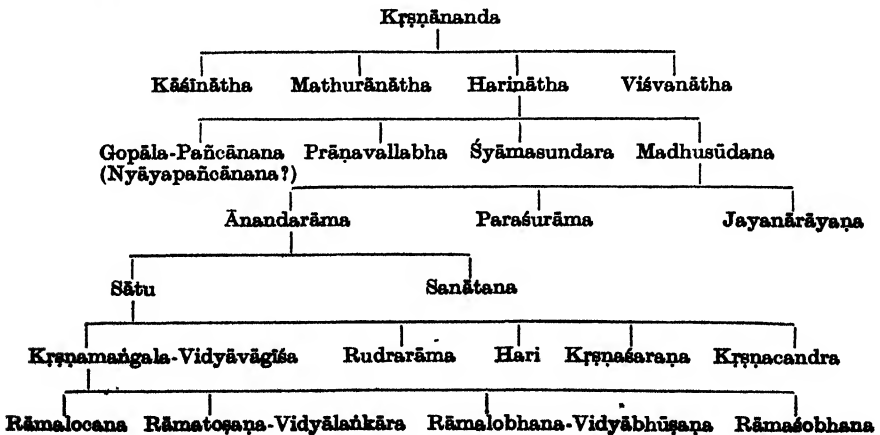


In the *Vārendra-Brahmaṇa-Vivarana* (p. 161) by the late Mr. N. N. Vasu there is a genealogical table of the Maitras of Maṇḍalajānī which slightly differs from the one quoted above. Although the details supplied by Rāmatoṣaṇa in his *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* appear to be authoritative, it has been suggested (*Pravāsi*, B.S. 1354, p. 506) that the *Sārāvalī* and the *Nirṇaya* have been wrongly ascribed to Kāśīnātha and Gopāla respectively. Another mistake of Rāmatoṣaṇa has been pointed out by quoting the following verse of Gopāla-Pañcānana's *Tantrapradīpikā* (MS.):

आगमवागोष्पौत्रेण हरिनाथस्य सनुना ।

श्रीगोपालेन विज्ञेयं कृतेयं तन्त्रदीपिका ॥ (loc. cit.)

which is said to be supported by the *Kulapañjikās*. It will not be out of place to quote the corresponding portion of Mr. Vasu's table (said to be quoted from Yādava Cakravartin's *Kulaśāstradīpikā*) for easy reference and to point to the interesting fact that most of the names in the family exhibit Vaiṣṇava influence none of them being typically Śākta.



It will be seen that Kṛṣṇānanda, author of the *Tantrasāra*, was the seventh in ascent from Rāmatoṣaṇa, author of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī*, in the family. If, as is usual, a period of twenty-five years is counted for each generation, Kṛṣṇānanda has to be placed about 150 years before the time of Rāmatoṣaṇa. The date of the composition of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* is given in the work (p. 3) as: श्राके नेत्रयुगादिकाश्रयिमितेऽतोऽतैः सप्तयान्तिथौ, that is to say, the *akṣaya tithi* (probably the *akṣaya-tṛtīyā* or the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha) in the Śaka year 1742 (1820 A.D.). That the book was printed and published shortly before the 29th of Kārttika of the Bengali Śam 1231, corresponding to the 13th of November, 1824, is known from the *Samācāradarpaṇa* of that date cited by B. N. Banerji in his *Samvāda-patre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. I, p. 60.<sup>1</sup> If then Rāmatoṣaṇa composed his *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* in 1820 A.D., it seems that his seventh ancestor Kṛṣṇānanda wrote his *Tantrasāra* about 1670 A.D.

In the preface to the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Tantrasāra*, the late Pandit Pañcānana Tarkaratna says that amongst various manuscripts of the work utilized in preparing the text of the above edition, one belonging to Pandit Haripada Śmṛititīrtha, Professor of the Mulajor Sanskrit College, was found to have been copied in Śaka 1580 which would correspond to 1658 A.D. A recent note published in the *Pravāsi*, B.S. 1354, pp. 506-08, speaks of certain manuscripts of the *Tantrasāra* believed to be copied in Śaka 1601 (1679 A.D.), Śaka 1568 (1646 A.D.) and Śaka 1554 (1632 A.D.). These dates can be accepted only after careful examination. I had the opportunity of examining only the third of these manuscripts in the library of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇḍit and find that the third figure of the year supposed to be Śaka 1554 is extremely doubtful. In any case, however, there is no doubt that the *Tantrasāra* was composed by the great Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa Bhaṭṭācārya sometime in the seventeenth century. It may not be improbable that Kṛṣṇānanda flourished in *circa* 1595-1675 A.D. and composed the *Tantrasāra* in the earlier part of his life.

## APPENDIX V

### *An Index of Pīṭhas.*

'Ain = 'Ain-i-Akbarī; Ānanda = Ānandārṇava Tantra; Aṣṭādaśa = Aṣṭādaśapīṭha; Candī = Candīmāṅgala; Hevajra = Hevajra Tantra; Jñāna = Jñānārṇava Tantra; Kālikā = Kālikā Purāṇa; Kubjikā = Kubjikā Tantra; Nāma = Nāmāṣṭottaraśata (Appendix I); Nīla = Bṛhan-Nīlatantra; Pīṭha = Pīṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa (text edited above, pp. 42-58, with notes); Prāṇa = Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra; Rudra = Rudrayāmala; Sādhana = Sāadhanamālā; Śiva = Śivacarita. The names of the Devī's limbs, the Devī and the Bhairava have been mentioned, in cases where they are indicated, in order to show the uncertainty of the traditions about them.

## A

Abdhisaṅgama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Jyotirmayī). See Sāgarasaṅgama.

Acchoda—Nāma (Śivakāriṇī, Śivadhāriṇī, Siddhidāyini, Śaktidhāriṇī); modern Achchhavat in Kashmir.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 802-03 where the year of publication of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* is given as 1823 A.D. on the authority of the *Friend of India*, Vol. III, No. 11. The *Samvāda-patre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 486, gives the year of its composition as Śaka 1743; but the word *netra* indicates 'two' (not 'three') according to Sanskrit lexicons.

Ādipīṭha—Nīla.

Āditipura—Nīla.

Ādinātha—Nīla.

Āditya—Nīla.

Ādrikūṭa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Rudrāṇi—Mahāyogin).

Ādyantapura—Nīla.

Agastyāśrama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahāvidyā, Mattamedhā); one of the many places especially in Southern India associated with Agastya's name; probably Agastipuri near Nasik.

Aila, Aileyakavana—Prāṇa, Nīla.

Airāvati—See Irāvati.

Akampa—Nīla.

Akṣayagrīva—Kubjikā (v.l. Hayagrīva); probably a mistake for Aksayavata.

Akṣayavata—Nīla, Prāṇa (Akṣayā); the sacred banyan tree located at many *tirthas*, notably at Prayāga or Allahabad in U.P. and at Gayā in Bihar.

Ālāpura—Aṣṭādaśa (Yugalā); possibly a mistake for Elāpura.

Amala—Nāma (v.l. Malaya); cf. Anala.

Amarekaṇṭaka—Nāma (v.l. Makarandaka, Marakaṇṭaka—Caṇḍi); Nīla, Prāṇa (Amareśi); the source of the Sone and Narmada in the Eastern C.P.

Amarapārvata, Kanakāmarapārvata—Nīla; same as Meru.

Amareśa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Caṇḍi, Maheśvari—Kusatuṅgāra); on the south bank of the Narmada, opposite Onkarnath, and to the north-west of Khandwa.

Ambara—Nāma (Viśvakāyā, Viśvakāmā); modern Amber in the Jaipur State, Rajputana.

Ambikā—Kubjikā; Nīla; may be Ambikā-Kālnā in the Burdwan District.

Ambujapura—Nīla.

Āmrakeśvara—See Āmrātakeśvara.

Āmrātakapura—Nīla, Prāṇa (Sūkṣmā—Sūkṣma); Nīla (Surūpeśā). See Āmrātakeśvara, Āmrakeśvara.

Āmrātakeśvara—Jñāna. See Āmrātakapura.

Āmṛtakaśika—Nīla, Prāṇa (Kauśikā). See Kauśikā.

Anala—Pīṭha (v.l. Śuci); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha; Ūrdhavadanta—Nārāyaṇi—Saṃkrūra); cf. the name of the Nala lake in the Ahmadabad region.

Ānanda—Nīla. See under *Nandataṭa*.

Anantapura—Nīla.

Aṅga—Rudra; east Bihar.

Animāpura—Nīla.

Aniruddhapura—Nīla.

Annapurṇā—Nīla.

Antarvedi—Rudra; the Ganges-Jumna Doab between Prayāga and Haridvāra.

Aranya—See Varenṇa.

Arbuda—Jñāna; Nīla (Kātyāyanī); Mount Abu in the Sirohi State, Rajputana.

Ardhanālaka—Kubjikā (v.l. Vardhamānaka).

Āryāvarta—Prāṇa (Mahāryā). For the Tantric Āryāvarta in the eastern U.P., see *I.C.*, VIII, p. 57.

Asurāntakapura—Nīla.

Āśusiddhipura—Nīla.

Āśvamedhapura—Nīla.

**Āsvaprada**—Nila, Prāṇa; probably the Asvakranta hill near Gauhati in Assam.

**Āsvatīrtha**—Nila, Prāṇa; at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Kālinadī near Kanauij.

**Āsvattha**—Nāma (Vandanīyā).

**Āṭṭahāsa**—Jñāna; Nila (Bhīmākālī); Pīṭha (Oṣṭha—Phullarā—Viśveśa); Śiva (Upapīṭha; Oṣṭhāmsa—Phullarā—Viśvanātha); Nila, Prāṇa (Cā-muṇḍā); Prāṇa (Mahānandā—Mahānanda); near Labhpur in the Birbhum District, Bengal.

**Aujasa, Aurasa**—Nila, Prāṇa (Vīryadā); fictitious; but cf. Ausaja in *Viṣṇu S.*

**Avanti**—Nila, Prāṇa (Atipāvanī); the same as Ujjayinī or the country round it.

**Avantyaśrama**—Nila, Prāṇa; probably mistake for Agastyāśrama.

**Avimukta**—Nila, Prāṇa (Viśālākṣī—Mahādeva); same as Vārāṇasī, Kāśī.

**Ayodhyā**—Rudra; Kubjikā; Nila, Prāṇa (Bhavāni); Śiva (Upapīṭha; Kaṇṭhahāra—Annapūrṇā—Harihara); modern Ajodhya in the Fyzabad District, U.P.

## B

**Badarī**—Kubjikā; Nāma (Urvaśī); Nila, Prāṇa (Śrīvidyā); same as Badarī-kāśrama (Badrinath in Gahrwal, U.P.) in the Himalayas.

**Bāhudā**—Nila, Prāṇa (Anantā); identified with the Dhumela or Burha-Rapti, a tributary of the Rapti in Oudh.

**Bahulā**—Pīṭha (v.l. Bāhulā; Vāmabāhu—Bahulā, Bāhulā—Bhiruka); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmabāhu—Bahulā—Bhiruka); located at Ketu-gram near Katwa in the Burdwan District, Bengal.

**Bālidāngā**—Caṇḍī (Dakṣiṇahasta—Rājeśvarī); in the Hooghly District, Bengal.

**Balipura**—Nila (Allā); may be the same as Mahābalipura or Mamallapuram (Chingleput District), 30 miles to the south of Madras.

**Benā**—Nāma (Amrtā); the Benā (tributary of the Krishnā), the Penganḡā or the Waingāṅgā. See Venā.

**Bhadra**—Nāma (v.l. Bhadreśvara); Nila, Prāṇa (v.l. Bhadrāśva;—Bhadra-karnikā). See Bhadreśvara. Bhadrāśva is a mythical division of the Jambudvīpa.

**Bhadrakāleśvara**—Nila, Prāṇa (Mahābhadrā, Bhadrakālī).

**Bhadrakarṇa**—Nila, Prāṇa (Bhadrakarnikā—Mahādeva); identified with Karṇapura or Karnali on the south bank of the Narmada.

**Bhadreśvara**—Nāma (v.l. Bhadra;—Bhadrā, Bhadreśvarī); Nila, Prāṇa (Ramā); possibly Bhadreswar in the Hooghly District.

**Bhairava**—Nila, Prāṇa (Bhairavī—Bhairava). See Bhairavapārvata.

**Bhairavapārvata**—Pīṭha (v.l. Bhirupārvata;—Oṣṭha, Ūrdhvoṣṭha—Avantī—Lambakarṇa, Namrakarṇa). See Bhairava; probably in West Malwa.

**Bharatāśrama**—Nāma (Aṅganā, Anaṅgā, Taraṅgā); Nila, Prāṇa (Bhagavatī).

**Bhima**—Nila, Prāṇa (Bhīmeśvarī—Bhīmeśvara). See Bhīmā under *Himādri*. The *tīrtha* may also be connected with the Bhīmā, a tributary of the Krishna.

**Bhirupārvata**—See Bhairavapārvata.

**Bhr̥gu, Bhr̥gupurī**—Jñāna; Nila (v.l. Guptapura;—Vrajeśvarī); identified with Balīa in U.P. Bhr̥gupura was also the name of Broach (Tawney, *Prob. C int.*, trans., p. 136).

**Bhr̥gutuṅga**—Nila, Prāṇa; a mountain in Nepal.

**Bijāpur**—Ain (Tuljā Bhavāni, Turjā Bhavāni); probably same as Pūrṇa-giri. The shrine of Bhavāni actually stands at Tuljapur near Osmanabad in the Hyderabad State.

Bilva, Bilvaka—See Vilvala.

Brahmaśiras—Nīla, Prāṇa (Brahmāṇi).

Brahmāśya—Nāma; fictitious.

Brahmāvarta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vrajeśvari); in the eastern Punjab.

### C

Caitraratha—Nāma (Madotkatā).

Cakradvīpa—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Astra—Cakradhārīṇi—Śūlapāṇi); possibly one of the several Cakratīrthas.

Candanapārvata—Nīla (Mahānandā).

Caṇḍapura, Caṇḍipura—Nīla (Pracaṇḍā).

Candrabhāgā—Nāma (Kālā, Kalā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Candrabhāgā); river Chenab in the Punjab.

Candrapura—Jñāna; Nīla (Sitā or Asitā); possibly Chanda in C.P.

Candrāsthira—Jñāna (v.l. Carasthira, Carasthita).

Carasthira—See Candrāsthira.

Carasthita—See Candrāsthira.

Caṭṭagrāma—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha; Dakṣiṇahastārddha—Bhavānī—Candraśekhara). See Caṭṭala.

Caṭṭala—Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇabāhu—Bhavānī—Candraśekhara). See Chaṭṭagrāma; in the Chittagong District of East Bengal.

Cauhāra—Jñāna; mentioned in the short list but not in the long one; possibly a wrong reading.

Chāgalaṇḍa—See Chāgaliṅga.

Chāgalaṇḍa—See Chāgaliṅga.

Chāgaliṅga—Nāma (v.l. Chāgalaṇḍa, Chagalaṇḍa;—Pracaṇḍā); Prāṇa (Balipriyā).

Chāyāchatrapura—Jñāna.

Chāyāpura—Nīla; a mistake for Chāyāchatrapura.

Citrakūṭa—Nāma (Sitā); in Bundelkhand, or less probably Chitor (Mewar).

Citta—Nāma; fictitious.

### D

Dakṣa-Pañcanada—Nīla, Prāṇa (Dakṣiṇā). See Pañcanada. *Dakṣa* (from Sans. *dakṣiṇa*) means 'south'.

Dārukeśa—v.l. Āmrātaka. Cf. the Dvarakeswar river running through the Bankura District.

Dehalikū—Nīla, Prāṇa (Ambā); possibly modern Delhi. But cf. Trihalikā-grāma of the *Viṣṇusamhitā*.

Devadāruvana—Nāma (Puṣṭi); in the region of Badrinath in the Himalayas, or more in Aundh in the Deccan.

Devakoṭṭa—Same as Devikoṭṭa.

Devakoṭṭa—Same as Devikoṭṭa.

Devakūṭa—Jñāna. Same as Devikoṭṭa.

Devaloka—Nāma; fictitious.

Devidaikoṭṭa—Rudra. See Devikoṭṭa.

Devikātata—Nāma (Nandini); river Devikā is the modern Deeg in the Punjab.

Devikoṭṭa—See Devikoṭṭa.

Devikoṭṭa—Jñāna; Kālikā (Pada—Mahābhāgā); Nīla (Akhileśvari); modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District, Bengal. Same as Devakoṭṭa, Devakoṭṭa, Devakūṭa, Devikoṭṭa, Devidaikoṭṭa.

Devikūṭa—Kālikā; see Devikoṭṭa.

Drāviḍa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Sarasvatī); the Tamil country in southern India.

Durgā—Nīla, Prāṇa; a tributary of the Sabarmati in Gujarat.

**Dvāravati**—Nāma (Rukmiṇī); Nīla, Prāṇa; modern Dwarka in north-western Kathiawar.

## E

**Ekāgra**—v.l. Ekāmra.

**Ekāmra**—Jñāna; Nāma (Kirtimati); Nīla (Ekā); modern Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa.

**Elāpura**—Jñāna; Nīla, Prāṇa (Virā); Nīla (Mahāsampat); modern Ellora in the Hyderabad State.

## G

**Gaṇaksetra**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Maṅgalā—Prapitāmaha); probably the same as Gaṇeśvara.

**Gaṇdaka**—Same as Gaṇdaki.

**Gaṇdaki**—Pīṭha (Gaṇḍa—Gaṇdaki—Cakrapāṇi); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha; details as in Pīṭha); river Gaṇdaki is a tributary of the Ganges which it meets near Bakhtyarpur in the Patna District, Bihar.

**Gandhamādāna**—Nāma (Kāmākṣī, Kāmuki, Kāmukā); a Himalayan peak at Badarikāśrama. In *Nāma*, verse 11, we have Gandhamādāna as a v.l. for Mādhavavana, Mādhavivana.

**Gaṇeśvara**—Prāṇa, Nīla.

**Gaṅgā**—Nāma (v.l. Gayā;—Maṅgalā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Śivāmṛtā); the sacred river Ganges.

**Gaṅgādvāra**—Nāma (Ratipriyā, Haripriyā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Nārāyaṇī, Vaiṣṇavi); the same as Haridvāra, the place where the Ganges enters the plain from the Himalayas.

**Gaṅgārāmācala**—v.l. Gaṅgāvāmācala.

**Gaṅgāsāgara**—Nīla, Prāṇa; near the Sāgar islands where the Bhāgīrathī enters the Bay of Bengal.

**Gaṅgāvāmācala**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śivā); v.l. Gaṅgāvātācala; Gaṅgārāmācala.

**Gaṅgāvātācala**—v.l. Gaṅgāvāmācala.

**Gaṅgāvilva**—Prāṇa, Nīla.

**Gaṅgodbheda**—Prāṇa, Nīla.

**Gargoccheda**—Nīla, Prāṇa (v.l. Gaṅgodbheda).

**Gauḍa**—Rudra; in a narrow sense the Murshidabad District with the southern part of the present Maldah District; in a wider sense the western half or the whole of Bengal.

**Gaurīśekhara**—Śiva (Upapīṭha; Vasā—Yugādyā—Bhūma). Cf. Gaurīśikhara in Kāmarūpa (Pīṭha).

**Gautameśvara**—Nīla, Prāṇa; possibly one of the places called Gautamāśrama.

**Gayā**—Nāma (v.l. Gaṅgā;—Maṅgalā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Gayeśvari); Aṣṭādaśa (Māṅgalyakoṭikā); the celebrated city in Bihar.

**Ghaṇṭākarna**—Kubjikā.

**Ghāṭaśilā**—Candī (Vāmapada—Rukmiṇī; actually *Rāṅkiṇī*); a place between Kharagpur and Tatanagar or Jamshedpur on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

**Giri**—Tantrasāra; part of the name Merugiri wrongly regarded as a separate name.

**Godāśrama**—Nāma (v.l. Godāvari, Kubjāmṛaka;—Trisandhyā). See Godāvari.

**Godāvari**, **Godāvaritīra**—Kubjikā; Pīṭha (Vāmagāṇḍa—Viśveśī, Rākiṇī—Viśveśa, Daṇḍapāṇi, Vatsanābha); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmagāṇḍa—Viśvamātṛikā—Viśveśa); Nīla, Prāṇa (Gaveśvari); the celebrated river of the Deccan. See Godāśrama, Saptagodāvara.

Gokarṇa—Jñāna; Nāma (Bhadrakarnikā, Kālikā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Bhadrā—Mahābala); Nīla (Sarvamaṅgalā); modern Gendia about 30 miles from Goa.

Gomanta—Nāma (Gomati); located in the Goa region.

Gomati—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vimukti); one of the many rivers of this name.

Gorakṣacārīṇī—See Gorakṣakārīṇī; cf. the *tīrtha* called Gorakṣa on the Gomanta. Another Gorakṣa is the town of Gorkha, 53 miles to the west of Katmandu in Nepal. Cf. also Gorakhpur in U.P.

Gorakṣakārīṇī—Kubjikā (v.l. Gorakṣacārīṇī).

Govardhana—Kubjikā; Nīla, Prāṇa (Ambikā); near Nasik in the Bombay Presidency.

## H

Hamsatīrtha—Nīla, Prāṇa; possibly connected with Hamsamārga (probably Hamsadvāra or the Niti Pass in Kumaon; identified with modern Hunza and Nagar; cf. *JUPHS*, XVII, pp. 48-49) in the Himalayas.

Haratīrtha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Gaviśvarī); probably the same as Harakṣetra or Bhuvanesvar.

Haridrā—Nīla; may be the same as Haridvāra.

Haridvāra—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Jāṭhara—Bhairavī—Vakra); Prāṇa, Nīla. See Gaṅgādvāra.

Hariścandra—Nāma (v.l. Harmacandra;—Candrikā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Subheśvarī).

Hārīta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Harinākṣī); probably the same as Hārītāśrama near Udaipur in Rajputana.

Harmacandra—Nāma (v.l. Hariścandra).

Haroccheda, Harodbheda—Prāṇa, Nīla.

Hastināpura—Jñāna; Nāma (Jayantī); Nīla (Rājeśvarī Mahālakṣmī); in the Meerut District, U.P.

Hayagrīva—Kubjikā (v.l. Akṣayagrīva).

Hayakṣetra—Aṣṭādaśa; probably the same as Hayagrīva.

Hemakūṭa—Nāma (Manmathā); the Varṣapārvata lying to the north of the Kimpuruṣavarṣa that is situated to the north of the Himavat and the Bhāratavarṣa; apparently a part of the northern Himalayas.

Himādri—Nāma (Bhīmā); cf. Bhīmāsthāna near Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar District) of the Mahābhārata. See Himālaya, Himavat.

Himālaya—Nīla (Pārvatī). See Himavat, Himādri.

Himavat—Nāma (Nandā, Mandā). The Nandāsthāna is different from the Bhīmāsthāna and is no doubt the same as the celebrated Nandādevī peak in the Garhwal District, U.P. See Himādri, Himālaya.

Hiṅglāja—Caṇḍī (Nābhi; the Devīnāma is doubtful); same as Hiṅgulā; on the Aghor or Hingool river in Baluchistan.

Hiṅgulā, Hiṅgulāṭa—Kubjikā; Rudrā; Pīṭha (Brahmarandhra—Kotṭarī, Kotṭavī, Kotṭarīśā—Bhimalocana); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Brahmarandhra—Kotṭarī—Bhimalocana); Prāṇa; same as Hiṅglāja (Hinglaj) in Baluchistan where the goddess is locally called Bibi Nānī.

Hiraṇyākṣa—Nāma (v.l. Kamalākṣa;—Mahotpalā).

Hiraṇyapura—Jñāna; Nīla (Suvarṇā); modern Herdoun or Hindaun in the Jaipur State, about 70 miles from Agra.

Hṛṣīkeśa—Kubjikā; on the Ganges, about 24 miles to the north of Hardwar on the way to Badrinath.

## I

Ilānta—Nīla.

Ilodayagiri—Nīla.



Indirāpura—Nīla.

Indrānandapura—Nīla.

Indrāpi—Nīla.

Indranīla—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahākānti); cf. the Himalayan peak Indrakīla mentioned in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.

Indrīśvara, Indrīśvarīpura—Nīla.

Indumatī—Nīla, Prāṇa (Pūrṇimā).

Indupura—Nīla.

Induvatīpura—Nīla. Same as Indumatī.

Induvijayapura—Nīla.

Irāvati—Nīla, Prāṇa (Ī); river Rāvi in the Punjab.

Īsāna—Nīla.

Īśānyaiśapura—Nīla.

Īṣṭhanābha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Svāyambhuvā—Svayambhū).

Īṣṭapura—Nīla.

Īśvara—Nīla.

Īśvarayoga—Nīla.

## J

Jāhnavisaṅgama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Trīpti, Svadhā); Jāhnavī is another name of the Ganges, while *San̄guma* indicates a confluence. But the confluence referred to here cannot be determined.

Jāhnavītaṭa—Nīla (Vijayā). Jāhnavī is another name of the Gaṅgā.

Jājpur—See Yājapura (Jahājapura in the *Aṣṭādaśa*), Yāgapura, Virajā, Utkala; in the Cuttack District, Orissa. See also Nabhigayā.

Jālandhara—Hevajra; Kālikā (in the north;—Caṇḍī—Mahādeva); Kālikā (Stanadvaya;—Caṇḍī); Rudra; Jñāna; Kubjikā; Nāma (Viśvamukhī); Nīla (Nāgarī, Jvālāmukhī); Pīṭha (Stana—Tripuramālīnī, Tripuranāśīnī—Bhīṣana); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmastana—Tripuramālīnī—Bhīṣana); in the Punjab. *Ain* speaks of the goddess at Nagarkot-Kangra as Jālandharī which is the same as Jvālāmukhī. The *Anandārṇava* gives the name of the Pīṭha as Jālandhra. The Jālandhara Pīṭha is now located near Jvālāmukhī.

Jālandharagiri—Same as Jālandhara.

Jālandhra—See Jālandhara.

Jālaśaila—Same as Jālandhara.

Jaleśvara—Jñāna; in the Balasore District, Orissa.

Janasthāna—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha) and Pīṭha (Civuka—Bhrāmari—Vikṛta, Vikṛtākṣa); on the Godāvarī in the Nasik region of the Bombay Presidency. V.l. Jalasthala.

Japeśvara—Nīla, Prāṇa (Trīśūlinī—Trīśūlin); probably the same as Jalpeśvara in the Jalpaiguri District, Bengal.

Jayanta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Jayantī); probably the same as Jayantī.

Jayantā—Same as Jayantī.

Jayantī—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha) and Pīṭha (Vāmajaṅghā—Jayantī—Kramadīśvara); in the Sylhet District, Assam (now East Pakistan). See Jayanta, Jayantā, Jayantikā.

Jayantikā—Jñāna. See Jayantī.

Jayapura—Nīla (Jayā); may be Jaipur in eastern Rajputana.

Jvālā—Aṣṭādaśa (Vaiṣṇavī); possibly Jvālāmukhī is intended.

Jvālāmukhī—Kubjikā; *Ain*; Nīla, Prāṇa; Pīṭha (Jihvā—Siddhidā, Ambikā—Unmatta); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Jihvā—Ambikā—Vatakeśvara, Unmatta); in the Kangra District, Punjab.

Jvalantī—Rudra; probably the same as Jvālāmukhī.

Jyotiṣsara—Prāṇa, Nīla.

## K

Kailāsa—Jñāna; Nīla (Bhuvaneśvari); in the Himalayas.

Kālamādhava—Pīṭha (Nīlamba—Kālī—Asitāṅga); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmanitamba—Kālī—Asitāṅga). See Mādhava.

Kalambakubja—Nīla, Prāṇa; represented as a combination of two names.

Kālāñjara—Nāma (Kālī); Nīla, Prāṇa (Kālī—Nilakaṇṭha); in the Banda District, U.P.

Kāleśvara—Jñāna (v.l. Kāmeśvara); cf. *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga*, verses 10 and 40 (I.C., VIII, p. 33ff.).

Kālighāta—Pīṭha (Muṇḍa—Jayadurgā—Krodhīśa, Krodheśa); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇapādāṅguli—Kālī—Nakuleśa). *Pīṭha* refers to the *devasthāna* at Juranpur near Katwa (Burdwan District), while *Śiva* speaks of the more important Kalighat in the southern suburb of Calcutta. For the same confusion see Kālīpīṭha. In the original part of *Pīṭha*, Kalighat is referred to as Kālīpīṭha. See also Kālighāta.

Kālighaṭṭa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Guhyakālī); Nīla (Kālī); same as Kālighāta.

Kaliṅga—Rudra; the Puri-Ganjam region in a narrow sense, but often it indicated the whole coast land down to the Godavari in the south.

Kālīpīṭha—Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇapādāṅguli—Kālī—Nakuleśa, Nakulīśa); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Śiroṃśa—Caṇḍeśvari—Caṇḍeśvara). See Kālighāta, Kālīghaṭṭa.

Kālīpura—See Kanyāpura.

Kālodaka—Nīla, Prāṇa (Kālī).

Kāmagiri—Pīṭha (in Kāmarūpa;—Mahāmudrā or Yoni—Kālī—Umānanda, Śivānanda, Rāvananda, Rāmānanda); near Gauhati in Assam. See Kāmarūpa, which is also called Kubjikā Pīṭha in the *Kālīkā P.*

Kāmakōṭa, Kāmakōṭi, Kāmakotta—Jñāna; Nīla (Kāmeśvari).

Kamalā—Kubjikā. See Kamalālaya.

Kamalākṣa—Nāma (v.l. Hiraṇyākṣa).

Kamalālaya—Nīla, Prāṇa (Kamalākṣi—Kamalākṣa).

Kāmarūpa—Hevajra; Nīla, Kālīkā (in the east;—Kāmeśvari—Kāmeśvara; Kālīkā (Yoni—Kāmākhyā); Sādhana; 'Ain; Rudra; Jñāna; Kubjikā; Ānandārṇava; Caṇḍī (Madhyadeśa—Kāmarūpa—Kāmākhyā); Pīṭha (see Kāmagiri); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Yoni—Kāmākhyā, Nilapārvatī—Rāvananda, Umānanda). *Pīṭha* associates the Gaurīśikhara with this place, while *Kālīkā* places the *sthānas* of Dikkaravāsini and Lalitakāntā in the Kāmarūpa country which corresponds to the Gauhati District of Assam and the adjoining region. The temple of Kāmākhyā stands on the Nilakūta or Nilapārvata, called the Kāmarūpa-parvata by Rājasekhara in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. This blue hill is the same as Kāmagiri.

Kāmeśvara—Jñāna (v.l. Kāleśvara); cf. Kāmeśvaranātha at Karon in the Balia District, U.P. Kāmeśvara and Mahāgaurī (Kāmākhyā) were tutelary deities of the ancient kings of Assam (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Intro., p. 32, n. 2).

Kāmodaka—Nīla, Prāṇa (v.l. Kālodaka).

Kāmraj—'Ain (Śāradā); in Kashmir. The reference is to modern Sardi.

Kanakāmarapārvata—Same as Meru, Amarapārvata.

Kanakhala—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śraddhā); Prāṇa (Śivogrā—Ugra); near Haridvāra (Hardwar).

Kāñci—Rudra; Nīla, Prāṇa (Kanakakāñci); Pīṭha (Kaṅkāla—Devagarbhā—Ruru); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Kaṅkāla—Vedagarbhā—Ruru). The earlier references are to modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District, Madras; but some late works (composed in Bengal) possibly speak of a locality on the Kopāi in the Birbhum District, Bengal.

**Kāñcīkāpurī**—**Aṣṭādaśa**. The name is the same as **Kāñcī**.

**Kaṇvāsrama**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (v.l. **Kanyāsrama**); possibly one of the several places associated with the name of **Kaṇva**.

**Kānyakubja**—**Jñāna**; **Nāma** (**Gaurī**); **Nīla** (**Brahmāṇī**); in the **Farrukhabad District, U.P.**

**Kanyāpura**—**Nīla** (v.l. **Kālipura**;—**Kanyā**); see **Kaṇvāsrama**, **Kanyāsrama**.

**Kanyāsrama**—**Pīṭha** (**Prsththa**—**Sarvāṇī**—**Nimiṣa**); located in eastern India at **Kumārīkuṇḍa** near the **Kumira** railway station in the **Chittagong District**.

**Kapālamocana**—**Nāma** (**Śuddhi**). One of the several places known by this name in different parts of India.

**Karatoyātata**—**Pīṭha** (**Vāmakarṇa**, **Talpa**—**Aparṇā**—**Vāmana**, **Vāmeśa**); **Śiva** (**Mahāpīṭha**;—**Vāmakarṇa**—**Aparṇā**—**Vāmeśa**). The **Pīṭha** is located at **Bhavūnīpura** near the bank of the **Karatoyā** in the **Bogra District, North Bengal**.

**Karavira**, **Karavirapura**—**Nāma** (**Mahālakṣmī**); **Pīṭha** (v.l. **Śarkarāra**;—**Trinetra**—**Mahīsamardini**—**Krodhīśa**, **Krodheśa**); **Prāṇa** (**Satī**); the capital of **Brahmāvarta** and on the **Dṛṣadvatī** in the **Eastern Punjab** according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*; but usually identified with **Kolhapur** (called **Karvir**) in the **South Maratha country**.

**Karkoṭa**—**Nāma** (v.l. **Mākoṭa**); modern **Karra**, about 40 miles north-west of **Allahabad**; according to local tradition, **Satī's** hand fell at this place.

**Karnasūtra**—**Kubjikā**. See **Karṇatīrtha**.

**Karṇatīrtha**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa**. See **Karnasūtra**.

**Kārttikeya**—**Nāma** (**Yasaskarī**, **Śaṅkarī**, **Atiśaṅkarī**); possibly modern **Bajjnath** near **Almora** in the **Kumaon District, U.P.**

**Kāśī**—**Kubjikā**; **Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Annapūrṇā**); in **U.P.** Same as **Vārāṇasī**, **Avimukta**. **Vaṃśīdāsa** connects it with **Satī's keśa**.

**Kāśmīra** (**Kāśmīr**)—**Jñāna**; **Nāma** (**Medhā**); **Aṣṭādaśa** (**Sarasvatī**); 'Ain (see **Kāmraj**); **Śiva** (**Mahāpīṭha**) and **Pīṭha** (**Kaṇṭha**—**Mahāmāyā**—**Trisandya**, **Trisandhyeśvara**).

**Kaṭaka**—**Śiva** (**Upapīṭha**;—**Carmāṃśa**—**Kaṭakeśvarī**—**Vāmadeva**); modern **Cuttack** in **Orissa**.

**Kaulagiri**—**Jñāna**; same as **Kolvagiri**.

**Kauśīkī**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa**; river **Kosi** running through **Nepal** and **Bihar**.

**Kavarī**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa**; same as **Kāverī**.

**Kāverī**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Kapileśvarī**); river in the **Tamil country** in **Southern India**. See **Kavarī**.

**Kāyāvarohaṇa**—**Nāma** (**Mātā**); also called **Kāyāvatāra**, associated with the tradition of **Nakulīśa**, an incarnation of **Śiva**; same as **Kārvān** in the **Dabhoi Taluk** of the **Baroda State**.

**Kedāra**—**Jñāna**; **Nāma** (**Mārgadāyini**); **Nīla** (**Vāradā**); **Prāṇa**; in the **Himalayas**. See **Kedāreśvara**.

**Kedāreśvara**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Sanmārgadāyini**). See **Kedāra**.

**Keśajāla**—**Pīṭha** (v.l. **Vṛndāvana**); **Śiva** (**Upapīṭha**;—**Keśa**—**Umā**—**Bhūteśa**). See **Vṛndāvana**. The name is apparently due to a textual confusion.

**Kirīṭa**, **Kirīṭakonā**—**Pīṭha** (**Kirīṭa**—**Bhuvaneśī**, **Vimalā**—**Siddhirūpa**, **Samvarta**); **Śiva** (**Upapīṭha**;—**Kirīṭa**—**Bhuvaneśī**—**Kirīṭin**); **Prāṇa** (**Kirīteśvarī**). The *tīrtha* is located at **Vaṭanagara** near **Lālbāg** in the **Murshidabad District, Bengal**.

**Kiṣkindhyaparvata**—**Nāma** (**Tārā**); in the modern **Hyderabad State**, or modern **Kekind** in the **Jodhpur State**.

- Kokāmukha**—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Kōk or Kuksi—Kokeśvari—Kokeśvara); modern Barāhchhatra (Varāhakṣetra) on the Kauśikī in Nepal.
- Kolvagiri**—Jñāna; possibly modern Coorg or Kodagu which means 'steep mountains' (Pargiter, *Mark. Pur.*, trans., p. 364 n.); but more probably it has to be identified with Kolāpura or Kolhapur (*I.C.*, VIII, p. 49). See Kaulagiri, Karavira, Mahālakṣmī.
- Koṭa**—Nāma (v.l. Mākota), possibly Koṭatīrtha at Kalanjar.
- Koṭimudrā**—Rudra; possibly same as Kotitīrtha.
- Koṭitīrtha**—Nāma (Koṭavi); one of the several places of this name.
- Kṛṣṇabenṇyā** (Kṛṣṇabenṇvā)—Nīla, Prāṇa (Bhedinī); river Krishna running through the Deccan.
- Kṛtasauca**—Nāma (Sīmīkā).
- Kṣīragrāma**—Kubjikā; Caṇḍi (Prṣṭha—Yogādyā); Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇapādāṅgustha—Yugādyā—Kṣīrakhaṇḍa, Kṣīrakhaṇḍa); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇapādāṅgustha—Yogādyā—Kṣīrakhaṇḍa). See Kṣīrikā; modern Khirgram near Katwa in the Burdwan District, Bengal.
- Kṣīrapura**—Nīla (Yugādyā, Kṣīrā); same as Kṣīragrāma.
- Kṣīrikā**—Jñāna. See Kṣīragrāma.
- Kubjīmraka**—Nāma (v.l. Godāvari, Godāśrama); near Hṛṣikeśa in the Himalayas; the same as Kanakhala according to some authorities.
- Kulānta**—See Kūpānta.
- Kumāra**, **Kumārādhāma**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Kaumari); possibly the same as Cape Comorin.
- Kumuda**—Nāma (v.l. Mukuta;—Satyavādinī).
- Kuñcapaṭṭana**—Aṣṭādaśa (Cāmuṇḍā); a mistake for Krauñca° (Banavasi).
- Kūpānta**—Jñāna (v.l. Kulānta).
- Kuruksetra**—Kubjikā; Nīla, Prāṇa (Śivā—Sthānu); Prāṇa (Aruṇeksaṇā, Raṇeksaṇā); Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇagulpha—Sāvitrī—Sthānu); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇagulpha—Saṃvari, Vimalā—Saṃvarta); near Thanesar in the eastern Punjab.
- Kuśadvīpa**—Nāma (Kuśodakā); one of the seven mythical Dvīpas of the world; cf. Kusha, the old Persian name of Ethiopia. See Kuśāvarta.
- Kuśāvarta**—Nīla, Prāṇa; a tank at Tryambak near Nasik or a Ghat at Hardwar.

## L

- Lagnikāśrama**—Nīla, Prāṇa; possibly a mistake for Nagnikāśrama.
- Lakṣmaṇoccheda**, **Lakṣmanodbheda**—Prāṇa, Nīla.
- Lalitā**, **Lalitāpura**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Lalitā); possibly Lalitpur in the Jhansi District, U.P.
- Laṅkā**—Aṣṭādaśa (Śaṅkarī); Śiva (Upapīṭha) and Pīṭha (Nūpura—Indrākṣī—Rākṣaseśvara); modern Ceylon, but the *Aṣṭādaśa* makes separate mention of Laṅkā and Sīmaḥadvīpa. The word *laṅkā*, means 'an island' and may indicate any island in the sea or a river.
- Līṅga**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Līṅgavāhinī); Nīla (Bhairavi).

## M

- Madanta**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Madantī).
- Madantikā**—Nīla, Prāṇa.
- Mādhava**—Kubjikā. See Mādhavavana, Mādhavivana, Kālamādhava.
- Mādhavavana**—Nāma (v.l. Mādhavivana, Gandhamādana;—Sugandhā); probably the same as Madhuvana or Mathurā. See Mādhava.
- Mādhavivana**—See Mādhavavana.
- Madhupurī**—Rudra; Kubjikā; same as Mathurā (Mutra) in U.P.
- Mathurā**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Devakī, Mādhavī); same as Mathurā.

**Madreśvara**—See **Bhadreśvara**; cf. **Madra** in the Sialkot region of the Punjab.

**Magadha**, **Māgadha**—**Rudra**; **Piṭha** (**Dakṣiṇajaṅghā**—**Sarvānandamayī**—**Vyomakeśa**); modern **Patna-Gaya** region in South Bihar.

**Mahābala**—**Prāṇa** (**Prabalā**); possibly owing to confusion with **Mahāvana**.

**Mahābodhi**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Mahābuddhi**); modern **Bodhgayā** (possibly *Bodhigayā*) in the **Gaya District**, Bihar.

**Mahāgaṅgā**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa**; the river **Alakanandā** in the Himalayas.

**Mahākāla**—**Nāma** (**Maheśvarī**); **Prāṇa** (**Mahākālī**—**Mahākāla**); cf. god **Mahākāla** at **Ujjain**.

**Mahākarna**—**Kub'ikā**.

**Mahālak mi**, **Mahālakṣmīpura**—**Jñāna**; **Nīla** (**Ambikā**); possibly the same as **Kolhapur** where stands the great shrine of the goddess **Mahālakṣmī**. But the *Jñānīṣṇava* makes a distinction between **Kolvagiri** and **Mahālakṣmī**. See **Karavīra**, **Kolvagiri**.

**Mahālaya**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Mahābhāgā**—**Rudra**); **Nāma** (**Mahābhāgā**, **Mahāpa lmā**); same as **Oṅkāranātha** or **Amareśvara**.

**Mahāliṅga**—**Nāma** (**Kapilā**).

**Mahānāda**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Māheśvarī**).

**Mahānālī**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Mahodayā**); the celebrated river running through **Orissa**.

**Mahānala**—**Prāṇa**, **Nīla**.

**Mahāpathapura**—**Nīla** (**Māheśvarī**); possibly a mistake for **Maheśvarapura**.

**Mahātīrtha**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Maholārī**); **Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Harṇeśvarī**).

**Mahāvana**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Bhadra**, **Bhadrakālī**, **Bhadreśvarī**); the same as **Purāṇa-Gokula**, six miles from **Mathurā**.

**Mahāviṣṇupada**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa**; possibly the same as **Viṣṇupada**.

**Mahendra**, **Mahendrapura**—**Jñāna**; **Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Mahāntakā**—**Mahāntaka**); **Nīla** (**Jagadīśvarī**); the celebrated peak in the **Ganjam District** of **Orissa**. The records of the **Gaṅga** kings speak of **Śiva Gokarṇeśvara** on the **Mahendra**.

**Maheśvarapura**—**Nāma** (**Svāhā**); same as **Māhismatī**, **Māheśvarapura**, **Māheśvarīpura**; modern **Maheśvara** in the **Indore State**, C.P.

**Māheśvarapura**—See **Maheśvarapura**.

**Māheśvarīpura**—See **Maheśvarapura**.

**Māhismatī**—**Kubjikā**; modern **Maheśvara** in the **Indore State** or less probably **Mandhātā** in the **Nimar District**, C.P.

**Māhvara**—**Aṣṭādaśa** (**Ekavīrakā**). See **Sahyādri**.

**Maināka**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Akhilavardhini**); one of the several peaks or mountains of this name.

**Makarandaka**—See **Amarakantaka**.

**Mākota**—**Nāma** (v.l. **Koṭa**, **Karkoṭa**;—**Mukuteśvarī**, **Maṅgaleśvarī**); **Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Mundakeśvarī**—**Mahākōṭa**).

**Mālava**—**Jñāna** (v.l. **Mānava**); **Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (v.l. **Malinī**;—**Raṅgini**); **Nīla** (v.l. **Mānava**;—**Mahāvidyā**); **Śiva** (**Mahāpiṭha**;—**Vāmajānu**—**Śubha-candī**—**Tāmra**); modern **Malwa**, the eastern part of which was known as **Ākara** or **Daśārṇa** with its capital at **Vidiśā**, and the western part as **Avanti** or **Apara-Mālava** with its capital at **Ujjayinī**. Cf. **Mānava**, **Mānasa**, **Malāya**.

**Malaya**—**Nāma** (**Rambhā**); **Nāma** (v.l. **Mānasa**;—**Kalyāṇī**); cf. **Mānasācala**. **Malaya** has been identified with the southern part of the **Western Ghats** to the south of the **Nilgiri**.

**Mānava**—**Jñāna** (v.l. **Mālava**).

**Mānasācala**—**Nāma** (v.l. **Malayāchala**;—**Kalyāṇī**).

- Mānasasarovara**—Nāma (Kumudā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Gauri); Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇa-hasta—Dākṣāyaṇī—Hara, Amara); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇahas-tārḍha, Vāmahasta—Dākṣāyaṇī—Hara); the source of the Śatadru (Satlej) in the Himalayas.
- Maṇḍaleśvara**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Khāṇḍavi—Śaṅkara); Prāṇa (Karavirā—Acaleśvara).
- Mandara**—Nāma (Kāmacārīṇī); Prāṇa (Bhuvaneśvari); the Mandār hill in the Bhagalpur District, Bihar, or a mythical mountain in the Western Sea (Arabian Sea).
- Māṇḍavya**—Nāma (v.l. Māṇḍava;—Māṇḍavi, Maṇḍuki); same as Māṇḍa-vyapura (modern Mandor) in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana.
- Maṅgalakoṭa**, Maṅgalakoṭara (‘koṭṭaka’)—Nīla, Prāṇa (Maṅgalā); at the junction of the Ajay and Kunṇr in the Burdwan region.
- Maṇibandha**—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmamanibandha—Gāyatrī—Śaṅkara, Sarvāṇa); Pīṭha (see Maṇiveda); the name seems to have been created out of a confused text.
- Maṇikarnikā** (at Vārāṇasī)—Pīṭha (Kuṇḍala—Viśālākṣī—Kālā). See Vārāṇasī (modern Benares) in U.P.
- Maṇiki**—Aṣṭādaśa; probably a wrong reading.
- Maṇipura**—Kubjikā; possibly a place in the Manipur State in eastern India is indicated.
- Maṇiveda**—Pīṭha (Maṇibandha—Gāyatrī—Sarvānanda); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇamanibandha—Sāvitrī—Sthāṇu); possibly the same as Maṇi-pura.
- Marakaṅkaṭa**—See Amarakaṅtaka.
- Māruteśa**, Māruteśvara—Jñāna; Nīla.
- Mātaṅga**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mātaṅgī); same as Mātaṅgavāpī, modern Mātaṅ-gāśrama at Bakraur on the Phalgu, opposite Bodhgaya in the Gaya District, Bihar.
- Mātaṅgavāpī**—Nīla, Prāṇa; same as Mātaṅga.
- Mathurā**—Nāma (Devakī). See Madhurā, Madhupurī; modern Muttra in U.P.
- Mātrdarśa**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Jaganmātā).
- Mātṛgaṇa**—Nāma (fictitious); Nīla, Prāṇa.
- Māyā**—Nīla, Prāṇa. See Māyāpurī, Māyāvati, Māyāpura.
- Māyāpura**—Jñāna; Nīla (Māyā). See Māyā, Māyāpurī, Māyāvati; the Haidvāra (Hardwar) region.
- Māyāpurī**—Nāma (Māyāvati). See Māyā, Māyāpura, Māyāvati.
- Māyāvati**—Rudra; Kubjikā; same as Māyā, Māyāpura, Māyāpurī, i.e. the Hardwar region.
- Meghavana**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Meghasvanā).
- Mehāra**—*Sarvāṇandatarāṅgiṇī*; a small Pargana in the Tippera District, East Bengal.
- Mekhalā**—Rudra; Mekalā, capital of Mekaladeśa in the Amarkantak region. Cf. also Mukliganj in the Coch Bihar State, Bengal.
- Meru**—Tantrasāra; Nīla (v.l. Amarapārvata;—Svargalakṣmī); same as Merugiri.
- Merugiri**—Jñāna; a mythical mountain; same as the mythical Sumeru, often identified with the Hindukush.
- Mithilā**—Rudra; Pīṭha (Vāmaśkandha—Umā—Mahodara); Śiva (Mahā-pīṭha;—Vāmaśkandha—Mahādevī—Mahodara); modern Janakpur in the Nepalese Terai.
- Mukuta**—Nāma (v.l. Kumuda).

**Muṇḍapṛṣṭha**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śivā); the Brahmayoni hill at Gayā, particularly its portion containing the Viṣṇupada temple.  
**Muniśvara**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śuddhabuddhi).

## N

**Nābhigayā**—Same as Gayānābhi or Jāyjur (Orissa). Vamśidāsa connects it with Sati's navel.  
**Nādavata**—Prāṇa, Nīla.  
**Nāgapurī**—See Yāgapurī.  
**Nagarakoṭa-Kangra**—'Ain (Jālandharī, probably the same as Jvālāmukhī); Caṇḍī (Mastaka—Jvālāmukhī); same as Jvālāmukhī.  
**Nagarasambhava**—Kubjikā. See Nāgarasambhava.  
**Nāgarasambhava**—Same as Nāgarasambhava.  
**Nāgatīrtha**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Surasā).  
**Naimiṣa**—Nāma (Līṅgadhārīṇī). See Naimiṣāranya.  
**Naimiṣāranya**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Prajñā, Līṅgadhārīṇī—Maheśvara); Prāṇa (Sukathā); modern Nimkhar or Nimsar and Misrikh regions in the Sitapur District, U.P. See Naimiṣa.  
**Naipāla**—Same as Nepāla.  
**Nalāhātī**—Piṭha (Nalā—Kālī—Yogeśa, Yogīśa); Śiva (Upapiṭha;—Śīrānālī—Śephālikā—Yogīśa); identified with Nalahati in the Birbhum District, Bengal.  
**Nalasthāna**—Śiva (Upapiṭha;—Dakṣiṇagaṇḍāṃśa—Bhrāmārī—Virūpākṣa); probably Nalahati mentioned separately.  
**Nandapura**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahānanda); possibly the same as Nandipura.  
**Nandataṭa**—Nīla, Prāṇa (v.l. Nandavata; Mahānanda); possibly a mistake for Nandātata. For an Ānandā Mahāpiṭha, see *Skand P.*, Brahmakhaṇḍa, Dharmāranyakhaṇḍa, ch. 37, v. 62.  
**Nandavata**—See Nandataṭa.  
**Nandipura**—Piṭha (Hāra—Nandini—Nandikeśvara); Śiva (Upapiṭha;—Hārāṃśa—Nandini—Nandikeśvara); near Sainthia in the Birbhum District, Bengal.  
**Nārikela**—Kubjikā; cf. Nārikeladvīpa mentioned in literature and such localities as Nārikeldāṅgā (near Calcutta) in Lower Bengal.  
**Narmadā**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Narmadā); Piṭha (v.l. Śona;—Nītamba—Śonā—Bhadrāsena); Śiva (Mahāpiṭha;—Dakṣiṇanītamba—Śonākṣī—Bhadrāsena); the celebrated river rising from the Amarkantak and falling into the Gulf of Cambay.  
**Narmadoccheda**, **Narmadodbheda**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Dāruṇā).  
**Nepāla**, **Naipāla**—Kubjikā; Jñāna; Nīla (Puṇyadā); Piṭha (Jānu—Mahāmāyā—Kāpālī); Śiva (Mahāpiṭha;—Dakṣiṇajāṅghā—Mahāmāyā, Navadurgā—Kāpālī); the reference may be to Katmandu, the capital of Nepal.  
**Nilācala**, **Nilapārvata**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vimalā); Śiva (Upapiṭha;—Ucchiṣṭa—Vimalā—Jagannātha). See Virajā, Utkala. The reference seems to be to the Purī temple (said to be on the Nīla mountain) in Orissa, although; but there was another Nilapārvata in Kāmarūpa from which Kāmākhyā was called Nilapārvatī.  
**Nilavāhini**—Kubjikā.

## O

**Odḍiyāna**—Same as Uḍḍiyāna.  
**Oḍiyāna**—Same as Uḍḍiyāna.  
**Odra**—modern Orissa, but sometimes confused with Odḍiyāna in the Swat valley.

Oghavati—Nila, Prāṇa (Mahāvidyā); the river Apagā (a branch of the Chitang) running by Thanesar and Pehoa in the Eastern Punjab.  
 Ōṅkāra—Nila (Gāyatrī); Jñāna (possibly v.l. Praṇava); modern Ōṅkāreśvara or Ōṅkāranātha, i.e. the island of Mandhata in the Narmadā (32 miles north-west of Khandwa) in the Nimar District, C.P.

## P

Pampāsaras—Nila, Prāṇa (v.l. Pañcāpsaras;—Sāraṅgā); near modern Hampe in the Bellary District, Madras.

Pañcakaṭi—wrong reading for Pañcavaṭi.

Pañcanada—See Dakṣapañcanada.

Pañcāpsaras—Nila, Prāṇa; located differently by different writers.

Pañcasāgara—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha) and Pīṭha (Adhodanta—Vārāhi—Mahārudra); possibly the oceans are indicated, although their traditional number was four or seven. But cf. Pañcatīrtha.

Pañcatīrtha—Nila, Prāṇa; near Hardwar.

Pañcavaṭi—Nila, Prāṇa (Tapasvini). See Janasthāna in which Pañcavaṭi was situated.

Pāṇḍu—Nila, Prāṇa (Pāṇḍarānanā); possibly the same as the Pāṇḍya country in the southern corner of India.

Parameśvarapura—Nila (v.l. Śamaneśvarapura).

Pārsya—Nila (Paramānanda); Persia.

Pārātata—Nāma (v.l. Pārāvātīra); Pārā is the same as the Pārvatī in Malwa.

Pārāvātīra—Nāma (v.l. Pārātata;—Mātā, Pārā, Pāvā).

Pātala—Nila, Prāṇa (Pātaleśvari); possibly Pāṭaliputra (near modern Patna) or Pātana (Patna < *Pattana*) is indicated.

Pātāla—Nāma Parameśvari); possibly Pātala is indicated, but is reminiscent of the region of Patalene, the ancient city and district, located by classical writers about the mouths of the Indus.

Paṇḍravardhana—Jñāna, Nila (Suveśā); same as Puṇḍra, Puṇḍravardhana.

Payoṣṇī—Nāma (Piṅgaleśvari); probably the river Paisuni, a tributary of the Jumna between the Ken and the Tons.

Piṇḍāraka—Nāma (Dhṛti); Prāṇa; 16 miles to the east of Dvārakā in Kathiawar. See Piṇḍārakavana.

Piṇḍārakavana—Nila, Prāṇa (Dhanyā). See Piṇḍāraka.

Piṅgā—Prāṇa, Nila.

Piyālamārga—Prāṇa, Nila.

Prabhāsa—Nāma (Puṣkarāvātī); Nila, Prāṇa (Īśvari); Nila, Prāṇa (Sura-pūjitā); Nila, Prāṇa (Puṣkarekṣaṇā—Somanātha); Pīṭha (Udara, Adhara—Candrabhāgā—Vakratuṇḍa); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Adhara—Candrabhāgā—Vakratuṇḍa); modern Somnath in the Junagarh State, Kathiawar.

Prabhāsakhaṇḍa—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Marma—Siddhīśvari—Siddhīśvara); probably in the Prabhāsa region, or one of the other two Prabhāsas near Kurukṣetra or Kauśāmbī.

Pradyumna—Aṣṭādaśa; probably Pandua in the Hooghly District.

Praṇava—possibly the same as Ōṅkāra.

Prapā—Nila, Prāṇa (Pāpanāśini).

Prasaṅga—Prāṇa, Nila.

Prayāga—Kubjikā; Jñāna; Rudra; Aṣṭādaśa (Mādhavēśvari); Nila (Trivenī?); Nāma (Lalitā); Pīṭha (Hastāṅguli—Lalitā—Bhava); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dvi-hast-āṅguli—Kamalā—Venimādhava); modern Allahabad in U.P. The temple of Venimādhava lies at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.



- Prthūdaka**—Nila, Prāṇa (Mahāvegā); modern Pehoa in the Karnal District, Punjab.
- Pundra**—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Loma—Sarvākṣiṇī—Sarva). See Puṇḍravardhana.
- Puṇḍravardhana**—Nāma (v.l. Puṇyavardhana;—Pātālā); same as Pundra, Paṇḍravardhana; identified with modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District, Bengal.
- Puṇyādri**—Nila (v.l. Puṣyādri;—Mahāpuṇyā); possibly the same as Pūrṇagiri.
- Puṇyavardhana**—Same as Puṇḍravardhana. For this form of the name, see Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 185.
- Puraścandra**—Nila, Prāṇa (Purēśvari).
- Purasthira**—Jñāna (v.l. Purasthita).
- Purasthita**—Jñāna (v.l. Purasthira).
- Pūrṇa**—Same as Pūrṇagiri.
- Pūrṇagiri**—Hovajra; Kālikā (in the south;—Pūrṇēśvari—Mahānātha); Kālikā (Skandhagrīvā—Pūrṇēśvari); Sādhana; Jñāna; Rudra; probably located by the 'Ain in the Bijapur region of the Bombay Presidency. Same as Pūrṇa, Pūrṇasaila. The name may not be unconnected with that of the Pūrṇā (modern Paira), a branch of the Godavari. The *Ānandārṇava* gives the name of the Pīṭha as Pūrṇabhūdhara.
- Pūrṇasaila**—Same as Pūrṇagiri.
- Puruṣottama**—Nāma and Prāṇa (Vimalā); same as Purī in Orissa.
- Puṣkara**—Nāma (Puruhūtā); Prāṇa (Kamalākṣi); Prāṇa (Purahūtā—Rājagandhi); near Ajmer in Rajputana.
- Puṣpatīrtha**—Nāma (v.l. Uṣṇatīrtha); possibly connected with the Puṣpagiri in the Malaya range.

## R

- Rāḍha, Rāḍhū**—Rudra; Nila, Prāṇa (Maṅgalacaṇḍī); in a narrow sense, the land watered by the Ajay in the Burdwan District, Bengal.
- Rājabolahāṭa**—Caṇḍī (Vāmahasta—Viśālalocanī); near Serampur in the Hooghly District, Bengal.
- Rājagiri**—Pīṭha (v.l. Rāmagiri); possibly a form of Rājagrha. Cf. Rājapavata.
- Rājagrha**—Jñāna; modern Rajgir in the Gaya District, Bihar.
- Rājapavata**—Nila; probably the same as Rājagiri.
- Rāmā**—Nāma (fictitious).
- Rāmāgiri**—Kubjikā; Nāma (Trisandhyā); Pīṭha (v.l. Rājagiri;—Stana, Nāsā, Nalā—Śivānī—Caṇḍa); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇastana—Śivānī—Caṇḍa); possibly modern Ramtek near Nagpur in C.P., or Chitrukūta in the Banda District, U.P.
- Ramaṇa, Ramaṇaka**—Nila, Prāṇa (Durgā).
- Rāmātīrtha**—Nāma (Ramaṇā); Nila, Prāṇa (Mahādhṛti); the ancient Rāmātīrtha in Sūrpāraka (modern Sopara) in the Thana District, Bombay, although in this case Rāmāgiri may be indicated.
- Rāmeśvara**—Nila, Prāṇa (Prabhā); Prāṇa (Mahāsiddhi); the celebrated Setubandha-Rāmeśvara in the Ramnad District, Madras. See Setubandha. Another Rāmeśvara lies at the confluence of the Banas and the Chambal.
- Rāmoccheda, Rāmodbheda**—Prāṇa, Nila.
- Raṇakhaṇḍa**—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇakaphoni—Bahulākṣi—Mahākāla); possibly the same as Bahulā separately mentioned.
- Rāsavṛndāvana**—Nila, Prāṇa (Rādhā). See Vṛndāvana.

**Ratnāvalī**—Pīṭha (v.l. Ratnavatī;—Dakṣiṇaskanda—Kumārī—Śiva); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇaskandha—Śivā—Śiva); possibly the same as the city of Ratnavatī mentioned in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, but may also be a locality in Bengal. Ratnāvalī is the name of a sacred tributary of the Vāgmatī in Nepal.

**Ratnavatī**—See Ratnāvalī.

**Rṇamocana**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vimukti).

**Rudrakotī**—Nāma (Rudrāṇī, Kalyāṇī); either the *tīrtha* of this name in Kurukṣetra, or that near the source of the Narmadā.

## . S

**Sāgarasaṅgama**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Svāhā); possibly the same as Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama.

**Sahasrākṣa**—Nāma (Utpalā, Utpalākṣī).

**Sahyādri**—Nāma (Ekavīrā).

**Śākambharīpura**—Nīla, Prāṇa; modern Sambhar near Pushkar.

**Śālagrāma**—Nāma (Mahādevī); at the source of the river Gaṇḍakī or Gaṇḍak.

**Śāligrāma**—Same as Śālagrāma.

**Śamaneśvarapura**—Nīla (v.l. Parameśvarapura;—Mahāvrajeśvarī).

**Sambheda**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śubhāvāsīnī); supposed to be about the mouth of the Indus.

**Sambhāra**—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Dantāṃśa—Śūreśī—Śūreśa); apparently due to a textual corruption (cf. *Pīṭha*, verse 39 and notes).

**Śaṅkhasaṃharaṇa**—Prāṇa; same as Śaṅkhoddhāra.

**Śaṅkhoddhāra**—Nāma (Dhvani, Dharā); the island of Baṭī (Beyt) at the south-western extremity of the Gulf of Cutch.

**Santāna**—Nāma (Lalitā).

**Saptagodāvara**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śrī, Akhileśvarī); at Solangipur, 16 miles from Pithapuram in the Godavari District of the Madras Presidency.

**Saptārci**—Nīla, Prāṇa; possibly the same as Guptārci at Viṣṇupada, or Saptārṣa (Satara) in the south Maratha country.

**Śāradā**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śāradā); modern Sardi in Kashmir.

**Sarasvatī**—Nāma (Devamātā); Nīla, Prāṇa; river in the eastern Punjab running by Pehoa.

**Sarayū, Sarayūtira**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śāradā); the celebrated river running through Oudh, now called Ghagra or Gogra.

**Śarīra**—Nāma (fictitious).

**Śarkara**—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Trinetra—Mahiṣamardini—Krodhīśa); same as Śarkarāra.

**Śarkarāra**—Pīṭha (v.l. Karavīra); identified with Sukkur in Sindh.

**Sarvasaila**—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Kakṣāṃśa—Viśvamātā—Daṇḍapāṇī); a vague reference to 'all hills'.

**Śaṣṭhīpura**—Nīla (Śaṣṭhī).

**Śatadru**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śatarūpā); river running through the Punjab; now called Satlej.

**Satī**—Nāma (fictitious).

**Saticala**—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Karāṃśa—Sunandā—Sunanda).

**Setubandha**—Nīla, Prāṇa (Rāmeśvarī). See Rāmeśvara, Śvetabandha.

**Siddhapura**—v.l. Siddhavaṭa; either Siddhaur near Barabanki in U.P. or Sidpur about 64 miles from Ahmedabad; but may also be one of the several Siddhāśramas.

**Siddhavana**—v.l. Siddhavaṭa.

- Siddhavata—Nāma (v.l. Siddhavana, Siddhapura;—Mātā Lakṣmī, Umā Lakṣmī).
- Siddhitira—Nīla, Prāṇa (Siddhidā).
- Siṃhala, Siṃhaladvīpa—Kubjikā (v.l. Siṃhanāda); Rudra; Aṣṭādaśa; modern Ceylon.
- Siṃhanāda—Kubjikā (v.l. Siṃhala).
- Sindhusaṅgama—v.l. Śoṇasaṅgama. Sindhu is the Indus running through north-western India to the Arabian Sea.
- Sirihaṭṭa—See Śrīhaṭṭa.
- Śivacaṇḍa—v.l. Śivakuṇḍa.
- Śivakuṇḍa—Nāma (v.l. Śivakuñja, Śivacaṇḍa;—Śivānandā, Śubhānandā, Sunandā, Sabhānandā).
- Śivakuñja—v.l. Śivakuṇḍa.
- Śivaliṅga—Nāma (Jalapriyā).
- Śivapiṭha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Jvālāmukhī).
- Śivasannidhi—Nāma (fictitious).
- Someśvara—Nāma (Varārohā); possibly the same as Somanātha or Prabhāsa in Kathiawar.
- Śoṇa—Piṭha (v.l. Narmadā;—Nitambā—Narmadā—Bhadrāsena); Śiva (Upapiṭha;—Nitambāmsā—Bhadrā—Bhadreśvara); Prāṇa (Kanakēśvari); celebrated tributary joining the Ganges near Patna in Bihar.
- Śoṇasaṅgama—Nāma (v.l. Sindhusaṅgama;—Subhadrā); the reference may be to the Śoṇa-Gaṅgā-Saṅgama near Patna.
- Śrīgiri—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śrī); same as Śrīśaila.
- Śrīhaṭṭa—Sādhana (v.l. Sirihaṭṭa); Piṭha (v.l. Śrīśaila); Śiva (Mahāpiṭha;—Grīvā—Mahālakṣmī—Sarvānanda); modern Sylhet in Assam.
- Śrīparvata—Piṭha (Dakṣiṇakarna—Sundarī—Sundarānanda, Sunandā—nanda); Śiva (Mahāpiṭha;—Dakṣiṇakarna—Sundarī—Sundarānanda); Prāṇa (Śaṅkarī—Tripurāntaka). See Śrīśaila.
- Śrīpiṭha—Jñāna; possibly the same as Śrīhaṭṭa.
- Śrīpura—Nīla (Śrīramā); possibly Sirpur in the Raipur District, C.P.
- Sthala—Nīla, Prāṇa (Sthalā—Sthala).
- Sthāneśvara—Same as Sthānviśvara.
- Sthāṇu—meant for Sthānviśvara according to a wrong reading in Prāṇa.
- Sthānviśvara—Nāma (Bhavānī); modern Thanesar in the Ambala District, Punjab.
- Strirājya—Rudra; associated with the land of the Nu-wangs in eastern Tibet, who are said to have been ruled by a woman styled Pinchiu. The Strirājya is usually located in the Kumaon-Garhwal region of the Himalayas. Hiuen T'ang seems to locate a western Strirājya about Makran (Walters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 257).
- Subhadra—Nīla, Prāṇa (Bhavyā); cf. the name Subhadrā applied to the Irawadi.
- Śuci—Piṭha (v.l. Anala;—Ūrdhavadanta—Nārāyaṇī—Saṃkrūra, Saṃhāra); cf. Supārśva.
- Sugandhā—Śiva (Mahāpiṭha) and Piṭha (Nāsikā—Sunandā—Tryambaka); Prāṇa; modern Shikarpur on the Sindh (Sugandhā) near Barisal in South Bengal.
- Śuklatīrtha, Śukratīrtha—Prāṇa (Śraddhā); near Broach in Gujarat.
- Suparna—Nīla, Prāṇa (Utpalā—Sahasrākṣa); possibly the source of the Tons (Tamasā), tributary of the Jumna.
- Supārśva—Nāma (Nārāyaṇī); cf. Śuci.
- Svargamārga—Nīla, Prāṇa (Svargadā).

Svargoccheda, Svargodbheda—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahārātri).

Śvetabandha—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Bhagnāṁśa—Jayā—Mahābhīma); apparently a mistake for Setubandha.

## T

Tailaṅga—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Lomakhaṇḍa—Caṇḍadāyikā—Caṇḍeśa); Telugu or the present Telugu speaking area in the Deccan. Dey, *G.D.*, s.v. Trilinga, said to be first mentioned in Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā*.

Tamolipta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Tamoghni); modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District, Bengal. Other old forms of the name were Tāmrālipta, Tāmrālipti, Dāmalipta, etc.

Tantra—Nīla, Prāṇa (Gautameśvarī).

Tārā—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Netrāṁśatārā—Tāriṇi—Unmatta); identified with Tarapur near Nalahati in the Birbhum District, Bengal. See Ugratārā.

Tirotā—Pīṭha (v.l. Trisrotā); but it is a corruption of *Trihuta* in *Śiva*, though the latter form itself is a corruption of Sanskrit *Tirabhukti*.

Tirthasaṅgama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Saṅgamā).

Traipura—v.l. Tripura.

Trihuta—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmapada—Amari—Amara); Tirhut (Sanskrit *Tirabhukti*) indicating the northern part of Bihar. See Tirotā.

Trikūṭa—Nāma (Bhadrāsundarī, Rudrāsundarī); the mythical peak of Ceylon on which the city of Laṅkā was supposed to have been situated. There was another Trikuṭa in the northern Konkan.

Tripada—Nīla, Prāṇa (Caṇḍā); possibly Tirupati (Tripadi; but really Sans. *Śrīpati*) is indicated.

Tripura—Nīla (Sundarī); probably the same as Tripurā, and not Tewar near Jubbulpore.

Tripurā—Kubjikā; Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇapada—Tripurā, Tripurasundarī—Nala, Tripureśa, Tripurākṣa); Śiva (Dakṣiṇapada—Tripurā—Nala); the Tripurā (Hill Tipperah) State in Bengal. Udayapura or Rāṅgāmātī (modern Rādhākīśorapura), "old capital of Tripurā, is indicated.

Trisrotā—Jñāna; Pīṭha (v.l. Tirotā;—Vāmapada—Bhrāmari, Amari—Īśvara, Amara); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇajānu—Caṇḍikā—Sadānanda); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Padāṁśa—Pārvati—Īśvara, Bhairaveśvara); the river Tista running through northern Bengal. *Śiva* mentions Trisrotā both as a Mahāpīṭha and as an Upapīṭha.

Trivenī—Kubjikā; either the Yuktavenī near Allahabad or more probably the Muktaivenī near Calcutta.

## U

Uddinapura—Nīla; probably a mistake for Uddiśa or Uddiyāna.

Uddiśa—Jñāna; same as Odra from Sanskrit *Oḍraviśaya*, Prakrit *Oḍḍaviśa*, *Oḍḍaiśa*; modern Orissa (*Oḍiśā*).

Uddiyāna, Uddiyāna—Hevajra; Kālikā (in the west;—Kātyāyani—Jagan-nātha); Kālikā (Urudvaya;—Kātyāyani); Rudra; Jñāna; Kubjikā; land watered by the river Swat in north-western India, but sometimes confused with Odra (Orissa).

Uddiyāna—Same as Uddiyāna.

Ugratārā—Vamśidāsa connects it with Sati's eyes. See Tārā.

Ujāni—Pīṭha (v.l. Ujjayini, Urjani, Ujjani); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāma-kaphoni—Maṅgalacaṇḍi—Kapilāmbara); modern Kogram in the Burdwan District, Bengal.

Ujjani—See Ujāni, Ujjayini.

Ujjayini—Jñāna; Aṣṭādaśa (Mahākālī); Nīla; Pīṭha (v.l. Ujāni, Ujjani, Urjani;—Kūrpara—Maṅgalacaṇḍī—Kapilāmbara); modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State; but see also Ujāni.

Urjani—See Ujāni, Ujjayini.

Uṣṇatīrtha—Nāma (v.l. Puṣpatīrtha;—Abhayā).

Utkala—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Nābhi—Vijayā—Jaya); Aṣṭādaśa (Virajā); roughly speaking another name of Odra or Orissa. See Virajā.

Utpalāvartaka—Nāma (Lolā); cf. the name of Utpalāvatī, a river (modern Vyapar) in the Tinnevely District, Madras, and that of Utpalāvata or Utpalāranya (modern Bithoor) near Cawnpore, U.P.

Uttarā—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Vāmagaṇḍāmśa—Uttariṇi—Utsādana); possibly the Uttaragā or Rāmgaṅgā in Oudh.

Uttarakuru—Nāma (Ausadhi, Ośadhi); a Himalayan tract, often supposed to have included the northern part of Garhwal.

Uttaramānasa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Nīlā); the Ganga lake at the foot of the Harmuk peak in Kashmir, or a sacred place at Gayā.

## V

Vāgmātī—Kubjikā; river in Nepal, whose junctions with the Maradārikā, Maṇisrohiṇī, Rājamañjarī, Raṭnāvalī, Cārumatī, Prabhāvatī and Trivenī form respectively the Śānta, Śaṅkara, Rājamañjarī, Pramodā, Sulakṣaṇa, Jaya and Gokarna *tirthas*; also old Tista (*Hist. Beng.*, II, p. 10).

Vaidyanātha—Kubjikā; Nāma (Arogā, Ārogyā); Pīṭha (Hṛdaya—Jaya-durgā—Vaidyanātha); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Hṛdaya—Jayadurgā, Nava-durgā—Vaidyanātha); modern Deoghar-Baidyanāthdhām in the Santal Parganas District, Bihar.

Vaiśravaṇālaya—Nāma (fictitious).

Vaivasvata—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Prśhṭha—Tripuṭā—Śamanakarman, Nimiṣa).

Vakranātha—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Manas—Pāpaharā—Vakranātha); possibly the same place is referred to in Śiva as both Vakreśvara and Vakranātha (cf. double mention of Trisrotā). See Vakreśvara. For Pāpaharā as the name or an epithet of the river at Vakreśvara, see Pīṭha, v. 50.

Vakreśvara—Pīṭha (Manas—Mahiṣamardini—Vakranātha); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣinabāhu—Vakreśvari—Vakreśvara); near Dubrajpur in the Birbhum District, Bengal.

Vāmana—Jñāna; probably Vāmanasthali (Banthali) near Junagarh, Kathiawar.

Vaṅga—Rudra; originally the land watered by the mouths of the Ganges, but later south-east Bengal.

Varāhaparvata, Varāhasaila—Nāma (Jayā); Nīla; Prāṇa (Vārāhi); either Baramula in Kashmir, or Barahchhatra in Nepal.

Vārāhi—Kubjikā; cf. Varāhaparvata.

Vārāṇasī—Rudra; Aṣṭādaśa (Viśālākṣī); Nīla; Nāma (Viśālākṣī); Pīṭha (see Maṇikarnikā); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Kuṇḍala—Viśālākṣī, Annapūrṇā—Kālabhairava, Viśveśvara); modern Benares in U.P.

Vardhamāna—Kubjikā; possibly Burdwan in Bengal. But see Dey, *G.D.*, s.v.

Vareṇya—Prāṇa (v.l. Aranya;—Sandhyā—Urdhvaretas).

Vasiṣṭhatīrtha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Arundhatī); on Mount Abu in the Sirohi State, Rajputana, or on Mount Sandhyachal near Gauhati in Assam, or a place near Ayodhya.

Vastrapada—Nīla, Prāṇa (Bhuvaneśvari—Bhava); possibly a mistake for Vastrāpatha (modern Girnar) in Kathiawar, although the Vastrapā

- or Vastrāpada country seems to be located in the Mahābhārata (II, 48, 14; III, 80, 1Q8) in the north-west.
- Vastrēśvara—Nāma (v.l. Viśvesvara;—Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi); possibly the same as Vastrāpatha or Girnar in Kathiawar. See Vastrapada.
- Vaṭaparvatikā—Nīla, Prāṇa (Pañcavargā); mentioned in a Pāla record and in Vijayarāma Sena's *Tīrthamaṅgala* (second half of the 18th century) and identified with the Vateśvaraparvata situated near Pātharghāṭā in the Patna District, Bihar (*Bhāratavarṣa*, Jyaisṭha, B.S. 1350, p. 405).
- Vaṭiparvatikā—Wrong reading of Vaṭaparvatikā.
- Vedamastaka—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vedamātā); same as Vedaśiras.
- Vedaśiras—Nīla, Prāṇa; same as Vedamastaka.
- Vedavadana—Nāma (fictitious).
- Vedeśa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vedadā); possibly Vaidiśa or Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in the Gwalior State) is indicated.
- Vegala—Nāma (v.l. Chāgaliṅga, Chagalaṇḍa, Chāgalaṇḍa).
- Venā—See Beṇā.
- Venumatī—Nīla, Prāṇa (Punṇyā).
- Vibhāsa—Pīṭha (Vāmagulpha—Bhīmarūpā—Kapālī, Sarvānanda); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmagulpha—Bhīmarūpā—Kapālī); near Tamluk in the Midnapur District, Bengal.
- Vidyāpura—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vidyā); probably the same as Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara (modern Hampi) in the Bellary District, Madras. Vidyānagara was possibly also a name of Rajahmundry or of a place near it in the Godavari District. Another Vidyānagara is supposed to be modern Bijaynagar at the confluence of the Sindh and the Para, 25 miles below Narwar.
- Vijayā—Prāṇa, Nīla.
- Vijayanta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Aparājītā).
- Vilvaka—Nāma (v.l. Vilvala;—Vilvapatrikā); Nīla (Rupinī); Prāṇa. See Bilvaka.
- Vilvala—See Vilvaka.
- Vimalā—Kubjikā.
- Vimaleśvara—Nīla, Prāṇa (Viśvā—Viśva); cf. the name of Vimalagiri (modern Palitana), a Jain *tīrtha* in Kathiawar.
- Vināyaka—Nāma (Umā, Rūpā); one of the eight Vināyaka *tīrthas* in the Bombay Presidency, viz. Ranjangaon, Margao, Theur, Lenadri, Ojhar, Pali, Madh and Siddhatek.
- Vindhya—Kubjikā; Nāma (Vindhyavāsini); Jñāna; Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmapadāṅguli—Vindhyavāsini—Punyahājana). The temple of Vindhyavāsini lies at Bindhyachal near Mirzapur in U.P. See Vindhya-kandara, Vindhyagaṅgāsāṅgama.
- Vindhyagaṅgāsāṅgama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vindhyavāsini). See Vindhya.
- Vindhyakandara—Nāma (Amṛta, Nīlambā, Mṛgi); different from Bindhyachal near Mirzapur; cf. Vindhya.
- Vipāśā—Nāma (Amoghākṣi); Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahābalā); modern Beas, a tributary of the Sindhu or Indus.
- Vipula—Nāma (Vipulā).
- Viraja, Virajapura, Virajā, Virajākṣetra in Utkala—Kubjikā; Jñāna; Nīla; Pīṭha (Nābhi—Vimalā, Vijayā—Jagannātha, Jaya); modern Jāipur on the Vaitarani in the Cuttack District, Orissa. See Utkala, Yāga-purī, Jāipur, Yājapura, Nābhigayā.
- Virāṭa—Pīṭha (Padāṅguli—Ambikā—Amṛta, Amṛtākṣa). The ancient Virāṭa country lay in the Jaipur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rajputana; but another country of that name was placed by late-medieval writers in northern Bengal (*I.C.*, VIII, p. 54).

Viśāla—Nīla, Prāṇa (Viśālā); possibly Viśālā-Badarī or Badarikāśrama in the Himalayas.

Viṣṇupada—Nīla, Prāṇa (Guptārca); Prāṇa (Viṣṇupriyā); probably the hill of that name at Gayā in Bihar. For another Viṣṇupada, see *Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 277.

Viśveśvara—Nāma (Viśvā, Vilvā).

Vṛndāvana—Pīṭha (v.l. Keśajāla;—Keśa—Umā—Bhūteśa); Nāma (Rādhā); modern Brindaban near Mathurā (Muttra) in U.P. See Rāsavṛndāvana.

Vyāghrapura—Nīla, Prāṇa (Hara); possibly the same as Buxar (really Vyāghrasaras) in the Shahabad District, Bihar.

## Y

Yāgapurī—Nīla, Prāṇa (v.l. Nāgapurī;—Virajā); same as Virajā, Yājapura, Jājpur, Nābhigayā.

Yājapura—Caṇḍī (Dakṣiṇapada—Virajā). See Virajā, Yāgapurī, Utkala, Jājpur. The Assia range about a mile to the south of Jājpur in the Cuttack District, Orissa, is said to have borne the name Catuspīṭha-parvata.

Yamunā—Nāma (Mṛgāvati); Nīla, Prāṇa (Kālindī); modern Jumna, the principal tributary of the Ganges.

Yaśora—Pīṭha (Pāṇi—Yaśoreśvarī—Caṇḍa); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Pāṇi—Yaśoreśvarī—Pracaṇḍa); modern Jessore in Bengal, although the Pīṭha is located at Īśvarīpura (Khulna District) not far from Hasanabad in the 24-Parganas District.

Yugādyā—Pīṭha (v.l. Kṣīragrāma).

## APPENDIX VI

### *Śiva and Śakti in the Orthodox Indian Pantheon.*

The age covered by the composition of the Rgvedic hymns is considerably wide (between circa 1400 B.C. and 1000 B.C.). It is therefore no wonder, considering the popularity of the union of Aryan males with non-Aryan females, that the speech as well as the social and religious life of the Aryan peoples began to be modified as early as that age.<sup>1</sup> Attention

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'The ideas of *Karma* and transmigration, the practice of *Yoga*, the religious and philosophical ideas centering round the conception of the divinity as *Śiva* and *Devī* and as *Viṣṇu*, the Hindu ritual of *Pūjā* as opposed to the Vedic ritual of *Homa*—all these and much more in Hindu religion and thought would appear to be non-Aryan in origin; a great deal of Puranic and epic myth, legend and semi-history is pre-Aryan; much of our material culture and social and other usages, e.g. the cultivation of some of our most important plants like rice and some vegetables and fruits like the tamarind and the cocoanut, etc., the use of the betel-leaf in Hindu life and ritual, most of our popular religions, most of our folk crafts, our nautical crafts, our distinctive Hindu dress (the *Dhotī* and the *Sāṍī*), our marriage in some parts of India with the use of vermilion and turmeric—and many other things—would appear to be legacy from our pre-Aryan ancestors' (S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 31). 'The Austro-Asiatic tribes of India appear to have belonged to more than one group of the Austro-Asiatic section—to the Kol, to the Khasi and to the Mon-Khmer groups. They were in the neolithic stage of culture and perhaps in India they learned the use of copper and iron. They brought with them a primitive system of agriculture in which a digging stick (\**lag*, *lang*, \**ling*—various forms of an old word \**lak*) was employed to till the hill-side. Terrace cultivation of rice on hills, and plains cultivation of the same grain were in all likelihood introduced by them. They brought, as the names from their language would suggest, the cultivation of the cocoanut (*nārikela*), the plantain (*kadala*), the betel vine (*tāmbula*), the betel-nut (*guvāka*), probably also turmeric (*haridrā*) and ginger (*śṛṅgavera*), and some vegetables like the brinjal (*vāṅīgana*) and the pumpkin (*alābu*). They appear not to have been cattle-breeders—they had no use for milk, but they were the first people to tame the elephant, and to domesticate the fowl. The habit of counting by twenties in some parts of North India (cf. Hindi *koṭī*,

may be drawn in this connection to the borrowing of the cerebral consonantal sounds from non-Aryan speech, to the speedy modification of the R̥gvedic god Rudra and to the germ of theism, a non-Aryan institution later completely absorbed in Indian (i.e. mixed Aryo-aboriginal) religious life, to be traced possibly in the reference in the *R̥gveda* (I, 22, 20) to the *Sūris* (meaning 'sectarian devotees of the god Viṣṇu' according to later works) as a class favoured by Viṣṇu. It is, however, interesting to note that, while the pre-Aryan Father-god was in the process of amalgamation with Aryan Rudra even in the early Vedic period, the absorption of the pre-Aryan Mother-goddess in the orthodox Indian religious life of later days took a considerably longer period of time.

The objects unearthed at the prehistoric (*circa* 2750 B.C.) sites of the Indus Valley prove the prevalence of the cult of the Father-god and Mother-goddess among the pre-Aryan peoples of India. The Mohenjodaro people worshipped a male god who may be regarded as the proto-type of Śiva. He is represented as seated in the *Yoga* posture, surrounded by animals, and has three visible faces with two horns on two sides of a tall head-dress. The ithyphallic (*ūrdhva-līṅga*) characteristic is also very marked. This apparently explains the later conception of Śiva as a *Yogin*, styled *Paśupati*, his *Līṅga* being specially important and his special attributes being the three eyes and the trident, probably associated respectively with the three faces and the two horns together with the head-dress. Some stone pieces looking exactly like the Śiva-līṅga have actually been discovered at Mohenjodaro. The *Līṅga* of the Father-god or Creator was worshipped apparently as a symbol not only of creation but also of virility. See Banerjea, *Dev. H. Icon.*, pp. 174ff.

The objects found at Mohenjodaro include many figurines of the Mother-goddess and point to the wide prevalence of her cult. Such figurines, discovered from prehistoric as well as later sites in different parts of India, are usually nude, but wear a peculiar head-dress, a wide girdle and a quantity of jewellery. A prehistoric terracotta seal from Harappa contains a representation of the same goddess who is shown upside down with her legs wide apart and a plant issuing from her womb and with a pair of tigers (cf. the association of the lion with the Indian Mother-goddess) towards the left, standing facing each other. The fundamental idea of the Mother-goddess cult was the belief in a female energy as the source of all creation. The Indus valley people appear to have also worshipped the *Yoni* as the symbol of this goddess just as they adored the *Līṅga* of the Father-god. Certain objects discovered at Mohenjodaro have their upper and lower surfaces undulating, while in some others the lower surface is flat but the upper one takes a quatre-foil form. Marshall regards these as representations of the *Yoni*, the female organ of generation symbolizing motherhood and fecundity. *Yoni*-rings of later date have been found from other sites. Certain disc-like objects, usually with well-carved decorative designs, have been found at old sites like Taxila and Rajghat and have been associated with the *Yoni* cult. See *op. cit.*, pp. 183ff.

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Bengali *kudī*, 'score, twenty' from the Austric) appears to be the relic of an Austro-Asiatic habit. The later Hindu practice of computing time by days of the moon (*nihis*) seems also to be Austric in origin' (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31). The 'notion of Brahman, the Supreme Spirit beyond the conception of the manifest gods, dwelling in the void by itself and creating the world out of itself, through its will or desire, can be looked upon as an Austric contribution in the evolution of Indian thought' (Chatterji in *Bhārata-kaumudī*, I, p. 206). India's script and architecture and the caste system are also pre-Aryan. For the contributions of the non-Aryans to Indian culture, see also *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, ed. F. C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1929.



The *R̥gveda* (VII, 21, 5; X, 99, 3) refers in a deprecatory manner to a class of people called *Sīmadeva*. Whether they were Aryan (under the influence of an aboriginal cult) or non-Aryan in origin cannot be determined; but there is no doubt that at least the orthodox section of the R̥gvedic Aryans disapproved of the phallic cult. The R̥gvedic Rudra (literally, 'the howling one'), essentially the spirit of stormy clouds, was conceived as discharging brilliant shafts and killing men and cattle with his weapons as well as with diseases (I, 114; VII, 46). The giver of diseases was sometimes also regarded as the healer of them (I, 43, 4, etc.). Rudra's interesting epithet *Paśupa* (I, 114, 9) seems to point to his rapprochement with the pre-Aryan deity worshipped at Mohenjodaro even as early as the later R̥gvedic age when some people also spoke of his 'universal sovereignty' (VII, 46, 20). In the Śātarudriya section of the *Yajurveda* (*Taittirīya*, 4, 5, 1; *Vājasaneyi*, 16), Rudra's benign form is distinguished from his malignant appearance and he is called the heavenly physician, the god lying on the mountains (*Giriśa*), the wearer of matted hair (*Kapardin*), and the lord of paths, forests, cattle, forest-tribes and outcasts, thieves and robbers. He is also called Śarva (archer), Bhava (benign), Śambhu (beneficent), Śiva (auspicious) and the wearer of tiger-skin. Thus the conception of a terrible destroyer as quite its opposite resulted from partially an attempt at appeasement by flattery and partially perhaps from his gradual amalgamation with the pre-Aryan Father-god. The Rudras, in the plural, are called *Gaṇa* (a tribe) and leaders of tribes (*Gaṇapati*) and of workmen, potters, cartmen, carpenters and Nisādas who belonged to proto-Australoid forest-tribes. The *Atharvaveda* (cf. IV, 28; VI, 93, 2; VII, 87, 1; XI, 2, 1; XV, 5) refers to Bhava (called *Rājan*, the archer and the protector of the *Vṛātyas* or outcasts), Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādeva and Īśāna as distinct forms of the god. Śarva and Bhava, called *Bhūtapati* and *Paśupati*, are desired to remove their deadly poison to other places. In the Śūlagava sacrifice mentioned in the *Grihyasūtras* (*Āśvalāyana*, 4, 9), a bull was sacrificed to appease Rudra outside the limits of a village. This shows that the god was not exactly within the orthodox pantheon apparently owing to his association with non-Aryan tribes. He is called by the names Hara, Mr̥ḍa, Bhīma and Śaṅkara, and one is directed to adore Rudra at the time of traversing a path and a crossing of four roads, of passing by a heap of dung and a creeping serpent, of being overtaken by a tornado and of coming to a variegated scene, a sacrificial site and an old tree (*Hiranyakeśin*, 1, 5, 16; cf. *Pāraskara*, III, 15). The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (cf. Chs. III–IV), which is earlier than the *Bhagavadgītā* (circa third century B.C.) and contains speculations approaching closely the Bhakti cult of later days, calls the god *Bhagavat*, the Great Soul and also Mahēśvara in whose power stands Māyā and Prakṛti. It is also said that, knowing Śiva who is minuter than the minute, the creator and protector of the universe, the one having many forms and the one alone encompassing the world and concealed in all beings, men (*Brahmar̥ṣis*) become free from all nooses and attain eternal peace. The god is further said to be the one unchangeable principle that existed before creation. The earliest exposition of the Pāśupata doctrine is found in the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad* (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc., p. 159) which is, however, not a very ancient work. The Śiva-bhāgavatas of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (originally composed in the second century B.C.), under Pāṇini, V, 2, 76, were apparently followers of the *Pāśupata-vrata* mentioned in this *Upaniṣad*. Thus the pre-Aryan Father-god, amalgamated with Vedic Rudra, gradually came to be, as Rudra-śiva, a great force in the composite religious life of India long before the birth of Christ, although

even in later times often his non-Aryan origin and association were remembered and pointedly mentioned (cf. the legend about the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, *supra*, p. 6). This shows that the influence of Śiva, worshipped by the pre-Aryans, was strong enough to overcome the reluctance of the orthodox Aryan element and to occupy a front seat in the Indo-Aryan pantheon in spite of opposition.

The pre-Aryans appear to have conceived the Mother-goddess as the wife of the Father-god; but, in the Vedic literature, the Mother-goddess is rarely referred to.<sup>1</sup> The *Yajurveda* (cf. *Taittīriya*, I, 8, 6) mentions Ambikā as Rudra's sister. In connection of the Śūlagava sacrifice in honour of Rudra, the *Gṛhyasūtras* speak of the 'wife of Bhava' (*Hiranyakaśin*, II, 3, 8) apparently as a subordinate deity. Sometimes Rudrāṇi, Śārvāṇi and Bhavāṇi are mentioned side by side (*Pāraskara*, III, 8). The *Kena Upaniṣad* gives a story in which Umā Haimavati (daughter of the Himavat) disclosed the nature of Brahman (probably Śiva) to the gods (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 158). But she is not called Rudraśiva's wife. Ambikā's mention as Rudra's spouse in the interpolated tenth section of the *Taittīriya Āraṇyaka* (X, 18) is of course very late. Thus in the age covered by the Vedic literature, when the non-Aryan Father-god was considerably near the front rank in the orthodox Indian pantheon, the worship of the Mother-goddess does not appear to have been popular with the higher classes of the society. Even if she made any progress towards recognition, that was possibly as a subordinate to her husband Śiva. This may have been due mainly to the fact that the cult of the Mother-goddess as such was originally unknown to the Aryans who were moreover a patrilineal people unlike the matrilineal aboriginals. Even in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Liṅga cult was becoming widely popular among the people of different classes (although the phallic emblems were gradually being made symbolical by removing their earlier realistic character which was apparently disliked by the orthodox) and when the appearance of *Ommo* (*Umā* from the Dravidian *Amma* meaning the universal mother) on the coin of Huvīṣka proves that the Mother-goddess cult became an important factor in Indian religious life, Śakti seems to have been subordinated to Śiva by the upper classes of people who moreover practically ignored the worship of *Yoni* as the symbol of the Mother-goddess. Certain *tīrthas* containing *Yoni* tanks are no doubt mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*; but the worship of *Yoni* is prescribed only in the late-medieval *Tantra*<sup>2</sup> works which were also not favoured universally by all classes of the society. This particular cult was specially disliked by the orthodox upper classes.

The representation of the bull, i.e. Śiva in his theriomorphic form, on an Indo-scythian coin of about the beginning of the Christian era, that of

<sup>1</sup> Her influence is slightly noticed in the conception of Vedic Aditi (spirit of the boundless sky), described as the mighty mother of the Ādityas and as associated with Dakṣa. See Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, sect. 41. But she is a minor deity of the Vedic pantheon and was gradually forgotten with the development of the Dakṣāyaṇi-Haimavati conception of the Mother-goddess.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the late-medieval work *Bṛhaddharma P.*, II, 1, 38:

योनिः साक्षात् भगवती लिङ्गं साक्षान्नदेवतः ।

तयोस्तु पूजनेन स्यात् सर्वदेवतपूजनम् ।

Also देवीं वर्ते भगविकाय (II, 10, 53); देवीं कुर्वाद्योनिकयां चैव देवीं प्रकीर्तिता (II, 27, 32).

See also सर्वास्तु चक्षुःशरीरं नसाधिष्ठानमुत्तमम् ।

कुलादीषु च सर्वास्तु युवतीषु विद्येयतः ।

साक्षां योनिं स्पर्शं दृष्ट्वा प्रवर्तन्त्यामनुजगरत् । (II, 11, 99-100).

Śiva in his anthropomorphic form such as on the pre-Christian Ujjain coins and on those of Gondophernes and the Kuṣāṇas belonging to the first and second centuries A.D. (the ithyphallic characteristic of Śiva or Harihara being apparent on a coin of Huviṣka), the discovery from all parts of India of innumerable symbolical phallic emblems of Śiva dating from about the beginning of the Gupta age (although certain realistically made Liṅgas such as that of Gudimallam and their representation on coins such as those from Ujjain have been assigned to dates prior to the beginning of the Christian era), the description of an exceptionally large number of Indian rulers of all parts of the country as exclusive devotees of Maheśvara or Śiva in records dating from the first century A.D. (cf. *Sel. Ins.*, I, pp. 125, 331, 387, 394, 419f., etc.), the mention of ten generations of Pāsupata *ācāryas* in a Mathurā inscription of 381 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 269ff.) and the evidence of the epics and the Purāṇas show beyond doubt that Śiva's status at least in the early centuries of the Christian era was practically the same as it is today in the religious life of India. See *Dev. H. Icon.*, Chs. IV-V. But the case of Śakti, in spite of her growing popularity with different classes of people as suggested by Huviṣka's coin, seems to have been different. The evidence of certain later sections of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* like the *Mārkaṇḍeya* no doubt shows that the Mother-goddess, conceived as the wife of Śiva, was nearing the front rank about the age of the imperial Guptas. But even in the period following this age we very often find her associated and apparently subordinated to Śiva. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the adoration of Kāmeśvara and Mahāgauri in the early-medieval records of some kings of Kāmarūpa (*Kāmarūpasāsanāvali*, Intro., p. 32) where the most important deity was no doubt Kāmākhyā (Mahāgaurī). Interesting is also Hiuen Tsang's mention of Bhīmādevī of Gandhāra in association with Mahādeva<sup>1</sup> worshipped by the *Tirthikas* or *Pāsupatas*. It is well known that the Kāpālika sect of the Śaivas worshipped Śakti in association with Śiva (*supra*, p. 10, note 1). It is also to be noted that the Śūlkis of Orissa, although their family-deity was Stambheśvari, claimed to have been exclusively devoted to Maheśvara (D. R. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1697-98, 1700). The very name of the goddess shows that she was made out on a *Stambha* indicating a *Liṅga* (such Liṅgas with the representation of Śaktis being found in Eastern India; cf. *Hist. Beng.*, I, p. 452) and was thus subordinate to Śiva. A king of the Bhaṭṭa family of Orissa claims to have obtained boons from the goddess Stambheśvari although he was a worshipper of Viṣṇu personally (*List*, No. 1493). There are similar other references to the worship (usually and especially by the aboriginals) of particular forms of the Mother-goddess; cf. Vindhyavāsini mentioned in the *Harivaṃśa* (circa fourth century A.D.) and Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍavaha* (eighth century). Jālandhara (Jvālāmukhi), Uḍḍiyāna (in the Swat valley), Kāmarūpa, Śrīhaṭṭa and Pūrṇagiri were regarded as the greatest seats of the Mother-goddess in works dating from the eighth century (*supra*, pp. 12ff.). Śiva was, however, usually worshipped along with the Mother-goddess in such seats (*Pīṭhas*) in a form styled Bhairava.<sup>1</sup> But the gradual increase in the importance of the Mother-goddess is also sometimes noticed as suggested by her independent installation for worship (cf. also *supra*, p. 10, note 1, l. 7). In the fifth century A.D., the Maukhari chief Anantavarman established the images of Bhūtapati and Devī in a cave in the Nagarjuni hills, while in another cave he installed an image of the Mother-goddess styled Devī, Bhavānī, Kātyāyanī and the one overpowering

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mahiṣamardini at the Śaiva establishments of Udaygiri (c. 400), Bhumara (c. 6th cent.), Mamallapuram (7th cent.), Bhuvanewar (Vaital Deul), etc.

the demon Mahiṣāsura. It should, however, be remembered that the chief was a worshipper of Śiva and Śakti and not of Śakti alone. The 'Divine Mothers', often associated with Mahāsenā as in the records of the early Kadambas and Calukyas, are known to have usually been collectively adored (*Brhatsamhitā*, 60, 19). The construction of a temple for them, described as a 'terrible abode, full of *Dākinīs* (female ghouls), of the Mothers who utter loud and tremendous shouts of joy and who stir up the very oceans with the wind rising from the *Tantra* (magical rites)', by a Vaiṣṇava (the 'Mothers' being subordinate to Viṣṇu in this case) royal official for merit, is referred to in a Mandasor inscription of 423 A.D. (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 284f.). For another early temple of the 'Divine Mothers', see the Deogarh rock inscription of about the sixth century A.D. (*E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 126f.). But whereas the kings of the Gupta age and their successors are usually described as devotees of Maheśvara, Śambhu, Āditya, Sugata, Buddha, Tathāgata, Bhagavat (Viṣṇu), Viṣṇu, Varāha, Cakrapāṇi, Narasiṃha, etc., we rarely find kings who were exclusively devoted to the worship of the Mother-goddess before the age of the Gurjara-Pratiharas (eighth to the eleventh century) of Kanauj, among whom Nāgabhaṭa II, Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla I claim to have been devotees of the goddess Bhagavati (D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 25), while Mahipāla had predilections for the worship of that goddess as well as of the sun-god (Tripathi, *Hist. Kanauj*, pp. 290-91).

Neither Śiva nor Śakti, however, has been free from aboriginal associations even to this day; but the latter bears the stigma in a far more marked degree than the former, although it has of course to be admitted that Śakti is now regarded as one of the *Pañcādevatā* (Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Devī, Śiva and Viṣṇu) to be worshipped in all ceremonies (*Bṛhaddharma P.*, III, 9, 1). Certain late-medieval *Tantras* and other works dealing with the Śaiva and Śākta cults (e.g. *Annadāmaṅgala*, Vaṅgavāsi ed., p. 78) represent Śiva as an ardent lover of Koch girls. This trait, not found in earlier works, no doubt resulted from the identification of Śiva with a tribal deity of the Koch people after their Hinduization in the medieval period; but it shows that Śiva was particularly associated with non-Aryan barbarians even in comparatively modern times. We have already discussed (*supra*, p. 3, note 2) the contribution of the various non-Aryan elements in the Indian population to the conception of the Indian Mother-goddess as suggested by her names in Indian literature.<sup>1</sup> But the most glaring instance of her barbarian association in late-medieval and recent times is offered by the ceremony called Śabarotsava that was performed on the Daśami *tithi* in connection with the autumnal worship of Durgā and is partially remembered in rural Bengal even to this day. The 'festivities on account of the excellent worship of the goddess Umā', celebrated by the people of Varendrī (North Bengal), is referred to by the twelfth century Bengali author Sandhyākaranandin in his *Rāmacarita* (III, 25).<sup>2</sup> People taking part in the Śabarotsava used to cover their bodies with leaves, etc., and to besmear them with mud and other things in the style of the Śabaras who are a proto-Australoid aboriginal people of south-eastern India. Two verses occurring both in the *Kālaviveka* (Bib. Ind. ed., p. 514) by the Bengali jurist Jimūta-vāhana (fifteenth century according to Jolly, but eleventh-twelfth century according to Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, I, pp. 325-26) and in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*

<sup>1</sup> Names like *Kauśiki*, *Kātyāyanī* and *Dākṣāyanī* probably indicated deified ladies or deities worshipped by certain Aryan families or clans. See *supra*, p. 3, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest reference to the modern Bengali form of the worship of Durgā Mahiṣamardini, accompanied by Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, and Sarasvatī, is found in the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* (16th century).

(61, 21-22)<sup>1</sup> prove that the programme of this festivity included topics on and songs about the sex organs and possibly also about sexual intercourse with requisite movements of the body and that its violation incurred Bhagavati's anger and curse. The *Brhaddharma Purāṇa* (III, 6, 81-83), a late-medieval Bengal work of about the seventeenth century,<sup>2</sup> introduces some modifications in the above programme when it says, 'People should not utter before others words which are expressive of such things as the male and female organs of generation; they should utter these during the days of the great worship of the goddess in the month of Āśvina. But even then they should never pronounce them before their mothers and daughters and before female disciples who have not yet been initiated to Śakti worship'. Still, however, the *Purāṇa* supports by arguments that a person worthy of worshipping the Mother-goddess should utter the indecent expressions with a view to pleasing her.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. सुवासिनोभिः कुमारीभिर्वैष्णविर्नर्तकैस्तथा ।

शङ्खतुर्यनिगदेष मृदङ्गेः पटवैस्तथा ॥ १८

ध्वजैर्वैष्णवैश्च विप्रेलोकपुण्यप्रकीर्णकैः ।

भूलोकदर्शनविधेयैः श्रीकाकौतुकमङ्गलैः ॥ २०

भगलिङ्गाभिधानैश्च भगलिङ्गप्रगीतकैः ।

भगलिङ्गादिशब्दैश्च ( v.l. °लिङ्गक्रियाभिश्च ) श्रीडवेयुरक्त जनाः ॥ २१

परैर्नाचियते यस्तु यः पराङ्गाच्चिपेदादि ।

क्रुद्धा भगवती तस्य शापं दद्यात् सुदारुणम् ॥ २२

<sup>2</sup> The *Brahmanavivarta Purāṇa* (I, 10, 18 and 123), an East Indian adaptation of an old work and to be attributed to the fourteenth or fifteenth century (*supra*, p. 6, note 3), makes a distinction between the Ambasthas (probably the Ambastha-Kāyasthas of Bihar) and the Vaidyas (of Bengal), while the *Brhaddharma* (III, 14, 38-48) identifies the Vaidyas with the Ambasthas. Similarly, Kavikanthahāra's *Sādvaidyaulapaṇṇikā* (1653 A.D.) is silent about the Ambastha origin of the Bengal Vaidyas (cf. Dacca ed., pp. 1-2), whereas Bharatamallika's *Candraprabhā* (1675 A.D.) definitely states that the Vaidyas were the same as the ancient Ambasthas (Calcutta ed., p. 4). The present-day Ambasthas of the Tamil land and Malabar (their early distribution in South India may have been wider) appear to be referred to as *Vaidyas* in inscriptions dating from the seventh century (*E.I.*, IX, p. 101; VIII, pp. 317-21; XVII, pp. 291ff.; *I.A.*, 1893, pp. 57f.). Their entry into Bengal during the rule of the Senas, hailing from Karmāta or the Kanarese country in the Deccan, is very probable, as the Senas of Bengal must have patronized South Indians in the same way as the Muslim rulers of India entertained Musalmans of other countries at their courts. It is thus very probable that the crystallization of the professional community of the Vaidyas or physicians of Bengal into a caste was a result of their amalgamation with the tribal Ambastha-Vaidyas of Southern India. This seems to have been the background on which the theory identifying the Vaidyas with the Ambasthas of early Indian literature (Manu calling them physicians) was fabricated in the late-medieval period. The above facts would show that the date of the *Brhaddharma Purāṇa* is not much earlier than the seventeenth century. The reference to the stories of Kālaketu and Śrīmanta (III, 16, 45) seems to suggest for it more or less the same age as that of Mukundarāma's *Candimāṇḍala* (sixteenth century). It should also be noted that considerable influence of the late-medieval Tantric literature is discernible in this *Purāṇa* (cf. *supra*, p. 104, note 1). See Sircar, *The Ambastha Jāti in J.U.P.H.S.*, XVIII, pp. 148-61.

<sup>3</sup> See *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 606-07. Cf.

शृङ्गययं वाग्वयं च नैव कुर्याद्दृष्ट्वा क्षचित् ।

भगलिङ्गादिशब्दैश्च मोक्षरेत् परमोक्षरम् ॥

उच्यतेदाक्षिणे मासि मघापूर्णादिनेषु हि ।

जानुवाच सुतानाञ्च स्त्रीषु च तदापि च ॥

चक्रिन्निदीक्षितायाञ्च शिखायाः उन्निधी न च ।

देवी हि भगवत्यै भगलिङ्गाद्यप्रिया ॥

तस्मान्नत्प्रियकाम्यायै तत्पूजायै कथा ददेत् ॥

## POSTSCRIPT \*

The *Devībhāgavata*, VII, 38, 5-30, containing an important medieval list of Śākta *tīrthas* (cf. *supra*, p. 66, note 1), is quoted below so that the names may be compared with those in the other lists quoted earlier.

कोलापुरं महास्थानं यच्च लक्ष्मीः सदा स्थिता ।

मातुः पुरं द्वितीयञ्च रेणुकाधिलितं परम् ॥

तुलजापुरं तृतीयं स्यात् सप्तद्वङ्गं तथैव च ।

हिङ्गुलाया महास्थानं ज्वालामुख्यास्तथैव च ॥

शाकम्भर्याः परं स्थानं भ्रामर्याः स्थानमुत्तमम् ।

औरक्तदन्तिकास्थानं दुर्गास्थानं तथैव च ॥

विन्ध्याचलनिवासिन्याः स्थानं सर्वोत्तमोत्तमम् ।

अन्नपूर्णां महास्थानं काञ्चीपुरमनुत्तमम् ॥

भौमादेव्याः परं स्थानं विमलास्थानमेव च ।

अचन्द्रलामहास्थानं कौशिकीस्थानमेव च ॥

नीलाम्बायाः परं स्थानं नीलपर्वतमस्तके ।

जाम्बुनदेश्वरीस्थानं तथा औनगरं शुभम् ॥

गुह्यकाल्या महास्थानं नेपाले यत् प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

मौनाद्याः परमं स्थानं यच्च प्रोक्तं चिदम्बरे ॥

वेदारण्यं महास्थानं सुन्दर्या समधिष्ठितम् ।

शकाम्बरं महास्थानं परशक्ता प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

मदालसापरं स्थानं योगेश्वर्यास्तथैव च ।

तथा नीलसरस्वत्याः स्थानं चीनेषु विभूतम् ॥

वैद्यनाथे तु वगलास्थानं सर्वोत्तमं मतम् ।

ओमच्छ्रीशुवनेश्वर्या मणिद्वीपं मम स्मृतम् ॥

ओमल्लिपुरभैरव्याः कामाख्या योगिमण्डलम् ।

भूमण्डले क्षेत्रलं महामायाधिवासितम् ॥

\* \* \* \*

गायत्र्याश्च परं स्थानं श्रीमत्पुष्करमौरितम् ।

अमरेशे चण्डिका स्यात् प्रभासे पुष्करेक्षिणी (°क्षणा) ॥

नैमिषे तु महास्थाने देवी सा लिङ्गधारिणी ।

पुलहता पुष्कराक्षे आषाढौ च रतिस्तथा ॥

चण्डमुख्यौ महास्थाने दण्डिनी परमेश्वरी ।

भारभूतौ भवेदूतिर्नाकुले नकुलेश्वरी ॥

चन्द्रिका तु हरिश्चन्द्रे ओगिरौ शाङ्करौ स्मृता ।

जयेश्वरे त्रिशूला स्यात् सूर्या चाम्नातकेश्वरे ॥

श्राद्धरौ तु महाकाली शर्वानौ मध्यमाभिधे ।  
 केदाराख्ये महाक्षेत्रे देवौ सा मार्गदायिनौ ॥  
 भैरवाख्ये भैरवौ सा गयायां मङ्गला स्मृता ।  
 स्थाणुप्रिया कुबक्षेत्रे स्थायम्भुष्यपि नाकुले ॥  
 कनखले भवेदुद्या विश्वेशा विमलेश्वरे ।  
 अट्टहासे महानन्दा महेन्द्रे तु महान्तका ॥  
 भीमे भीमेश्वरी प्रोक्ता स्थाने वस्त्रापथे पुनः ।  
 भवानी श्राद्धरौ प्रोक्ता वद्राणी त्वर्द्धकोटिके ॥  
 अविमुक्ते विशालाक्षौ महाभागा महालये ।  
 गोकर्णे भद्रकर्णी स्याद्भद्रा स्याद्भद्रकर्णिके ॥  
 उत्पलाक्षौ सुवर्णाक्षे स्थाण्वीश्रा स्थाणूंसंज्ञिके ।  
 कमलालये तु कमला प्रचण्डा ईगलण्डके ॥  
 कुरण्डले त्रिसन्धा स्यान्माकोटे मुकुटेश्वरी ।  
 मण्डलेशे साण्डकी स्यात् काली कालझरे पुनः ॥  
 शङ्खकर्णे ध्वनिः प्रोक्ता स्थूला स्यात् स्थूलकेश्वरे ।  
 ज्ञानिनां हृदयाम्भोजे हृत्तेखा परमेश्वरी ॥

## IBĀHATIYAS

By RIAZUL ISLAM, M.A., PH.D. (Alig.), *Chairman, Department of History and Politics, Dyal Singh College, Lahore*

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The Ibāhatiyas are described in *Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhi* as follows: 'A group of Mulhids and Ibāhatiyas invited people to Ilhād and Ibāhat. The Mahrams and non-Mahrams (respectively, those among whom marriage is prohibited and those among whom it is permitted) used to assemble at night at an appointed place and indulged in eating and drinking and designated this as religious worship. They made an image and caused the people to prostrate themselves before it. They also brought the wives, mothers and sisters of one another at night time, and men committed adultery with any one of them whose garment fell into their hands. I ordered the leaders of the sect (who were Shi'as) to be beheaded; others were imprisoned or banished or (otherwise) punished, so that the territory of Islam was totally purged of their wickedness.'<sup>1</sup>

The parallel passage in *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhi* runs as follows: 'A group of Mulāhida had opened the gates of ibāhat (libertinism, promiscuous incest) in the capital. The officials of the capital submitted before the imperial throne that a group of Mulhids and Ibāhatiyas have appeared in the city and invite the people to their false creed. They have an appointed day when they assemble at a place fixed for the purpose. They plaster the ground with cowdung and, like the idolators, scatter rice and flowers on it. They make the man, whom they want to enlist as a follower of their faith, to prostrate himself on the ground, teach him the creed of infidelity and ask him to repudiate Islam and to say he has become their follower. That night they collect their daughters, wives, mothers and sisters and give them pork to eat and wine to drink. Then the lamp is put out and they take off the garment of the women and mix them (the garment) up together. Then in the darkness of night, every one pulls out a garment, and cohabits with the woman to whom the garment belongs, even though she may be his mother, sister or daughter.'<sup>2</sup>

There is a difference of opinion in the identification of the Ibāhatiyas. Some treat them as the Ismā'ilīs,<sup>3</sup> while others identify them with the Vāmā-Mārgi sect among the Hindus.<sup>4</sup> The evidence is conflicting on this point. Dr. Qureshi has adduced some reasons for considering them a Hindu sect. They may be summarized as follows: (1) the close resemblance between the rituals and practices of the Ibāhatiyas and those of the Vāmā-Mārgi sect;

<sup>1</sup> 'Who were Shi'as' is found in one MS. only and does not occur in other MSS. *Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhi* (edited by Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1943), p. 9 (text), p. 18 (translation).

<sup>2</sup> *Sirat*, f. 146. (Aligarh copy of the unique MS. in Bankipur Library.)

<sup>3</sup> *Khazāinul Futūh*, English translation by Prof. Habib, footnote, p. 12; Hodiwala, *Indo-Muslim Studies*, pp. 282-83.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 254-57; Hodiwala, p. 342.



(2) the existence of the Ibāhatiyas in Jājnagar (Orissa) which had no Muslim population at that time; and (3) certain practices among them which could not have existed among the Mussalmans, e.g. worship of idols, eating of pork, etc. It seems to me that the evidence on this point is not so conclusive, and that there are certain facts which point the other way and which have been ignored.

(1) The charge against the Shī'as, and particularly the Ismā'īlis, of 'permitting marriages within prohibited degrees and practising incest in their secret assemblies is a very old one. Qāzī No'mān (died 363/974) in his work *Ititāhūdawā wa Ibtidāuddaulā*, composed in 346/957, says, 'Ali bin Fazlulla had stepped beyond the bounds fixed by God and His friends. He had permitted marriages within prohibited degree and had forsaken the external forms of Shari'at. He invited people to general libertinism.'<sup>1</sup> Abdul Qāhir Ibn Tāhir Baghdādī (died 429/1038) in his famous work *Al-farq bainal Firaq* says, 'The Batiniya sect had, by various method, forged false interpretations of the law of Shari'at so as to make it completely ineffective. They had permitted marriage with daughters and sisters, drinking of wine and all means of enjoyment and gratification for their followers. One of their youthful leaders made sodomy permissible for his followers and he made obligatory the murder of such boys who wanted to save themselves from those who intended to commit an unnatural act with them.'<sup>2</sup> Imām Abū Muhammad 'Ali bin Ahmad bin Hazm (died 456/1064) in his work *Al-Fasl fil Milal* says, 'That accursed fellow (Mansūrul Ajli alias Kusif) used to say that first of all God created 'Isā bin Maryam (Christ) and after that 'Ali Ibn Abū Tālib, and that Prophets would continue to come. He permitted adultery, the drinking of wine and blood, and the eating of pork and carrion. He used to say that these (adultery, wine, etc.) were names of certain man. Most of the Rafizis of our day also think like that. He had abolished the obligations of Shari'at like prayer, tithes, fast and pilgrimage (to Ka'ba).'<sup>3</sup> Abū 'Abdulla Ibn Rīzam of the early part of 4th/10th century, as quoted in *Nihāyat al 'Arab of Nuwaini* (died 732/1321), says in connection with the Ismā'īlis, 'Hamdān Qarmat ordered the dā'īs to collect all the women one night, so that they might mix indiscriminately with all the men. For this, he said, was the perfection and the last degree of friendship and fraternity.'<sup>4</sup>

There was a sect with similar practices in Afghānistān also. It has been described as follows: 'The Chamkani, it appears, were a heretical sect of Persian Islamites, and fled their own country on account of the persecution of the government. They are said to have belonged (for they are now orthodox Mussalmans) to the sect of Shia Muhammadans called 'Ali Ilāhi on account of their belief in the divinity of 'Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad. Curious stories are told of their peculiar religious ceremonies and immoral proceedings connected with them. A burning light, it appears, was an essential element in their religious performances, in which both sexes joined indiscriminately, and at a particular stage of the ceremonies and recitations it was extinguished by the officiating priest. On this signal the congregation fell to orgies and immoralities of which they are accused. On account of this strange custom they were called by the Persians Chiragh-

<sup>1</sup> Text, p. 40; given in the *Rise of the Fatimides*, by W. Ivanow.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-farq bainal Firaq*. Edited by Phillip Hitti, Egypt, 1924, pp. 175-76.

<sup>3</sup> *Kitābul Fasl fil Milal*, Part IV, Egypt, 1321 A.H., p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> *The Origins of Ismailism*, by B. Lewis, p. 98.

Kush and by the Pathans Or-mur, which mean respectively "lamp-extinguisher" and "fire-extinguisher".<sup>1</sup>

All this makes it clear that there were some sects among the Mussalmans of the Ismā'īlī persuasion against whom the charges of ibāhat were generally believed to be true by the orthodox (Sunni) Mussalmans. The practices noted in the above quotations may have been taken over by them from the followers of Manes and Mazdak, from whom they had adopted other things also, such as secret organization, initiation of proselyte into various grades, method of propagation of their ideas, etc. A similar Persian sect of pre-Islamic origin, which continued into Islamic period, has thus been described by al-Baghdādī: 'The Bābakīyas in their mountain fastness used to have a night of festivity when all of them assembled, to enjoy drink and songs. Men and women used to take part in the festival. When lights and fires were put out, the men cohabited with the women without any restriction.'<sup>2</sup>

(2) Both Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhī and Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhī deal with the Ibāhatīyas in connection with the various heresies among the Mussalmans themselves. The Futūhāt is a very neatly planned work. It describes the various reforms and achievements of Firōz in an orderly and systematic manner. Thus the measures against Muslim heretics, the measures against Hindus, the repairs of old monuments and so on, are each described separately and distinctly. The Shī'as, the Ibāhatīyas, the Mehdavis and the extreme Muslim mystics are described in a distinct single group of paragraphs. In Sirat, too, the Ibāhatīyas are described in continuation with the Shī'as. At another place in the same work the practices of the Ibāhatīyas, such as drinking, short-term marriages and pederasty, are described along with heresies amongst the Mussalmans.

(3) The Ibāhatīyas were accused of plastering the ground with cowdung and scattering rice and flowers on it 'like the idol-worshippers'. The phrase 'نرسم بت پرستان' would have been meaningless and superfluous if the Ibāhatīyas were an indigenous sect of the Hindus. The fact that the Ibāhatīyas were persuading Mussalmans to join them is also a clear indication that they were a heretical Muslim sect and were trying to spread their beliefs and practices among the orthodox Mussalmans. It is highly improbable that the indigenous Hindu Vāmā-Mārgī sect started a proselytizing campaign among the Mussalmans and made converts. Of course, there was a sect among the Hindus with similar practices. Firōz Shāh came across this Hindu sect in Jājnagar.<sup>3</sup> It is also not improbable that the Muslim Ibāhatīyas came into contact with the Hindu Vāmā-Mārgīs and being like-minded, adopted certain practices of the latter, such as the pulling off of the garments (chōlis).<sup>4</sup>

It ought to be made perfectly clear here that the point at issue is not whether the charges of libertinism and incest levelled against the Ismā'īlīs were right or not.<sup>5</sup> What we here have to determine is whether the

<sup>1</sup> *The Races of Afghanistan*, by H. W. Bollew, Calcutta, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-farq bainal Firaq*, Ch. XI, pp. 251-53.

<sup>3</sup> The Shī'as and the Ibāhatīyas are described in two separate paragraphs. For though the Ibāhatīyas were a sect of Ismā'īlī Shī'as, yet they were quite distinct from the general body of Shī'as; cf. Qureshi, pp. 119, 255.

<sup>4</sup> *Sirat*, f. 59, 130.

For details of the Vāmā-Mārgī practices, see Hodiwala, p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> The following is the verdict of Bernard Lewis, author of *The Origins of Ismailism* on the allegations of immorality against the Ismā'īlīs: 'We may, I think, reject without hesitation the suggestion that the Ismā'īlīs practised communism of woman. From the Druza writings we learn that the Ismā'īlīs allowed to women a higher and freer status than did their Sunni contemporaries. The relative freedom of Ismā'īlī women may well have appeared to be complete debauchery to the bigoted Sunni beholders.' *The Origins of Ismailism*, p. 98n.

Ibāhātiya sect, whom Firōz Shāh alleges (rightly or wrongly) to have committed incest, etc., was a Muslim heretic sect or a Hindu sect. All evidence, particularly the internal evidence from *Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhī* and *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, indicates that Firōz Shāh held it to be a Muslim heretic sect.

The first recorded appearance of the Ismā'ilis in India was in Upper Sind where they captured political power and established a principality of their own with Multan as its capital. Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznin had to lead two expeditions against them (in 1005 and 1009-10 A.C. respectively) in the latter of which they were finally defeated and dispersed. But they continued to reappear again and again. They made an attempt on Iltūtmish's life and tried to create disturbances in Delhi during Razia's reign but were signally defeated on both occasions. Barani says that a party of Ibāhātiyas appeared in Delhi during the reign of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī who got them put to death in a barbarous fashion in order to set an example.<sup>1</sup> But evidently a number of them escaped, for we again hear of them in Firōz Shāh's reign

Ziāuddīn Barani, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 336.

## TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D

(Received April 30, 1948)

Some time ago I received for examination estampages of two short stone inscriptions. The first of them was sent by Mr. O. C. Gangoly, formerly Bageswari Professor of the Calcutta University, and the second by Professor A. S. Altekar, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University. I take this opportunity to thank Professors Gangoly and Altekar for their kindness in allowing me to publish the inscriptions.

### 1. A BRĀHMĪ STONE INSCRIPTION FROM BARHUT

Professor Gangoly's estampage bears a short stone inscription in one line. The record, I have been informed by the Professor, is incised on the fragment of a railing which now belongs to the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The fragment has come from the Nagaudh State in Central India. There it was lying in a godown from which it was recovered by Rai Bahadur Brij Mohan Vyas and was presented to the Museum at Allahabad. It is therefore apparent that the railing to which the fragment belonged formed part of the celebrated *stūpa* of Barhut (Nagaudh State), a number of relics from which is now at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. This supposition is supported by the internal evidence of the record engraved on it.

The inscription, as already noticed, is written in one line which contains 15 letters of small size. Though the estampage is not quite satisfactory, the letters can be deciphered without difficulty. The characters employed are Brāhmī of about the first century B.C. The letter *r* is not of the old cork-screw type, but resembles a straight line. *ḡ* has a markedly rounded top. The letter *bh*, occurring once in the epigraph, is slightly damaged; but it appears to have a single long right vertical line and is probably not of the old type usually noticed in the inscriptions of Aśoka. *Y* has a single rounded lower member. The left vertical line of *p* is rather shorter than in earlier records.

The inscription reads— *pusadataye nāgarikāye bhikkhuniye [sa]...* It is apparently a fragmentary epigraph recording the gift of a *bhikkhunī* (nun) named Pushyadattā who is called a *nāgarikā*. The word *nāgarikā* seems to indicate 'a female inhabitant of the *nagara* (city)'. Pushyadattā probably lived in the city in the suburbs or vicinity of which stood the great monastery of Barhut. I do not think that the word has been used in the sense of an inhabitant of *Nagara*, i.e. the city of Pāṭali-putra, although celebrated Buddhist *stūpas* were places of pilgrimage in ancient times and pious Buddhists from different parts of India (sometimes, also from other countries) used to flock to such holy places and dedicated pillars, rails, etc. to the Buddhist establishments. Pushyadattā, who was apparently a Buddhist nun, visited the *stūpa* of Barhut and contributed to the construction of the stone railing according to the custom of those days.

It is interesting to note that the *bhikṣuṇī* Pushyadattā is known from a published record incised on one of the Barhut pillars. This record has been read as *pusadatāye nāgarikāye bhichhuniye sakāya thabho dānaṃ*, 'a pillar, the gift of the Śākya (Buddhist) nun named Pushyadattā, an inhabitant of the city' (cf. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, 1879, p. 138, Pl. LV, 90, 93; Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, 1926, p. 16). In spite of the slight peculiarity in the form of the word *bhichhuniye*, there can be no doubt that the nun mentioned in this epigraph is the same as Pushyadattā of our inscription. It is therefore almost certain that *sa*, the last decipherable character on our estampage, represents the first part of the word *sakāye*. As the object in this case was either a rail (*sūci*; cf. *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 22-23) or a pillar (*thabho*), the last portion of the epigraph probably contained the words *sūci dānaṃ* or *thabho dānaṃ*. The full text of the fragmentary record under publication would therefore be read as follows:

*Text*

पुसदतये नागरिकाये भिक्षुनिये [स][काये\*] [सूचि (or थभो) दानं\*]

*English Translation*

[A rail (or, a pillar), the gift] of the [Buddhist] nun Pushyadattā, an inhabitant of the city.

2. A STONE INSCRIPTION FROM THE PATNA DISTRICT—V.S. 1553

The estampage, kindly sent to me by Prof. A. S. Altekar, bears an inscription in three lines. The learned Professor informed me that the epigraph was discovered by Mr. S. V. Sohoni, I.C.S., in a mosque somewhere in the Patna District of Bihar. Unfortunately, I have not been able to gather any information about the location of the mosque.

The three inscribed lines of the record cover a space a little below two feet in length and about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth. The letters, which are rather carelessly shaped, are not quite uniform in size. The characters employed are late Bengali of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Since, however, the record is incised on stone, the letters in some cases have slightly different or early form as compared with the alphabets of contemporary Bengali MSS. Of initial vowels, we have only *a* which resembles the form of the letter in the Kamauli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 250ff.) of Vaidyadeva (twelfth century). The upper left stroke of *dh* is not curved as in the MS. of the *Śrīkṛishṇakīrtana* (fourteenth or fifteenth century). (cf. *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, IV, p. 374. *Ṣ* is, again, not of the developed Bengali type as found in that MS. *R* is written sometimes with a dot in the triangle, but sometimes without it. The lower left stroke of *m* joining the right vertical line is slanting only in one case. *S* has been written in two different ways. The *anusvāra* is not represented by the later 'dot and bar'. Medial *u* is quite modern in some cases; but *ru* and *gu* (cf. *gu* in line 1) in line 2 are not written in the Bengali fashion. *Bh* is of the old type. *B* has not been distinguished from *v*.

The language of the inscription is incorrect Sanskrit. It is written in verse, but the metre, which is irregular, shows that the author was not a successful versifier. Slight emendation would render the two verses contained in the record metrically satisfactory.

The record contains a date which is given both in the year of king Vikrama as well as in the year of the Northern Cycle of Jupiter. The name of the year is given as Rudhīrodgārin and the Vikrama year is indicated by the words *guṇa* (i.e. 3), *śara* (i.e. 5), *bāna* (i.e. 5) and *rūpaka*

or *rūpa* (i.e. 1). The date, according to the principle of *anikānām vānato gatih*, is therefore V.S. 1553 which is a Rudhīrodgārīn year and corresponds to A.D. 1496. The day referred to is Thursday, the seventh of the dark half of the month of Pausa. I am informed by Mr. D. N. Mookerjee, who has kindly calculated the astronomical details for me, that the date corresponds to the 7th January, 1496 A.D.

The last line of the epigraph records a pious act of a person whose name is not mentioned. The line is difficult to interpret as it is full of errors. It appears, however, to record the construction of an image of a deity called Rājadhara (Rājyadhara? Cf. the name of Rājyadharapura in the Serampur Subdivision, Hooghly District), who was apparently named after a person (the sculptor?) of that name. It also refers to the construction of an unspecified object which is referred to as *kīrtti* and seems to have been a temple for the deity; cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 206, n. 6<sup>1</sup>; also **एकान्ने सिद्धतीर्थे चतुर्मरकुली चारुशालासमेतः कोलावत्या तथैव क्षितिमुकुटनिभः कारितः कौर्त्तिराजः** in v. 12 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Kolāvatī. The image was probably enshrined on the *tīra*, i.e. bank of the Ganges (cf. *Sabdakalpadrūma*, s.v. *tīra*).

The policy of temple spoliation pursued by some of the Muslim rulers of medieval India is known to all students of history. It is, again, quite well known that zealous Muslims very often built mosques with materials collected from Hindu temples destroyed by them. Sometimes even the back slabs of broken images were used in the construction of mosque walls. Several such slabs are found embedded in the walls of the celebrated Zaffar Shah Mosque at Triveni in the vicinity of Calcutta. The inscription under publication seems to show that the inscribed stone originally belonged to some Hindu structure. If the Bengali script used in the record suggests that the construction, to which the stone belonged, was situated somewhere in Bengal, we have to assume that the materials of the building were carried to a distance to be utilized in building a mosque in the Patna District. It should, however, be remembered that the use of the Bengali script was not quite unknown in the medieval period at least in East and North Bihar. Some modern records of the Santal Parganas prove the use not only of the Bengali *Sāl* and the Bengali script, but also of the Bengali language (cf. Datta, *The Santal Insurrections*, pp. 85-86). The *Mandāragiri-prakaranam*, incised on the right-hand side pier in the porch in the temple of Vaidyanātha at Deoghar about the junction of the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas, is, as I am informed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, written in the proto-Bengali script. Moreover, Mithila in North Bihar uses the Bengali alphabet even at the present time. As a matter of fact,

<sup>1</sup> K. T. Telang (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 36, n. 13) first brought to notice, on the authority of Bhagawanlal Indraji, that in certain cases *kīrtana* means 'a temple' (cf. the Khareputan grant of Śaka 1016, *ibid.*, p. 34). This was supported by R. G. Bhandarkar (*ibid.*, XII, pp. 228f.) who referred to the Baroda grant of Kakkā II, dated Śaka 734 (*ibid.*, p. 159), and quoted passages from the *Agni Purāṇa* (Bib. Ind., I, p. 111), Bāna's *Kādambarī* and Somesvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* in which the word has evidently the same meaning. J. F. Fleet attributed the same meaning to *kīrtana* as well as *kīrtti* and referred to the Dudahi inscriptions of Devalabdhī (*ibid.*, XII, p. 289), the Udayagiri inscription of Vikrama 1093 (*ibid.*, XIII, p. 185) and the Mandar hill and Vaidyanātha temple inscriptions of Adityasena (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 212 and n. 6). Bhandarkar and Fleet later believed that *kīrtti* and *kīrtana* should not be actually translated by the word 'temple' or any other specific term, but that they denote generally 'any work of public utility calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it'. The particular work mentioned as *kīrtti* or *kīrtana* may be a temple or a tank or anything else of a suitable nature (cf. *puskarinī-kīrtti* of the Mandar hill inscription).

the Bengali alphabet used now in Bengal, Assam and Mithila should better be called the Gaudī *lipi* in imitation of the Gaudī *riti* or East Indian style of Sanskrit composition. It is thus difficult to determine whether the temple, to which our epigraph originally belonged, was situated in Bengal or in some part of Bihar. But the case of Bihar is probably supported by the date of the record which is not only given in the Vikrama Samvat, but is also called Rudhīrodgārīn according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter. The use of an era was not popular in ancient Bengal. The Śāka era, popular in the Deccan, was introduced into the country during the age of the Senas who originally belonged to Kārnāṭa in the South. The use of the Vikrama era, however, never became popular in Bengal. Naming the years of the date according to Jupiter's Cycle, Northern or Southern, is also practically unknown in the country. On the other hand, the popularity of the Vikrama Samvat in the U.P., and of the V.S. as well as of the Northern Cycle of Jupiter in the C.P. and Central and Western India is well known. Its influence can also be traced on the medieval epigraphy of Bihar. It is therefore not improbable that the temple referred to in the inscription was situated somewhere in Bihar, at least in East or North Bihar if not in the Patna region itself.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the date of our inscription falls within the reign-period of Sulṭān Sikandar Shāh (1489-1517 A.D.) of the Lodī dynasty of Delhi, who is known to have extended his sway over Bihar. The Sulṭān 'was a furious bigot. He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathura converting the buildings to Muslim uses, and generally was extremely hostile to Hinduism.' See Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 253-54. The fact that the person who was responsible for the construction of the temple and the installation of the *Vigraha* considered it unwise to mention his name specifically in the epigraph may not have been quite unconnected with the anti-Hindu policy of the Government of Bihar under Sulṭān Sikandar Shāh Lodī.

#### Text

1. अब्दे विक्रमभूभूज गुणधरे वाने तथा रूपके पौषे मासि तौथौ स[प्तमके]  
च प-
2. क्षे च वलक्षेतरे । रुधिरौद्गारि-वत्सरे दिने सुरगुरोर्धर्मार्थि(?) -
3. रे सौष्ट श्रीराजधरः सवेष्टरो(?) कौर्त्तिमिमां च कारितं ॥ शुभमस्तु(?)

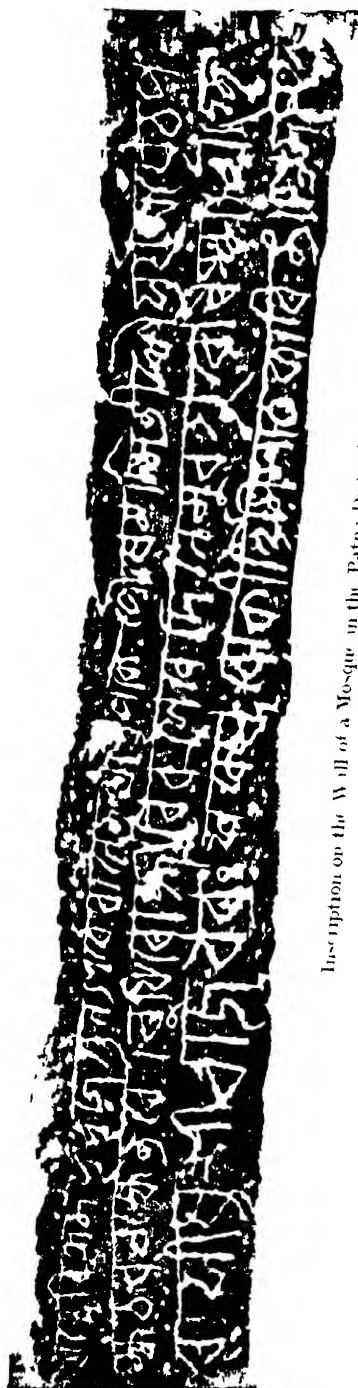
#### Corrected Text

[Metre: Verses 1-2— Giti.]

अब्दे विक्रमभूभूजो गुणे धरे बाणे तथा रूपके ।  
पौषे मासि तिथौ च सप्तमके पक्षे च वलक्षेतरे ॥ १ ॥  
रुधिरौद्गारि-वत्सरे दिने सुरगुरोर्धर्मार्थि तौरे ।  
दृष्टः श्रीराज्यधरः सविष्टरः कौर्त्तिरियं च कारिता ॥ २ ॥  
शुभमस्तु ॥

#### English Translation

The [image of the] illustrious Rājadhara (Rājyadhara?), provided with a coat, has been made as well as this famous work (i.e. temple) has been caused to be constructed on the bank [of the Ganges], for the sake of religious merit, on Thursday, the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Pausa in the Rudhīrodgārīn year [which is] the year of king Vikrama [indicated by] the [three] strands, the [five] arrows, [again] the [five] arrows and the [one] integer. Let there be good fortune.



Inscription on the Wall of a Mosque in the Patna District.





## A STONE INSCRIPTION IN THE PATNA MUSEUM

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.

(Received July 13, 1948)

In December, 1946, scholars assembled at Patna for the ninth session of the Indian History Congress were taken by the local organizers on an excursion to the Patna Museum. An inscribed stone (apparently the pedestal of a broken image), exhibited there, attracted the attention of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who was one of the party of scholars. Shortly afterwards Dr. Majumdar wrote to Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator of the Museum, for a set of estampages of the inscription as well as for permission for the publication of the epigraph. Mr. Shere was gracious enough to comply with the requests and also to supply to Dr. Majumdar the following informations about the stone in a letter dated the 20th September, 1947:—

‘We find from our records that the stone bearing the inscription under consideration was purchased from Mathura some time before 1927. I cannot give the exact year of its acquisition. There are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lines of writing engraved in front of the pedestal covering an area of  $4'' \times 1' 6\frac{1}{8}''$ . From the pedestal, it appears that there was one main figure on it with a smaller figure of an attendant on its right and left. Both the feet of the main figure and those of the two attendants may still be seen on the pedestal; but the right foot of the attendant to the right of the main figure in the centre is completely damaged. The material is spotted red sand-stone of the usual Mathura type. From the broken portion of the bottom of the pedestal, it appears that the whole piece was fixed to another piece of stone. The pedestal, as it now stands, measures as follows: Height 8". Length  $1' 6\frac{1}{2}''$  and Width  $5\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Dr. Majumdar kindly handed over the estampages, received from the Curator of the Patna Museum, to me for decipherment and publication. I take this opportunity to thank him for this act of kindness.

The epigraph actually contains three lines of writing; but the letters of the first half of line 3 have peeled off. A portion of the right hand side of the stone, containing at least two *akṣaras* of line 1 and one each of lines 2 and 3, has also broken away. The script of the epigraph is Brāhmī and the alphabet is the same as that used in the inscriptions of about the first two centuries of the Christian era. Its palaeography shows that the record, like many others discovered at Mathura and the neighbourhood, belongs to the age of the Kuṣānas. The language is Sanskrit; but it is greatly influenced by Prakrit as is the case with many inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period; cf. *vāu* for *vāyu*<sup>o</sup>, *śhāvītā* for *śhāpitā*. As regards orthography, a point of interest is that *v* has been doubled in conjunction with superscript *r*, although *th* has not been similarly doubled. *Bhagavataḥ advitiya*<sup>o</sup> has been made *bhagavato* = *dviṭiya*<sup>o</sup> with the elision of the initial *a* of the second of the two words joined in *sandhi*.

The inscription bears the date: *saṃ 16 va 2 di 15* which indicates *saṃvatsare ṣoḍaśe varṣa-pakṣe dviṭiye divase pañcadaśe*, i.e. ‘on the fifteenth day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the year 16’. The year has no doubt to be referred to the era of the great Kuṣāṇa king Kaniska I. The controversy over the epoch of the Kaniska era is too well known to be discussed here in details. It should, however, be admitted that the writer of

these lines is inclined to agree with those scholars who tentatively identify this reckoning with the celebrated Śaka era starting from 78 A.D. If this identification is accepted, year 16 of the Kaniska era, which is the date of our record, would correspond to 94 A.D. and fall in the reign-period of Kaniska I himself as it covered the first twenty-three years of his era corresponding to the period 78–101 A.D. In the date of inscriptions referring to regnal reckoning, the name of the king was usually mentioned; but, after the adoption of the use of an era, often the year of the era was mentioned as belonging to the reign of a particular king exactly as in the case of a regnal year, although sometimes it was given without reference to the king's name. The private epigraphs of the Kusāna age bear dates sometimes with, but sometimes without, the king's name.<sup>1</sup> When in ancient India the official year was divided into three seasons (of four months each), viz. *grīṣma* (summer), *varṣā* (rainy season) and *hemanta* (winter), the *varṣā* was regarded as commencing on the day following the full-moon of *Āśāḍha* (i.e. the first day of Pūrṇimānta Śrāvana) and ending with the Kārttika-paurnamāsī. See *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 134; Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *vasso*, *vassūpanāyikā*; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 26, 14:

*pūrvo* = 'yaṃ vārṣiko māsaḥ śrāvaṇaḥ sahilāgamaḥ |  
*pravṛttāḥ saumya catvāro māsā vārṣika-samjñitāḥ* ||

The fifteenth day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the date of the inscription would thus appear to correspond to the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvana in the year 94 A.D.

The inscription records the installation of an image of Bhagavān Advitīyapurusa belonging to a *Prāvārika* whose father was one Vāyusena, but whose own name cannot be satisfactorily deciphered owing to a damage in the stone. The remnants of the first *akṣara* of the name and the fact that only two *akṣaras* are possibly lost after it would possibly suggest a name like *Śrīsenā*, *Śrīdeva*, *Śrīgupta*, *Śrīdāsa*, *Śrīdhara*, or *Śrīdatla*. The word *prāvārika* is derived from *prāvāraka* which means 'woollen cloth' or 'a mantle or cloak': cf. Childers, *op. cit.*, s.v. *pavāra*, *pāvāra*; Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *prāvara*, *prāvāra*; Seth, *Prakrit Dictionary*, s.v. *pāvāra*, *pāvāraya*, *pāraya*. Thus *prāvārika* seems to indicate a manufacturer of or dealer in the above things. A Mathura inscription of Kaniska's fourteenth regnal year (?) refers to the installation of an image of Bhagavān Pitāmaha-Samyaksambuddha-Svamata (i.e. the Buddha) by Saṅghilā who was the wife of a *Prāvārika* possibly named Hastin (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 97). Another Mathura inscription (*ibid.*, p. 66) of year 22 of the Kaniska era records the installation of an image of the Buddha in the *Prāvārika-vihāra* which was apparently a Buddhist monastery founded by a *Prāvārika* or, more probably, by the *Prāvārika* community or guild of Mathura.

The image mentioned in the inscription under discussion is said to have been of the lord called Advitīyapurusa (literally, 'one having no second'), apparently indicating the Buddha. In a letter dated the 12th September,

<sup>1</sup> I was so long under the impression that Kaniska's regnal reckoning became an era only when it was continued by his successors. But records, like the present one, with dates falling in Kaniska's reign but without the king's name, may suggest that the reckoning got an era value as early as Kaniska's time. In other words, Kaniska I may have declared the foundation of a new era from the commencement of his reign in order to supersede the older Scytho-Parthian era which I am inclined to identify with the Vikrama Samvat of 58 B.C. This older era seems to have started from the accession of Vonones who founded an independent kingdom in the East Iran region of the Parthian empire about the middle of the first century B.C. and to have been carried to India by the Śakas who had entered the lower Indus valley from eastern Iran.

1947, the late lamented Dr. B. M. Barua wrote to me in this connection: 'In the Pāli *Nikāyas* themselves, the Buddha is extolled as *appaṭi-puggala*, "a person without a compeer", *a-sama*, "one who is unrivalled" and *anopama*, "one who is incomparable", all being synonyms of *advitīya-puruṣa*. Cf. *Dīghanikāya*, II, p. 157: *loke appaṭi-puggalo*; *Majjhimanikāya*, I, p. 386:

*tathāgatassa sugatassa appaṭi-puggalassa a-samassa |*  
*visāradassa nirupamaassa bhagavato tassa sāvako — 'ham = asmi' |*

Of the three figures, whose feet are still noticeable on the stone, the bigger one at the centre no doubt represented the Buddha, while the two smaller figures on his two sides probably represented Śakra and Brahman attending the Buddha in connection with one of the latter's numerous miracles. (Cf. the figures on the Kaniska casket from Shāh-jī-ki-Dherī at the Indian Museum (Calcutta), Plate XXIV, Fig. 89 in Coomaraswamy's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*; also Smith's *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plate 43 (see also Plate 32-D representing the miracle at Śrāvastī).

#### TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION <sup>1</sup>

Line 1 १<sup>2</sup> सं १०(+\*)६ व [२] दि १०(+\*)५ अस्य पूर्वयं वाउसेनपुत्रस्य  
[अ] × ×<sup>3</sup>-

Line 2 प्रावारिकस्य भगवतो[दत्त]ीय[पुरुषस्य] प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठाविता  
मात[पि\*]-

Line 3 ४ × × × × × × × × × × [ज]ननं सर्वसत्त्वहितसुखार्थाय  
भ[व][तु\*]

#### TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे षोडशे वर्षापक्षे द्वितीये दिवसे पञ्चदशे ।  
अस्यां पूर्वायां<sup>5</sup> वायुसेनपुत्रस्य औसेन(?)-प्रावारिकस्य भगवतः अद्वितीय-  
पुरुषस्य प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता । मातापि[त्राचार्योपाध्यायज्ञातौष्ठ-  
बन्धु?]जनानां सर्वसत्त्व[ानाञ्च] हितसुखार्थाय भवतु ॥

<sup>1</sup> From estampages.

<sup>2</sup> Symbol for *siddham* resembling exactly the Brāhmī figure for 1 in the records of the Kuṣāṇa period. The symbol, which resembles the right half of the *akṣara* *th* of about the second century A.D. and is found in many records of the Kuṣāṇa age (cf. *Sel. Ins.*, I, Plate XXVIII, line 1), is not noticed in the epigraph under discussion.

<sup>3</sup> The name, as suggested above, may be conjecturally restored as *Śrīṣena*, *Śrīdeva*, *Śrīgupta*, *Śrīdāsa*, *Śrīdhara* or *Śrīdatta*.

<sup>4</sup> About twelve *akṣaras* have peeled off. Considering the corresponding passage of other Buddhist inscriptions of this type (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 66: *sahā mātā-pīthi sarva-satva-hita-sukhāya*; *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 74, *yad = atra punyam tad = bhavav = ācāry-opādhyāya-mātā-pitr-pūrvāṅgamam kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāśe = anuttara-jñān-āvāptaye = 'stu, etc.*), one may conjecturally restore the words in the lacuna with *pitr-ācāry-opādhyāya-jñātiṣṭa-bandhu-janānām*. There seems to be a *sāpekṣa-samāsa*, which is very frequently met with in early epigraphic literature (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 175, 179, 191, 278, 407), in the passage *sarva-satva-hita-sukh-ārthāya*.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that the word *pūrvā* (i.e., 'above-mentioned') is used in the feminine form suggests that not the *dīvasu* but the *tīthi* was actually intended. The reference thus seems to be to the day with the last *tīthi* of the *pūrṇimānta* lunar month of Śrāvāṇa.

## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[Let there be success.] The fifteenth day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the year 16 [of the Kaniska era]. On the above [date], an image of the lord 'the-person-having-no-second' (i.e. the Buddha) belonging to the Prāvārika Śrīsenā (?), son of Vāyusena, is installed. Let it be for the welfare, happiness and wealth of all creatures [as well as] of the [Prāvārika's] mother, father,.....



Ptolemaeus Museum Inscription of X. or 16 of the Kamsk. I. 14



# VEDIC INDIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

By HARIT KRISHNA DEB

(Communicated by Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji)

(Received June 14, 1948)

Opinion is not yet unanimous in assigning absolute dates to various strata in Vedic literature. Scholars, however, agree in placing the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa at the lower end of the series commencing with the 'family books' of the R̥g-Veda. In the present paper I propose to show that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions rulers of Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia who flourished early in the seventh century B.C. and also alludes to Śiśunāga, of Elamite origin, who ruled about the same time in Magadha according to Puranic testimony. In a previous paper, published in Germany (*Studia Indo-Iranica*, Leipzig, 1931, 'Geiger Commemoration Volume'), I had identified four of the tribes mentioned in the Seventh Book of the R̥g-Veda as allied against King Sudās with four of the tribes who assailed Egypt about 1200 B.C. That paper (revised) is appended hereto for easy reference (pp. 137ff., *infra*).

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 4-3) states that a series of cyclic tales had been designed for recitation on ten successive days to the king who performed the Āsvamedha sacrifice—called the *Parip̥lava*—as tabulated below, with variations found in the Śrauta Sūtras of Sāṅkhāyana and Āśvalāyana.

TABLE				
DAY	KING	PEOPLE	REPRESENTING PEOPLE	TEXT RECITED
1	Manu Vairivasvata	Men	Householders	R̥g-Veda
2	Yama Vairivasvate	Patris	Old men	Yajur-Veda
3	Varuṇa Āditya	Gandhervas	Handsome youths	Atharvaṇa-Veda
4	Soma Vaiṣṇava	Apsarases	Beautiful girls	Āṅgīrasa-Veda
5	Arbuda Kādraveya	Serpents	Serpents, Serpent-knowers	Sarpavidyā Veda
6	Kubera Vaiśravaṇa	Rākṣasas	'Selagas'	Devajanavidyā Veda
7	Asita Dhānya (Sāṅkh: Dhānvana)	Asuras	Usurers	Māyā
8	Matsya Sārimada	Fish	Fish, Fish-killers	Itihāsa-Veda
9	Tārṅgya Vaipaśyata (Āś: Vaipaścita)	Birds	Birds, Bird-knowers or Brahmacārins (Āś.)	Purāṇa-Veda
10	Indra	Devas	Young Śrotriya	Sāma-Veda



It is true that, as pointed out by B. G. Tilak, there is a statement in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa to the effect that the constellation Pleiades (*Kṛittikā Nakṣatra*) does not swerve from the eastern quarter; and this state of affairs can, by astronomical back-calculation, be demonstrated to have been true about 2300 B.C., but could not have been asserted as a fact in the seventh century B.C. It is quite possible, however, that an astronomical position true for 2300 B.C. was retained in a text of c. 700 B.C. out of deference to tradition. In precisely the same way our modern almanac-makers adhere to a system that was true about 1,500 years ago, with the result that we celebrate many festivals upon days calculated by obsolete data.

Amongst these ten 'Kings', some—like Manu, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Soma, and Indra—may be regarded as imponderable entities from the standpoint of history. But the same cannot be said in regard to the others.

#### ARBUDA KĀRAVEYA — ŚĪSUNĀGA

In two papers, published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Volumes 42 and 45), entitled 'India and Elam' and 'Rājasekhara on Śīsunāga', I adduced grounds for thinking that Śīsunāga, also called Śīsunāga, who ascended the throne of Magadha c. 700 B.C. according to Puranic testimony, hailed from Susiana or Elam. His foreign origin is deducible from the tradition recorded in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara that he excluded from the royal harem as many as eight sounds, corresponding to Sanskrit *ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ha, śa, ṣa, and kṣa*, as being 'difficult to pronounce'; the exclusion of *ha* and the cerebral group cannot be explained as due to Prakritic influence but should be regarded as the result of Śīsunāga's hometongue being unaccustomed to these sounds—a feature found in the language of Elam whose rulers bore the epithet *Šušinak*.<sup>1</sup>

Confirmation of the idea is available from the Mahābhārata. There (I. 13) it is related that *Jaratkāru*, belonging to the *Yāyāvara* clan (the clan to which Rājasekhara traces his own ancestry), was prompted by spirits of his ancestors to abandon celibacy and perpetuate their line which would otherwise be extinct with him. Jaratkāru accordingly married a homonymous lady who happened to be sister to *Śeṣanāga*, 'lord of serpents'. In a subsequent chapter (I. 36) we find the legend that the 'snake' Śeṣanāga, abandoning his mother *Kadru*, was roaming about as a recluse in places of pilgrimage (like Pushkara) till the god Brahmā was pleased to invest him with the task of bearing *Mahī* on his head.

Epically enshrined in this legend of Śeṣanāga is the history of Śīsunāga. The two names are word for word identical, for Vedic *Śeṣa* (e.g. in RV. I. 93—*vr̥ṣayasya śeṣaḥ*) carries the same sense ('offspring') as Vedic and Sanskrit *Śīśu*. Both *Śīśu* and *Śeṣa* correspond to (X)ūja or (X)uaja, the name by which Elam is known in Old Persian inscriptions<sup>2</sup>; and O.P. *Xūja-Xuaja* can be restored to Sanskrit *Suvaja* > *svaja*, also connoting 'offspring'. We come across *Svaja* as a snake-name in the Fifth Book of the Atharva-Veda, where another snake-name *Taimāta* also occurs; and *Taimāta* is nothing

<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇas say that Śīsunāga went to Girivraja (Magadha) after placing his son at Benares. Is it any indication that Benares was called *Kāśī* owing to a settlement there of *Kassites* who, we know, occupied the highlands of Elam? The name *Kāśī* (in plural) is met with first in the Paippalāda recension of Atharva-Veda (V. 22. 14) and Śat. Br. (XIII. 5). The name *Magadha* also emerges simultaneously in the Fifth Book of Atharva-Veda, as also snake-names connected with Assyria and Elam.

Regarding the question, how far Puranic testimony on the chronological position of Śīsunāga is reliable when measured up against the Sinhalese chronicles, see my paper 'India and the Persian Empire', *Journal and Proc. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1933, pp. 333-355; esp. p. 343 n., p. 349 n.

<sup>2</sup> Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1941), p. 153.

but the Babylonian-Assyrian *Tiamat* as pointed out first by B. G. Tilak. With reason, therefore, we may connect *Svaja* with *Ēlam*. A similar relationship can be traced between *Vāsuki*, the name borne by the younger brother of Śeṣanāga, with *Bašku*, the Semitic 'serpent'.<sup>1</sup> And it seems likely that the name *Kadru* borne by the mother of Śeṣanāga and *Vāsuki* is related to the name *Gedrosia*, applied by western classical writers to a region roughly corresponding to modern Baluchistan, where Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's fleet on the retreat, found an abundance of deadly snakes—a feature not recorded of any other area.

In the Purāṇas, Śiśunāga is said to have reigned at Girivraja, capital of Magadha. In the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32) we are told that Girivraja was also known as *Vasumatī*, a word literally signifying 'Earth'. In the Puranic enumeration of kings who ruled after the Great War of the fifteenth century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> we find the word *Mahī* (literally, 'Earth') specially employed in connexion with the line ruling at Girivraja; and, noting this circumstance, I remarked long ago<sup>3</sup> that the word *mahī* 'looks like a special designation for Magadha or territory including Magadha'. We are led to think that the legend embodied in the Ādi-parva of the Mahābhārata has converted Śiśunāga, ruler of Girivraja = *Vasumatī*, into Śeṣanāga, entrusted by the god Brahmā with the task of carrying *Mahī* on his head. That Girivraja had intimate associations with Kadru's progeny is archaeologically attested by the 'Maniyar Math' of Rajgir, where the epic link is furnished by a statement in the Sabhā-parva of the Mahābhārata (ch. 21) that the city was a place of residence for the 'snakes' Arbuda, Śakravāpī, Svastika and Maṇināga; for Maṇināga occurs as the name of a brother of Śeṣanāga in the Ādi-parva (ch. 35), and Arbuda, as we shall see presently, denotes Śiśunāga. The epic legend, rationalized, thus leads to the inference that Śiśunāga, whose mother Kadru probably hailed from Gedrosia, left his motherland, went through a period of religious austerities, and ultimately undertook an earthly burden—the burden of rulership over Girivraja, capital of Magadha, alternatively known as 'The Earth'.

*Arbuda* seems to have been an alternative name or epithet of Śiśunāga. Arbuda tops the list of the four snake-names associated with Girivraja in the Sabhā-parva (ch. 21), just as Śeṣanāga tops the list of snake-names in the Ādi-parva (ch. 35). If we compare the two lists, we find only one name—Maṇināga—common. One reason may be that the sources drawn upon were different. In the epic, it is quite usual for important figures to appear under alternative names or epithets. On the historical side, we know that Bimbisāra was also called *Seniya* (Śreṇika) and his son Ajātaśatru had the designation *Kuniya* (Kunika); these alternative epithets occur in different sources appertaining to different religious persuasions—Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jaina. The parallel is legitimate because both Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru were, according to Puranic testimony, descendants of Śiśunāga who had flourished less than two centuries earlier.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sayce, *Records of the Past*, N.S., Vol. VI, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Deb, 'When Kurus fought Pāṇḍavas', *Journal and Proc. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1925, pp. 211ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeits. f. Indologie u. Iranistik*, 1922, p. 254, footnote 1; the paper was reprinted with revisions in *Jour. Benares Hindu University*, Vol. 8, pp. 163ff.

<sup>4</sup> The termination *-sāra* in the name *Bimbisāra* seems to go back to Babylonian *šar* ('King'). Its un-Indic character is shown by its extreme rarity in Indian royal names. The only name with this ending that comes to mind is *Vindu-sāra*, son of Chandragupta Maurya—who, as a scion of the Earlier Nandas (*pūrva-Nanda-suta*), would have Śiśunāga's blood in his veins. For Chandragupta's descent from the high-born Earlier Nandas, see my paper in *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1918; and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938 ('The Kautilya Arthaśāstra on Forms of Government'), pp. 166–179. The view was accepted by Vincent Smith.

The appropriateness of 'Arbuda' as a name or epithet of Śīsunāga will be evident from the circumstance that Nearchus, who is authority for the statement that Gedrosia was full of deadly snakes, writes of the *Arabitai* that they dwelt next to the Oritai and the Gedrosioi. In Ptolemy's Geography also we find it stated that the *Arbita* Mountains run through Gedrosia and that the maritime area was 'possessed by the Arbitai'. If, therefore, Śeṣanāga's mother Kadru hailed from Gedrosia, her eldest son might well be called *Arbuda*.

It is significant that the name Arbuda is borne by Mount Abu, the highest peak of the Aravalli Range, which is also a well-known hill-station near its southern fringe, being an isolated spur on that range with a very high altitude. We may recall the epic statement (Mbh. I. 36) that Śīsunāga practised austerities at Pushkara, a place of pilgrimage near Ajmere on the northern fringe of the Aravalli Range. The Skanda Purāṇa (Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa), where the emphasis lies on places of pilgrimage, pictures Śeṣanāga as advising his 'brother-snakes' (who had been cursed by Kadru) to repair to the range of Arbuda Mountain (*Arbudācala*) which is described in such terms as to suggest that it was regarded as a pleasant retreat in safe surroundings. Strategically, intruders from the highlands of Elam would prefer to operate with some hill or hill-range as a *point d'appui*; and the Aravalli Range would be a suitable choice. 'The Range of hills which runs between Ajmere and Nasirabad marks the water-shed of the continent of India. The rain which falls on one side drains into the Chambal, and so into the Bay of Bengal' (*via* the Jumna); 'that which falls on the other side into the Luni, which discharges itself into the Runn of Cutch'. (Art. 'Ajmere-Merwara' in *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed.)

The tradition that Śeṣanāga was also known as 'Arbuda' has left its trace on the Mahābhārata account. In closing the list of Kadru's progeny (I. 35; I. 52), as well as in opening the list (I. 57), the statement meets us that they numbered several '*arbuda*'-s, which recalls one of the higher units of enumeration, *arbuda* denoting 10,000,000 as early as the Yajurveda Saṁhitās. We find in the Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra that a unit of enumeration very much higher than *arbuda* is called *ananta*, and a unit in between these two is denominated *samudra*, and still another is designated *salila*.<sup>1</sup> The psychology behind this nomenclature is clearly the conception of vastness as suggested by the 'waters' (*salila*), the 'ocean' (*samudra*), the 'heavens' (*ananta*), and the 'swelling earth' as *arbuda* seems to have denoted primarily, if we may judge by its secondary meaning 'swelling or tumour' or by its application to Mount Abu and the 'Arbita' mountains in Gedrosia.<sup>2</sup> If we study the nomenclature of the numerical series through the 'classical period' down to the days of Alberuni<sup>3</sup> (eleventh century A.D.), we shall find the name *arbuda* replaced by the word *koṭi*, likewise signifying 'the climax', in rhetorical nuance, probably related in etymology to Skt. *kūṭa*, 'apex, peak'. We shall further find that the numerical series includes names like *śaṅkha*, *padma*, *mahāpadma*, which are borne by brothers of Śeṣanāga as set out in the epic (I. 35). There can thus be no doubt that tradition recognized a relationship between names proper to vast numbers and proper names appertaining to Kadru's sons. Arbuda, son of Kadru, is, however, not mentioned as such in the epic list (I. 35), despite the claim made there that the list contains every important name. The omission calls for explanation. The epic account (I. 36) terminates, we may observe, with the

<sup>1</sup> *Vedic Index*, s.v. 'Daśan'.

<sup>2</sup> I have observed tumour-like earth-swellings in the Garo Hills area (Susang).

<sup>3</sup> *India* (Sachau), I. 75.

statement that Śeṣanāga, being endowed by Brahmā with hoods (*bhoga*) numbering an *ananta*, was dwelling in the underworld as *Ananta*. Mythology had obviously already transformed 'Arbuda' into 'Ananta': *arbuda* ('ten millions') was felt to be too weak a word to denote his new dimensions as bed of Viṣṇu and had to be replaced by nothing short of *ananta* ('ten billions') conformably to numerical nomenclature going back to the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra. The lexicographer Amara remembers Śeṣa as *Ananta* and marks him out as 'lord of *Kādraveyas* or *Nāgas*'. If, in mythological elaboration, Śeṣanāga is pictured as lying on the waters or the ocean to serve as a couch for Viṣṇu, the feature merely recalls his old association with *salila* and *samudra* as denominations of numbers, higher even than *arbuda*, his first appellation.

In Vedic literature, a special importance attaches to Arbuda Kādraveya ('son of Kadru'). He figures as Grāvastut ('eulogist of *grāvan*, i.e. Soma-pressing stones') at a snake-festival (*sarpa-satra*) in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (XXV. 15). According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, *Grāvastuti* ('eulogy of Soma-pressing stones') was introduced by him, and its magic effect had to be curbed later on by recitation of a mantra (Rig-Veda I. 97. 16) which must therefore have been composed after Arbuda who was, according to both the Aitareya and the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas, a composer of mantra himself. Indeed, we find one hymn of the Rig-Veda (X. 94) ascribed to him; its subject-matter is Grāvastuti. The same subject-matter characterizes two other entire hymns—X. 175 and X. 76—said to have been composed respectively by Urdhva-grāvan Ārbudi and Jaratkarna Airāvata Sarpa. Ārbudi is obviously a patronymic denoting 'son of Arbuda', and Jaratkarna Airāvata Sarpa can be reasonably related to the 'snake' Airāvata named as a brother of Śeṣanāga in the Mahābhārata (I. 35, 36); the designation *Jaratkarna* being probably a second name comparable to the name *Jaratkāru* borne by his sister otherwise known as Manasā.<sup>1</sup> A short hymn (Rig-Veda X. 189) is ascribed to Sarpa-rājñi. According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, her hymn is said to have endowed the Earth with variegated vegetation; according to an opinion recorded in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1), Sārpa-rājñi is this very Earth; and the glossator Mahīdhara identifies her with Kadru. Tradition thus attributes the authorship of four hymns of the Rig-Veda—all of the tenth or latest Maṇḍala—to personalities of royal rank traceable in the epic account, namely, *Kadru*, her sons *Arbuda* and *Airāvata*, as also Arbuda's son *Ūrdhvagrāvan*. It seems probable that the tenth Maṇḍala was put together shortly after Arbuda or even in his lifetime. His double status, as king and hymn-composer, would have entitled him to incorporate in the sacred Vedic canon many hymns not yet so incorporated. His particular rôle as Grāvastut would moreover appear to indicate that the ninth Maṇḍala, consisting solely of hymns dedicated to Pavamāna Soma, came into existence under his auspices; in its trio of terminal hymns (IX. 112–114) we notice three remarkable characteristics—the occurrence of the Babylonian term *nanā* signifying 'mother',<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> 'Of all the snake godlings Manasā in Bengal holds the foremost place. She is worshipped by all castes to secure immunity from snake-bite.' (T. C. Hodson, *India, Census Ethnography* (1901–1931), New Delhi, 1937, p. 81.) Possibly, the advent of Śiśunāga to the Magadhan throne was accompanied by the introduction of people skilled in dealing with 'deadly snakes' from his motherland, Gedrosia. This would account for the appearance of *Sarpa-vidyā-veda* in connexion with Arbuda Kādraveya for Pāriplava tale-telling.

<sup>2</sup> The word *nanā* occurs in hymn 112 ascribed to *Śiśu*. Should we identify him with Śiśunāga? The hymn was originally a secular poem; it was converted into a hymn to Soma by borrowing the refrain *indrāyendo pariṣarava* from hymns 113–114. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa was, according to Śatapatha Br., contemporary with Yājñavalkya.

occurrence of the name *Kaśyapa*, and the description of Heaven which topically connects the ninth and the tenth Maṇḍalas. It is interesting to note in the present context that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa explains how, owing to the Grāvastuti-hymns being like *manas* ('mind'),<sup>1</sup> the Grāvastut-priest proceeds to utter them without any directives from the *adhvaryu*, unlike the other priests—a circumstance showing the Grāvastut's independent status, as well as the supplementary character of his functions.

A special connexion between Kadru and the Soma-cult can be inferred from the expression *tri-kadruka* employed in six hymns of the R̥g-Veda (II. 11, 15, 22; I. 32; X. 14; VIII. 92). Macdonell and Keith (*Vedic Index*, I. 329) take *tri-kadruka* to denote 'three vessels of some kind for holding Soma'. When we remember that wares originally produced in China are still called 'China-ware' even if they are manufactured in England, and a type of table-cloth now designated 'Damask' owes its name to Damascus where it originated, we should not be surprised if the name *Kadruka* adhered to Soma-vessels originally pertaining to the homeland of Kadru (= Gedrosia).

Between Vedic Soma and Avestic Haoma scholars have long admitted identity. Bloomfield<sup>2</sup> calls it the earliest milk-punch on record. The Parsees of Kerman (= ancient Carmania) point out a particular plant as their traditional Haoma. According to the Avesta (Yasna IX), Haoma was first produced by *Vivaṅhao*, and then by his son *Yima*. According to the Vedas, Soma is similarly associated with *Vivasvat* and his son *Yama*. In Iranian tradition, Yima remains ruler in an earthly region for a long time; he is known as *Yima Kshaeta* ('Ruler Yima') and later as *Jamshid*. He was remembered in the Middle Ages as having dwelt at *Assan*, a district of *Tuster* (mod. 'Shuster'), identified by Sayce<sup>3</sup> with the ancient *Anzan* or *Anshan* where Susian kings called 'Susinak' reigned. If this tradition may be trusted, we can understand how Śiśunāga, otherwise known as Arbuda Kādraveya Sarpa, whose fatherland was the abode of Yima = Yama, could take such an active interest in the Soma-cult as to compose a hymn in praise of Soma-pressing stones preserved for us in the R̥g-Veda (X. 94), and his example was followed by his son Ūrddhragrāvan Ārbudi and his brother Jaratkarna Airāvata Sarpa. We have seen that Arbuda initiated the practice of praising Soma-pressing stones according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. And an Iranian source of his inspiration is indicated by the circumstance that similar adoration to mortar<sup>4</sup> is recorded in Vispered XIV for recital during Haoma-preparation.

I have stated above that it was probably under the auspices of Arbuda (Śiśunāga, also known as Śiśunāka in the Mātṣya Purāṇa), that the ninth Maṇḍala of the R̥g-Veda came into existence. The word *Śiśu* as applying to Soma occurs in many hymns there; but it occurs in conjunction with the

The epithet *upala-prakṣiṇī* applied in Śiśu's hymn to *nanā* links him up with Grāvastuti through the element *upala* which, in the variant form *upara* ('stone'), occurs only thrice in the R̥g-Veda—in X. 94, X. 175, and I. 79—ascribed respectively to Arbuda, Ārbudi, and Gotama Rāhūgaṇa; the last-named being also author of I. 97, 16 discussed above ascribed to Kaśyapa—a course showing that Śiśu was probably related to Kaśyapa and enjoyed a privileged position.

<sup>1</sup> Can this have anything to do with the name *Manasā* applied to the sister of Arbuda-Śesanāga?

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Veda*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> The Iranians used mortar for pressing Haoma. In R̥g-Veda I. 28 there is adoration to mortar-and-pestle. That hymn, however, is omitted from the group (I. 24ff.) ascribed in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII) to Śunahṣepa for securing his release from the bonds by which he was bound to the stake. Subsequently, he is requested to 'complete' the ceremony with oblations to Soma, and thereupon he utters *inter alia* the R̥iks comprised in I. 28.

word *nāka* in hymn 85, towards the close, clinching the hymn by a change of metre. The position suggests that a punning reference to the name *Śiśunāka* is intended:—

*nāke* suparnam upapaptivāmsam giro venānām akripamta pūrvih.  
*Śiśum* rihanti matayah panipnataṁ hiranyayam śakunam kṣāmaṁ  
 sthām. (Cf. X. 123.)

Such a pun would be in keeping with the punning refrain in respect of the family-name *Nabhāka* in hymns 39–42 of the eighth Maṇḍala, as well as with the similar refrain in respect of the name *Vimada* in hymns 20–26 of the tenth Maṇḍala. Secret (*guhya*) names, we must remember, were current in Vedic circles for gods and even for cows, as attested by hymns 87 and 95 of the ninth Maṇḍala—both proximate to hymn 85 where I propose to see an allusion to the name *Śiśunāka*. We know that, in Vedic and classical Sanskrit, *nāka* signifies ‘firmament’, ‘Heaven’, and Vedic Soma is often described as *amṛta* and as ‘King of the World’. The constant oscillations which the word *Soma* undergoes in Vedic ideology, from Heaven to Earth and from Earth to Heaven, will entitle us to look out for an earthly counterpart to the *nāka* as well as to the *Śiśu* figuring in the hymn cited above. The connexion of *Śiśu* with Soma should also be viewed against another background. In one hymn of the Rig-Veda (III. 43. 5) the composer prays to Indra for making him a king (*rājan*) as ‘protector of the people’ (*gopā janasya*), while in another (IX. 35. 5) the composer calls Soma ‘protector of the people’ (*gopati janasya*).<sup>1</sup> Verily therefore could this *Śiśu* of *nāka* be regarded as an earthly king. The Iranian tradition locating the abode of Yima = Yama in Assan should lead us to place the earthly counterpart to this *nāka* or ‘firmament’, wherefrom this *Śiśu* or Soma-Haoma came, in the country of *Šušinak*. Such placing receives confirmation from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (III) story (*ākhyāna*) relating to Suparna describing how, in successive efforts made to bring Soma from Heaven, the ‘snake’ *Svaja* was born. *Svaja*, as I have (p. 122, *supra*) pointed out, occurs as a snake-name in the Atharva-Veda side by side with the snake-name *Taimāta* corresponding to Babylonian *Tiamat*, and corresponds to Elam known to Darius I under the name *Xuraja* or *Xūja*. It is interesting to observe that, in this *ākhyāna*, Soma is brought by the ‘metre’ Gāyatri after the metres Jagatī and Trīṣṭubh had failed; and, in the hymn IX. 85, the stanza referring to Suparna, *Śiśu*, and *nāka* employs the Trīṣṭubh metre after the Jagatī metre had been tried out in the preceding stanzas. The story asserts the transformation of the metres into Suparna. It will thus be legitimate to read this legend along with the Rig-Vedic hymn IX. 85, the more so because the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa appertains to the Rig-Veda. Finally we should remember that underneath every pun lies a perception that one word may have more than one meaning; that this perception was very keen in the later Vedic period, the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Upanishads amply testify.

Another epic link between *Śeṣanāga* and *Susa* is furnished by a description of the Court (*Sabhā*) of Varuṇa set out in the *Sabhā-parva* (ch. 9) where the several Nāgas associated with Varuṇa are brothers of *Śeṣanāga*. Varuṇa, as Vedic and Avestic scholars are aware, is pre-eminently a god of moral order or *Rita*; and *Rita* corresponds to old Persian *Arta*—a conception belonging to the ‘Indo-Iranian period’. As I pointed

<sup>1</sup> There is no difference between *gopā* and *gopati* here; see *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 269, n. 2.

out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> there is a reference to *Suṣā Vāruṇī* in an old astronomical chapter (124) of the Matsya Purāṇa setting out its estimated local time-difference with other places in precisely the same manner as Varāha Mihira sets out a local time-difference between Rome and Laṅkā; both estimates being necessitated by the transference into India of foreign astronomical ideas, in the one case Chaldaean, in the other case Graeco-Roman. *Suṣā*, described therein as the 'beautiful city of Varuna' (*Varuṇasya purī ramyā*), can only be Susa, capital of Elam, famed for its magnificence; it was maintained as the chief residence of the Achaemenian kings from Darius I. Another chapter (141) of the Matsya Purāṇa operates exclusively with astronomical data derived from Vedic literature; and very naturally we find therein the term *Sinivālī*, doubtless connected with the Babylonian Sin and Baal, which occurs also in Vedic literature (See *Vedic Index*, s.v. *Sinivālī*).

By identifying Śisunāga of the Purāṇas with Śeṣanāga of the Mahābhārata we are enabled to trace an important phase in the development of Indian philosophy. The epic names the only son of *Jaratkāru* (sister of Śeṣanāga) as *Āstika*. We feel called upon to identify him with the Upanishadic Ārtabhāga *Jāratkāra* (= 'son of Jaratkāru') because no other son of Jaratkāru is known. Why he was called *Āstika* will be apparent when we analyse a statement in the Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (iii. 2. 13) setting out a talk between him and Yājñavalkya to the following effect: Ārtabhāga<sup>2</sup> asks Yājñavalkya, what remains of man after death, if his different parts (eyes, etc.) go into fire, wind, sun, moon, space, earth, ether, plants, trees, water. By a private discussion they decide that when body and soul (*Ātman*) go, what remains is *Karma*; in other words, man continues to exist, even after death, in his *Karma*. This is exactly the foundation of *Āstika* philosophy which believes in 'existence' (from root *as* 'to exist') as distinguished from *Nāstika* philosophy which teaches that nothing remains after death. We have an exposition of Nāstika philosophy by Jābali, a Brāhmaṇa, in the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 108) which closes with the advice to Rāma after Daśaratha's death: *na nāsti param ityetaṁ kuru buddhim*, 'believe that there is no life after this life'; and the commentary called 'Tilaka' fully recognizes this meaning of *Nāstika*. Even as late as the eleventh century A.D., we find Vijñāneśvara, in his gloss to Yājñavalkya Smṛiti (III. 236), explaining *nāstikyam* as *nāsti paraloka ityādyabhiniवेशah*. Likewise, Kulluka in his gloss to Manu Smṛiti (IV. 163) interprets *nāstikyam* as *nāsti paraloka iti buddhim*. The commentator Kṣīrasvāmin (eleventh century A.D.) similarly explains Amara's lexical text (*mūhyādṛiṣṭīr nāstikatā*) as follows: *mūhyādṛiṣṭīḥ paralokābhāvabuddhiḥ nāsti paraloka iti matiryaśya*.

The relationship between *Karma* and *Nāstika* is recognized alike in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts. For instance, in Manu Smṛiti (III. 65) we read of *nāstikyam karmaṇām* where *Nāstika* is explained by the glossator Kulluka as: *śāstrīyaphalavat-karmasu phalābhāvabuddhiḥ*. Buddhist sources

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B., 1933, pp. 313-15. See also my art. 'The Hindu Prime Meridian' in *New Review* (Calcutta), March 1938, pp. 274ff. The four places mentioned in Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 124), namely, Amarāvati, Samyamana, Suṣā, and Vibhāvari, correspond to the 'Courts' of Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, and Kubera of Mahābhārata, Sabhā-parva, ch. 9.

<sup>2</sup> I have elsewhere (J.A.S.B., 1925, p. 210 n.) suggested that the name Ārtabhāga has an Iranian look, and the epithet 'Jāratkāra' stands reasonable comparison with 'Zarathushtra'; cf. the names 'Devabhāga' and 'Suṣā' borne by astronomers mentioned in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III). The Mbh. (I. 54) represents Āstika as a strict adherent of *ṛta* (corresponding to old Persian *arta*).

offer analogous comment when they say: *n'atthi sukaṭadukkaṭāṇām kamma-nām phalam vipāko*.<sup>1</sup>

We can now assess at a higher value the testimony of Rājasekhara concerning Śiśunāga's harem cited above. Close kinship between the families of Rājasekhara and Śiśunāga would alone account for the intimate nature of the details concerning linguistic legislation initiated by Śiśunāga in his own seraglio. And it so happens that Rājasekhara's *Yājñavalkya* ancestry implies descent from Āstika whose mother was sister to Śiśunāga = Śeṣanāga; for Āstika was the only son of Jaratkāru, the *Yājñavalkya* Ṛishi who married in order to save that family from extinction, as the epic story explicitly asserts. Transmission of true tradition would, under such circumstances, be facilitated; and Rājasekhara's evidence, although coming long after the age of Śiśunāga, might plausibly be deemed at least as trustworthy as the evidence of Bāna concerning Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

Āstika's chronological position as determined by his identity with Ārtabhāga Jāratkarava of Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad as a contemporary of Yājñavalkya agrees remarkably with his position as deducible from the identity of Āstika's maternal uncle Śeṣanāga with Śiśunāga of the seventh century B.C. For, as I have argued elsewhere<sup>2</sup> on independent grounds, Yājñavalkya is assignable to the same period. There should be no difficulty in explaining how Āstika, of the seventh century B.C., came to be associated in Mahābhārata with Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, belonging to the fourteenth century B.C. The epic itself states (I. 1. 52) that it had 'three commencements', one of which is *Āstikādi*, 'beginning with (the story of) Āstika', another commencement being with the story of Uparicara; and the *Āstika-parva* as a whole is inserted before the story of Uparicara, proving that it was in its entirety a later addition. The resulting anachronism is reflected in the further statement (I. 53) that Uddālaka and (his son) Śvetaketu—both contemporaries of Yājñavalkya—attended the snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit. In the same manner, the epic (I. 122) presents us with Uddālaka and Śvetaketu as having preceded even Pāṇdu; and, if in a proximate chapter (I. 128) we find an account of Bhima's encounter with Vāsuki (brother of Śeṣanāga), we only feel that figures flourishing in the seventh century B.C. have been lifted up in a group to a much higher antiquity for epic exigencies.

#### ASITA DHĀNVA = ESARHADDON

The 'people' associated with this king are termed *Asuras*, i.e. in all probability *Assyrians*, whose way of speech is censured in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2. 1) as a *Mleccha* way; and the same treatise asserts (XIII. 8) that they had enclosed cemeteries where their corpses were hidden. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VIII. 8. 5) refers to their custom of adorning dead bodies. The *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* (III. 2) and several Hindu *Dharmaśāstras* refer to the *Asura* form of marriage as one characterized by payment of price for the bride; the *Arthaśāstra* (III. 12) adding that 'it was no offence for *Mlecchas* to sell or pledge their own children'. We are reminded of the Babylonian-Assyrian custom of selling out brides as attested by Herodotus (I. 196) who wrote in the fifth century B.C. when classical writers were

<sup>1</sup> Tucci, *Procs. First Indian Philosophical Congress*, Calcutta University, Calcutta, edited by Satish Chandra Chatterjee (1927), p. 39. The Buddhistic notion of *karma* conforms more to the Upanishadic sense than the Brahmanical notion of a later age. I assign the *Manu Smṛiti* to the first century B.C. and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* to the first-second century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1925, pp. 205ff. ('Mede and Madra') See also p. 131, *infra*.



speaking indiscriminately of Babylonians and Assyrians. The custom of adorning dead bodies, stated in the Chând. Up to prevail amongst 'Asuras', is reminiscent likewise of the Egyptian-Assyrian custom; and, when the Assyrians under Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal occupied Egypt (between c. 670 and c. 655 B.C.) an Egyptian institution could well be regarded as *Asura*, i.e. Assyrian.

No reasonable doubt will remain if we analyse a statement in the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra (XII. 1):.

- Trayo'bhiyoktāro dharmāsuralobhavijayina iti.
- Teṣām abhyavapattyā dharmavijayī tuṣyati.
- Tam abhyavapadyeta.
- Pareṣām api bhayāt bhūmidravayaharanena lobhavijayī tuṣyati.
- Tam arthenābhyavapadyeta.
- Bhūmidravayaputradāraprāṇaharaṇena asuravijayī.
- Tam bhūmidravvābhyām upagrihya agrāhyaḥ pratikurvīta.

#### TRANSLATION

'(There are) three (kinds of) invaders: *Dharmavijayī*, *Lobhavijayī*, *Asuravijayī*. Of these, the *Dharmavijayī* is satisfied with assistance in distress. He should be assisted in distress. From his enemies, also, out of fear, the *Lobhavijayī* is satisfied with robbing lands and goods. He should be helped with money. The *Asuravijayī* (is satisfied) with robbing lands, goods, sons, wives, and lives. Him one should counteract, without being won over, with conciliatory offers of lands and goods.'

This characterization of *Asuravijayī* answers perfectly to conquests by Assyrian conquerors like Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, as revealed in their own records. That the Kauṭīliya classification of 'Invaders' into three classes—*Dharmavijayī*, *Lobhavijayī*, and *Asuravijayī*—antedates Aśoka (third century B.C.) will be evident when we recall that Aśoka in his inscriptions bestows quite a different meaning on the term *Dharmavijaya*, namely, conquest of a people's mind by instilling moral precepts, and these inscriptions were given extraordinary publicity.

Thus, the *Asuras* alluded to as a people in Indian literature during the period extending from the composition of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Chândogya Upaniṣad to the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra are none other than the Assyrians.

On general grounds we may fix upon the period covered by the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (B.C. 705-668) as one during which the most intimate contacts between Assyria and India could be presumed to have taken place. From external evidence on the Assyrian side, we can at most conjecture indirect contact with India in the ninth century B.C.; for the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (B.C. 829) gives representations of the Indian elephant and the two-humped Bactrian camel. Indian also may have been the ivory and elephant-skin which this king received as 'tribute' from the king of 'the maritime country' when (B.C. 852) staying on the shores of the Persian Gulf.<sup>1</sup>

Of Sennacherib (B.C. 705-680) we know from his own records that he 'made a Hittite portico to his palace and sent far and wide for foreign plants and trees to stock his gardens. Most prized by him were "the trees that bear wool" from which the Assyrians sheared cotton for weaving garments. His description of the plant is precisely similar to that of Herodotus (III. 106).'<sup>2</sup> We find Herodotus (III. 106) describing 'the

<sup>1</sup> Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. IV, pp. 52, 58, 67, 69, 79.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. W. Johns, *Ancient Assyria* (Cambridge 1912), p. 133.

trees that bear wool specifically in connexion with India,' adding that 'the Indians make their clothing from these trees'; and an exclusive association of Indians with garments made of cotton occurs in Herodotus (vii. 65) where he gives a detailed pen-picture of Xerxes' army. We may infer that Sennacherib imported cotton-producing 'trees' from India.

Esarhaddon, the successor of Sennacherib, I propose to identify with *Asita-Dhānva* of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. His name occurs as *Asaridinos* in Ptolemy's Canon.<sup>1</sup> We should not be led away by the apparently Sanskritic look of the name *Asita-Dhānva*. We know that the foreign name 'Alexander' occurs as *Alīka-Sudara* in one of Aśoka's inscriptions which likewise mention 'Antigonos' under forms (*Amīlekina*, *Amīlekini*) going back to 'Antigenes' rather than the correct original. Assimilation must have played a large part in rendering foreign names. Regarding the name *Asita-Dhānva*, it is possible that 'Asita' meaning 'black' is a synonymous substitution for 'Asura' in view of the statement in the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā (4. 2. 1) that Asuras were born out of the breath (*asu*) of Prajāpati when he had almost become black as a result of pregnancy; and the same authority associates Asura with night.<sup>2</sup> The name *Esarhaddon*, corresponding to Assyrian *Assur-akhi-iddina* and Greek *Asaridinos* is thus brought into sufficiently close phonetic relationship with Indic *Asita-Dhānva* for a plausible identification, with collateral evidence in support.<sup>3</sup>

Classical tradition believed in Assyrian rule over Indians dwelling between the rivers Indus and Kabul shortly before c. 700 B.C. Arrian says (*Indica*, I. 1. 3) that 'the Indians between the rivers Indus and Cophen (= Vedic *Kubhā*, mod. *Kabul*) were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally submitted to the Persians and paid to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the tribute that he imposed on them'. This statement has been cited by Prof. A. V. Jackson in the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. I, p. 332), and corroborative evidence has been brought forward to prove Cyrus' dominion over this region. Regarding the *Medes*, who preceded the Persians, I sought to show in a paper entitled 'Mede and Madra' published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1925, pp. 205ff.) that they are the same people as are designated *Madra* in Indian literature. More particularly, we find it stated in the Brihadāranyaka Upaniṣad (III. 7), which is the 14th Kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, that Uddālaka Āruṇi went to the land of the Madra-s for studying sacrifice; and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, in a portion which speaks of Uddālaka Āruṇi, alludes to 'northern Madra-s' as dwelling 'beyond the Himālayas' (*pareṇa Himavantam*) and enjoying a form of government (*vairājya*) akin to Greek 'aristocracy'.<sup>4</sup> The same form of government characterized the Medes during the first half of the seventh century B.C. as may be inferred by combining data derived from Herodotus and from Assyrian and Persian inscriptions. Since Arrian's sources locate the Medes in the same area, and they had the same peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Sayce, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 12. Upon the dynastic tablets of Babylon (pp. 14-15, *ibid.*), we notice the name *A-dara-kalama* which may be compared to *Ālāra-kalama* or *Ārāda-kalama*, the name of the Buddha's teacher at Vaiśālī (Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 18). The Indian form *Asita Dhanvan* may seem to be nearer to the Assyrian name *Assur-danin* borne by more than one Assyrian monarch; but identification on that ground alone would not be justified, in view of the analogous case of Aśoka's 'Amīlekini', going back phonetically to *Antigenes* but historically to *Antigonos*.

<sup>2</sup> V. K. Rajwade, art. 'Asura' in *Proc. and Trans. of First Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> In the Assyrian canon (Sayce, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117) 'Danānu' figures as *limmu* for B.C. 680 preceded by the entry 'Esarhaddon sat on the throne'.

<sup>4</sup> See my paper 'The Kautilliya Arthaśāstra on Forms of Government' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938, pp. 167ff., for fuller discussion on the *vairājya* form of government.

form of government as the Madra-s of the age of Uddālaka Āruṇi, and the period contemplated by those sources must be comprised between the rise of the Median Deioces (*Dāyukku*) c. 713 B.C. against Assyrian rule and the adoption of monarchy by the Medes under Cyaxares (*Huvakhshathra*) c. 628 B.C., we may infer, firstly, that Medes ruled there in the seventh century B.C., and secondly, that they were preceded by the Assyrians in the same region. The name *Āsuri*, borne by an authority on ritual and dogmatic who figures frequently in the Śatapatha Br., seems to show that the palmy days of Assyria were not yet over. Āsuri is stated in a Varṇa-list of the Brihad. Up. to have been a pupil of Yājñavalkya and teacher of *Āsurāyana*: such names are not found afterwards.

#### MATSYASĀMMADA = MESESIMORDAKOS

The prescription that 'Fish' must be brought in on the day assigned to the king Matsyasāmmada for the cyclic tale-telling termed *Pāriplava* (literally 'Deluge') in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and which assigns the first day to Manu himself whose Deluge-legend occurs for the first time in its first Kāṇḍa shows that we may look out for Babylonian links in respect of this monarch. Many scholars have already suggested that the Indian Deluge-story derives from Babylonia, trade with which country is directly referred to in the Bāveru Jātaka. Chaldaea's traditional history, as preserved through Alexander Polyhistor, Eusebius, etc. (who drew upon Berosus who, in turn, had access to original records), is bound up with legends of Fish-men followed by a Deluge about which her king had been forewarned. I propose therefore to identify *Matsyasāmmada* with the Chaldean king called *Mesesimordakos* in the Ptolemaic Canon. Archaeologists call him *Mushezib-Marduk*. About 700 B.C. when Bel-Ibni, the Babylonian vassal-king set up by Sennacherib, laid claim to the imperial title *šar kiššati*, Mushezib-Marduk joined hands with him against the Assyrians but, being worsted, had to seek refuge in the marshes. He emerges as king of Babylonia about 692 B.C. He fought a great battle with Sennacherib at Khalule, east of the Tigris, 691 B.C. He counted amongst his allies *Parsua* (Persia) and *Puqudu* who would appear to have dwelt in the Baluchistan region, being identifiable with the *Pactyes* of Herodotus (VII. 67-68) associated in point-of equipment with *Myrians* (people of Mekran), *Utians*, and *Paricanians*. But his chief ally was Elam which gave most trouble to Sennacherib. The highlands of Elam, her control of the Sealand, and perhaps also the presence of the Elamite prince Śišunāga on an Indian throne, helped Mesesimordakos to retain his hold over Babylonia for some-time longer. And, although his career was short, his heroism and attachment to Elam probably endeared him to Indian eyes.

Another link between the king Matsyasāmmada and the region known as Babylonia is provided by the prescription that 'fish-killers' (*matsyahanah*) must be brought in on the day reserved for him in the *Pāriplava*. Herodotus (I. 200; III. 17ff.) reports the existence of 'fish-eaters' (Ichthyophagi) in two regions—one among the Babylonians, another in the neighbourhood of Ethiopia. Nearcho, as we may gather from Arrian and Strabo, speaks of Ichthyophagi resident in a region somewhat west of the river Indus, below Gedrosia, that is to say, in the same locality where Herodotus (III. 94) had located 'Asiatic Ethiopians'. It seems likely that there was a chain of 'fish-eating' colonies settled along the western shores of the Red Sea extending across the coasts of Arabia, Carmania and Gedrosia to the frontiers of India, as represented by Agatharchides (c. 116 B.C.). But we cannot accept without reserve the theory

they they all belonged to the same race, being akin to the Ethiopians with whose language, according to Herodotus (III. 19), the African Ichthyophagi had special acquaintance. Against the circumstance that Agatharchides' position as tutor to a Ptolemaic monarch at Alexandria afforded him opportunity to secure accurate information concerning peoples in close touch with that emporium of commerce, we must set the fact that his writings have come down to us chiefly through excerpts by Photius who flourished in the ninth century A.D. Moreover, on the particular topic of the Ichthyophagi, he is demonstrably wrong when he says that they all lived wholly on fish, and did not possess boats or even nets to catch them, but were dependent therefore on the shores by the receding tide<sup>1</sup>; for the Ichthyophagi on the Indian side, at any rate, we have the testimony of Nearchus that they caught their fish by nets made from palm-bark.<sup>2</sup> Nearchus gives other particulars about them, e.g. that they dry their fish in the sun, pound them in bone-made mortars, and make a kind of bread with this fish-powder—which agree very remarkably with what Herodotus (I. 200) relates about the Babylonian Ichthyophagi. It will therefore be reasonable to infer that the 'Fish-eaters' dwelling below Gedrosia were of the same stock as the 'Fish-eaters' inhabiting Babylonia. They precisely were the people from whom the Indians and the Babylonians could have derived much knowledge of one another; and tales concerning the Babylonian king Mesesimordakos may well have reached India through them, which would account for the provision that on the day devoted to king Matsyasāmmada 'fish-killers' must be present. This would also explain the assimilative transformation of the Babylonian monarch's name into a form with *Matsya* (= 'fish') as its first element. It remains to add that Babylonia's traditional method of recording *history* is reflected in the prescription that *Itihāsa-Veda* must be the 'text recited' on the day marked out for Matsyasāmmada.<sup>3</sup>

#### TĀRKṢYA=TEARKON

We are now in a position to claim that the king called *Tārksya*, who figures on the 9th day of the Pāriplava scheme of story-telling, is none other than *Tearkon*, known as *Tirhaka* in the English Bible, king of Ethiopia and Egypt in the early seventh century B.C., a contemporary of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. His epithet *Vaipaścita* (= *Vaipaśyanta*) shows that he was son or descendant of *Vipaścita*, an epithet denoting 'Wise'. In a R̥g-Vedic hymn (X. 177) the word *vipaścita* occurs; and, curiously enough, the very next hymn (X. 178) names a *Tārksya* who may possibly though not necessarily be the same as our *Tārksya*—a possibility supported by the circumstance that a proximate hymn (X. 189) is ascribed to Sarpa rājōi who, as suggested above (p. 125, *supra*), may have been the queen-mother of Arbuda Kādraveya Sarpa. However this may be, we can hardly hesitate to acknowledge that *Tārksya* had a near predecessor—perhaps his father—in a ruler with the surname 'Wise'. There is a tradition, on the Egyptian side, preserved by the Greeks, that Bocchoris, who ruled in Egypt shortly before Tearkon, was known as 'Wise'. According to Egyptologists, the evidence so far analysed does not establish more than that Bocchoris

<sup>1</sup> Bunbury, *Hist. of Anc. Geography*, Vol. II, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India* (1901), pp. 82-3.

<sup>3</sup> See TABLE *supra*. Can *itihāsa* be connected with Gk *ἰθὺς*, 'fish'? Yavanas are said to have lured away Kākavarṇa, son of Siśunāga, in Bāna's *Harṣa-carita*. Ionians fought a naval battle with Sennacherib; see C. H. W. Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Alexander's Indian campaign brought him into touch with peoples claiming affinity with the Greeks and resident in India since the days of Dionysus and Herakles. And Alexander is reported to have admitted such affinity.

ascended the throne about 718 B.C., and that *Tarku* (as inscriptions call Tearkon) accompanied the king to the North-land (Egypt) in 712 B.C. when he was 20 years old, and remained there through the two reigns of Shabak and Shabatak who are said to have intervened between Bocchoris and Tearkon. This would make Tarku come to Egypt after Bocchoris the Wise had reigned there for six years (B.C. 718-712), which is his reign-period according to Africanus, leading to the inference that Tarku-Tearkon succeeded to Bocchoris the Wise about 712 B.C.

In the Mahābhārata-legend concerning the birth of Śeṣanāga we come across an account of the birth of Garuḍa, his step-brother, otherwise known as *Tārksya*. The legend appears to bespeak a recollection of relationship between Śiśunāga and Tearkon.

In the fourth century B.C. ancient histories of India spoke of the conquering expedition of the Ethiopian king Tearkon. This is a legitimate inference from a statement by Strabo (XV. 6): 'How can any just confidence be placed in the accounts of India derived from such an expedition as that of Cyrus or that of Semiramis? The same view is taken by Megasthenes, who enjoins us to put no faith in the *ancient histories of India*. No army, he says, was ever sent beyond their border by the Indians, nor did any foreign army even enter and conquer their country except the expeditions of Herakles and Dionysos and the later invasion of the Macedonians. Yet Sesostris the Egyptian and *Tearkon the Ethiopian* advanced as far as Europe . . . . . but none of all these conquerors approached India, and Semiramis died before her enterprise was undertaken. The Persians did indeed summon the Hydrakai to attend them as mercenaries but they did not invade India, but only approached its frontiers when Cyrus marched against the Massagetai' (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 11-12. The italics are mine). The context shows that Megasthenes and Strabo are impugning the trustworthiness of the 'ancient histories of India' with the intention of establishing the proposition that, after Dionysus and Herakles, no foreigner invaded India until the Macedonian invasion—not even the Persians who, we now know, conquered Punjab and Sind already before 500 B.C. It is not impossible that the 'invasion' and conquest by Tearkon was of the type termed *dharma-vijaya* in the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra (XII. 1) discussed above.

In favour of identifying Tārksya with the Ethiopian-Egyptian king Tearkon is the prescription that *Birds* must be brought in on Tārksya's day for the Pāriplava. Ethiopia is even to this day famous for birds of plumage; and the Nile valley also abounds in birds.<sup>1</sup> One Ethiopian bird—the ibis—was held sacrosanct in Egypt. Herodotus (II. 65) records that whoever killed an ibis in Egypt would be put to death. In Egyptian picture-writing, the ibis ideographically represents 'Soul'. Egypt's general attitude towards birds is reflected in the circumstance that birds loom large in their developed hieroglyphic writing, current through millennia, for expressing religious or ethical notions. We cannot help recalling that, in the Egyptian 'alphabet' of 24 letter-signs, there are only three birds, and these three represent the sounds *a*, *u*, and *m*—precisely the sounds which compose the syllable *Om*, considered so sacred in the Indian Upaniṣads. Devotion to *Om* as a symbol of *Brahman* is insisted on at the very commencement of the Chāndogya Up.; and the central doctrine of Upaniṣadic philosophy is the identity of *Brahman* with *Ātman* or 'Soul'. The

<sup>1</sup> Pliny in his *Natural History* (Bk. X. 2(2)) says: 'Ethiopia and India, more especially, produce birds of diversified plumage' (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 1901, p. 117). No wonder, therefore, that men there adored birds and associated winged beauty with divinity.

ancient Ethiopians and Egyptians who believed, like the ancient Indians, in transmigration of souls, were also very probably devoted to *Om* as a symbol of *Ātman*.

The provision in the Āśvalāyana Śr. Sū. that Brahmacārins may represent the 'people' on the day devoted to Tārksya thus acquires an unsuspected significance. The word *Brahmacārin* occurs in Rīg-Veda X. 109—a late hymn. *Brahmacārya* as a mode of life essential to a Brāhmaṇa is not yet established even in the early Upaniṣads. Its indispensable concomitants—**begging** and **sexual chastity**—are striking characteristics of Ethiopia. Begging is commended by the haughtiest Abyssinians. Eunuchism, from the viewpoint of racial psychology, can be held to have its home in Ethiopia: there is reason to believe that the Bagirmi-country in central Africa, wherefrom came most of the eunuchs, is largely peopled by immigrants from Ethiopia. To what extent it was practised in Egypt may be gauged from the fact that the term 'eunuch' came to be applied there to any court-officer, whether a *castratus* or not.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that Egypto-Ethiopian psychology has shown itself particularly propitious to the sacrifice of sexual enjoyment by permitting the practice of castration on an extensive scale through centuries. Its moral value had been proved in Persia already five centuries before Christ, since Herodotus testifies that eunuchs were prized there for their fidelity. A religious motive for castrating oneself is alluded to in the New Testament (Matth. XIX. 12): '... there be eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake'. A famous example is Origen, a Christian writer born in Alexandria (Egypt) towards the close of the second century A.D., who studied Indian philosophy and knew Egyptian sages.<sup>2</sup>

For the Indian evidence we may first turn to Asoka's Pillar Edict V wherein the king forbids castration of certain animals on certain days; the sense of 'castration' being expressed by such words as *nīlakhiyati*, *nīlakhiṭa-riya*, that is, by a privative (= Skt. *nir*) attached to a root corresponding to Skt. *lakṣ*. In Sanskrit usage, *nir-lakṣana* literally signifies 'without mark', i.e. 'without mark of sex'. When, therefore, in Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (III. 2. 4) we come across the passage: *n'āyam ātmā balahinena labhyo na ca pramādāt tapaso n'āpyaliṅgāt*, we feel that the term *a-liṅga* should be interpreted as equivalent to *nir-lakṣana*, even as *liṅga* is equivalent to *lakṣana*, both words denoting 'mark, sign', or (secondarily) 'mark of sex'. The context condones this inference; for Muṇḍ. Up. III. 2. 1-2-3 clearly contemplates re-birth through the medium of semen (*śukra*) as the lot of people given over to *kāma*. We arrive at the same conclusion if we go back to the source of the parallel and proximate Muṇḍaka passage: *n'āyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo* . . . (III. 2. 3) which is a direct quotation from Kāthaka Up. (II. 23); for, in that Upaniṣad also, Yama offers to Naciketas, as a last resort, choicest women for his service besides wealth and long life, so that conflict with *kāma* is there also heavily underlined, and man's desire for woman occupies the forefront. It would appear therefore that attempts had been made already in the early Upanishadic period—possibly earlier—to avoid this desire by *a-liṅga tapas* or 'sex-less austerity'. But the idea did not prosper with the Indian thinkers as an effective mode of self-control. What was sought to be achieved by surgical operation in Africa was attained

<sup>1</sup> Articles 'Abyssinia' and 'Eunuch' in *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India* (1901), p. 184; art. 'Origen' in *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed.

Mr. Ajit Uday Mitra draws my attention to the following entry in the *Bible Dictionary* (Oxford University), s.v. 'Eunuch': '... The word sometimes merely means a high official at court (the Ethiopian eunuch was the queen's treasurer).' Potiphar of Gen. 37. 36 is called a 'eunuch of Pharaoh's'.

by the Brahmacārin's mode of life in India. Mental training and judicious dieting helped to keep in the background every upsurge of sexual instinct; the method fitted itself easily into a scheme of life wherein race-propagation by marriage after a period of *brahmacarya* was enjoined as a religious necessity. Those who remained celibates throughout life were called *naishika* Brahmacārins. That *brahmacarya* was an exotic cult would seem to follow directly from the circumstance that the pupil had to betake himself to a *guru* or teacher; only exceptionally could the *guru* be his own father, as in the case of Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka Āruni.

Combining these data, and recalling how Akhenaton the Egyptian monarch who (c. 1400 B.C.) revived worship of the Sun as *Aton* in a monotheistic sense and laid special stress on Truth, we may plausibly infer that the Upanishadic cult characterized by worship of *Ātman* (identified with the Sun) against a monotheistic background with a conspicuous emphasis on Truth, was of Egypto-Ethiopian derivation. Akhenaton's step-mother *Gilukhipa* bears a name comparable to *Gurukṣepa*, the name of a nearly contemporary Ikṣvāku monarch—a comparison drawn by me in 1921 and accepted by Flinders Petrie as 'another Indo-Aryan link with Naharain'.<sup>1</sup> Probably, the 'Solar' Ikṣvāku dynasty had racial affinities with the Pharaohs of Egypt: the bodies of two Ikṣvāku kings—Nimi and Daśaratha—are recorded to have been embalmed, contrary to Indian practice but conformably to Egyptian. Thus, about 1400 B.C., Egypto-Ethiopian ideas may have gained access to Eastern Indian courts in the wake of a religious ferment occasioned by the zeal of Akhenaton. The ideas then remained confined to royalty as an esoteric cult (*rahasya*) till the seventh century B.C. when Brāhmanas like Yājñavalkya welcomed them with suitable modifications inside the Vedic religion. If so, the story of the Rāmāyana may perhaps be linked more closely with the Homeric epos than has hitherto been possible. For, as I have shown in my 'Vedic India and Minoan Men' (pp. 137ff., *infra*), King Sudās had to fight against some of the peoples who invaded Egypt c. 1200 B.C.—precisely the traditional period of the Trojan war; and his contemporary, Rāma, waged war with the *Paulastyas* who are identifiable with the *Pulasatiu* figured on Egyptian monuments as warring against Ramessu III. We can hardly avoid thinking of Rāma without thinking of *Ramessu*; and it seems possible that the historical conflict between Ramessu and the Philistines, which occurred near about 1200 B.C., formed the foundation for the Homeric epos as well as the Indian epos centring round the name of Rāma. The Buddhist tradition, embodied in the Daśaratha Jātaka, lacks all trace of his conflict with Rāvana—a circumstance which Jacobi explained as the result of deliberate pruning for Buddhist didactic needs. Our present Rāmāyana is aggressively against the Buddha, to whom it refers by way of pun (. . . *yathā hi corah sa tathā hi buddhaḥ* . . .),<sup>2</sup> and its account appears to have been evolved in

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Egypt* (1922) Gilukhipa came of a Mitannian royal family devoted to worship of Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and the Nāsatyas, as attested by inscriptions discovered at Boghazkui. An east-to-west culture-current is not excluded.

<sup>2</sup> Ayodhyā Kānda, ch. 109. The expression *tathā hi buddhaḥ* primarily means 'minded like that', i.e. in the way stated. The double entendre was clearly a current device when this passage was composed; we find the device used profusely in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, an anthology comparable to the Rig-Veda in form though not in intention. If, as is possible, the chapter (109, Ayodhyā Kānda) vilifying Buddha was added to the original epic kernel during his lifetime (i.e. before 544 B.C.) as implied by its rancorous tone against Buddha as a person, then we shall have to place the composition of the original before 600 B.C. when Kośala was powerful and a court-poet could flourish there by writing out an epic on a theme that would interest the ruling (Ikṣvāku) dynasty. Jacobi's views are admirably set forth in his *Das Rāmāyana*.


bardic circles typified by the personalities designated *Kuśa* and *Laba* (Lava) who are represented as Rāma's sons to whom transmission of his history is due. We can hardly fail to recognize here a clue to the historical door whereby the story of Ramessu III's fight with the Philistines and other tribes may have effected entry into Indian soil: *Kuśa* corresponds to *Kush*, a name of Ethiopia, and *Laba* corresponds to *Labu* or *Libya*. These two would thus be eponymous figures (like Turvasu, etc.) behind whom lies hidden the source of the Rāmāyana. We must not forget that the Rameses-dynasty was succeeded by rulers of Kushite and Libyan origin, and that Tarkon came from Kush.

## APPENDIX

### VEDIC INDIA AND MINOAN MEN

(See p. 121, *supra*)

#### I

Ever since inscriptions mentioning the gods Indra, Mitra, Varuna and the Nāsatyas, belonging to c. 1400 B.C., were discovered by Winckler at Boghaz Kui, a village in Asia Minor, students of antiquity have felt themselves obliged to look upon the civilization pictured in the Vedas as in some special manner related to the regions bordering on the Mediterranean. A study of the symbol , known by the name *svastika*, occurring amongst Bronze Age finds at Hissarlik and elsewhere in the Aegean area as a prevailing motif, led me to conclude that it was nothing but a monogrammatic representation of the mystic syllable *om*, held sacred by the Vedic Indians; two Brāhmī *o*'s being superposed crosswise to denote the long (*pluta*) sound of the vowel *o* in the syllable *om*.<sup>1</sup> What I then called Brāhmī *o*, I am now inclined to designate proto-Brāhmī *o*; for, a further study of the Indian alphabet has convinced me that the fully-developed Brāhmī we find employed in the earliest known Indian inscriptions had an antecedent history into the details of which I do not propose to enter now. It has, however, long been recognized that definite resemblances are perceptible between certain Brāhmī letters and certain letters of the so-called Phoenician alphabet, exemplified in the Mesha Stone, implying at first sight a partial dependence at any rate of the one upon the other. Since, however, the differences are as great as the resemblances, the dependence has to be referred to a period anterior to the eighth century B.C., the date usually adopted for the introduction of writing into India. This date was first worked out by Buhler (*Indian Studies*, III) whose theory of a Mesopotamian channel for the transmission of the alphabet hangs by a slender thread. The unconvincing nature of the proofs adduced by Buhler has already been pointed out by a learned authority.<sup>2</sup> At all events, it is no longer possible to deny that the doors of communication between India and the Western world were kept open even prior to the first millennium B.C.

Archaeological research in Asia Minor and the adjacent Aegean area has of late years been very rich in result. A distinctive civilization going back to an exceedingly remote period has been brought to light. It was born in Crete; and Sir Arthur Evans, who made the discovery, has distinguished the several stages of its evolution under well-defined Periods, not inappropriately styled 'Minoan'. The Minoan Age, as defined by Evans, includes the entire Bronze Age.<sup>3</sup> Cretan influence, operating

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1921, pp. 331ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Encycl. Brit.*, art. 'Alphabet'.

<sup>3</sup> J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, p. 173.



naturally, at the beginning, upon regions nearest to Crete, became widespread only after about 1600 B.C. A set-back to the progress of this civilization is associated with the sudden destruction of the palace at Cnossus, shortly after 1400 B.C. In the age that succeeds ('Late Minoan III'), 'the culture as a whole, though following a lower level, attains the greatest amount of uniformity'.<sup>1</sup> To the same period is ascribed the first contact of Minoan culture with the west coast of Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> 'About 1000 B.C. there happened a final catastrophe. The palace at Cnossus was once more destroyed, and never rebuilt or re-inhabited. Iron took the place of Bronze.....Cremation took the place of burial of the dead.'<sup>3</sup> Scholars have conjectured that this two-fold change was brought about by an incursion of northern tribes, possessed of iron weapons and practising cremation, remembered in Greek tradition as 'the Dorians', who maintained aristocratic aloofness from the peoples they conquered.

Philological research had, already in the days of Max Müller, tended to establish a date near 1200 B.C. for the early stratum of the Rig-Veda. That remains the usually accepted date. Unanimous opinion places the composition of the tenth book in the latest stratum; and the matter, if not the form, of the Yajurveda Samhitās is considered to belong to the same epoch. When, therefore, we find that cremation is first referred to in the tenth book of the Rig-Veda, and that iron occurs for the first time in the Yajur-Veda, we only feel that Oriental philology has found a hand-maid in Occidental archaeology. Indeed, we are entitled to suspect that the race or races which, with sword and fire, swept across the Aegean area, introducing iron and cremation, not long before 1000 B.C., must have effected entry into India, at about the same period.

## II

Corroboration of the view that Mediterranean peoples gained access into India towards the close of the second millennium B.C. is afforded by a hymn of the Rig-Veda (VII. 18). The hymn refers to the heroic fight of Sudās against a formidable alliance. There are four tribes, included in the alliance, bearing names traceable, on Egyptian monuments, as names of tribes who fought in combination against Mineptah and then against Rameses III, a few years on either side of 1200 B.C. These are known to Egyptologists as: *Shekelesh*, *Ekwesh*, *Teresh*, and *Weshesh*. Since Egyptian writing shows no vocalization,<sup>4</sup> these spellings are adopted for convenience in pronunciation; the actual vocalization in each case being determined by collateral evidence. The *Shekelesh*, for instance, have been identified with the people, who gave to Sicily her name, called *Sikelos* in Greek and *Siculus* in Latin. Upon the basis of this identification, we can vocalize *Shekelesh* to *Shi-ku-lu*, the slight variation between the Gk. and Lat. forms in the second syllable showing probably that its vowel was a short *u*, liable to be represented by Gk. *ε*. And, as Egyptian writing does not distinguish between *r* and *l*, we may read the name as *Shi-k<sup>u</sup>-ru*. Amongst the tribes allied against Sudās, we find the name *Šigru*, which, with *svarabhakti* as in other conjunct *r*'s, can be pronounced as *Ši-g<sup>u</sup>-ru*. The transformation of *k* to *g* is so common in Indic and other languages that we need feel

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Evans, art. 'Crete' in *Encycl. Brit.*

<sup>2</sup> Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> D. G. Hogarth, art. 'Aegean Civilization' in *Encycl. Brit.*

<sup>4</sup> See, however, the 'Addendum' to this article where the position is further discussed on the basis of hieroglyphic representations of the names furnished by Sir Flinders Petrie.

little hesitation in identifying *Shi-k<sup>\*</sup>-ru* with *Ši-g<sup>\*</sup>-ru*. The *Ekवेश* have likewise been identified with the 'Achaeans' (Gk. *Achaioi*, Lat. *Achivi*), and we may recognize them in the Vedic *Yakṣu*, the name of a tribe comprised in the confederation against Sudās. It will be observed that, in both these identifications, of *Shekelesh* with the Siculi and of *Ekवेश* with the Achivi, the terminal *-sh* fails to count and should thus be properly regarded as signifying the plural number. In regard to *Teresh* and *Weshesh*, accordingly, we are called upon to prove correspondence, in our identifications, with the first two syllables. It has been proposed to connect the *Teresh* with the Etruscans, which would necessitate the vocalization of the first syllable as *Tu*. Now, there is one name, *Turvaśa*, amongst the enemies of Sudās, that connects itself with both the *Teresh* and the *Weshesh*. That the name *Turvaśa* probably denotes not one tribe but an amalgam of two—*Tur* and *Vaśa*—follows from several considerations. The separate existence of a *Vaśa*-tribe, at a somewhat later epoch, is attested by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 14, 3) where they are located in *Madhyadeśa* and associated with *Kurus*, *Pañcālās*, and *Uśīnaras*. They are also alluded to, in connexion with the *Matsyas*, in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (IV. 1).<sup>1</sup> The separate existence of the *Tur*-tribe may likewise be inferred from the name *Turvaśavas* occurring in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (IX. 4, 10), just as the name *Kuru-śravaṇa* in *Ṛig-Veda* X. 33, 4, has been considered by scholars to connect him with the *Kuru*-tribe. The form *Turva*, found in *Ṛig-Veda* X. 62, 10, probably represents a side-form of *Tur*, just like *Krivi* by the side of *Kuru*; so that *Turva* plus *Vaśa* became *Tur-Vaśa*, by haplology.

It is interesting to observe how the tradition that the *Turvaśas* were of foreign origin is preserved in the *Purāṇas*. The oldest of them, called *Matsya* (perhaps for some special connexion with the *Matsya*-tribe, associated, as we saw, with the *Vaśas*), agrees (ch. 35) with the *Mahābhārata* (I. 85) in stating that from *Turvasu* were descended the *Yavanas*. *Turvasu* is obviously the eponymous ancestor of the *Turvaśas*. He is represented as one of the five sons of King *Yayāti* who wanted to transfer for some period his senility to each son in turn and ultimately succeeded in persuading only one of them, *Puru*, to accede to his proposal. *Puru*, of course, is the eponymous ancestor of the *Purus*. All versions of the legend agree in asserting that, upon the refusal of *Turvasu*, his father cursed him to rulership over *Mlecchas* or foreigners, with unorthodox ways of life. The accounts relate, further, that the line of *Turvasu* failed shortly afterwards and became merged in the line of *Puru*. This means, in the language of legend, that the *Turvaśa* tribal combination, originally foreign, had a brief career in India, and ultimately coalesced with the *Purus*. A break-up of the combination is attested not only by the separate existence of the *Vaśas* in the later Vedic age, but also by the disappearance of the name *Turvaśa*, as denoting a tribe, from later Vedic literature, except for a solitary reference in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 5, 4, 6) where, however, the sense is uncertain. The combination existed two generations earlier than *Sudās*, if, as is probable, *Divodāsa*, whose fight against the *Turvaśas* is alluded to in *Ṛig-Veda* IX. 61. 2 and, was the grandfather, not the father, of *Sudās*. On the Egyptian monuments, however, the component tribes, *Teresh* and *Weshesh*, are still unamalgamated, the latter figuring in the attack on *Rameses III*, while the former appear among the invaders pertaining to the previous reign. The requirements of chronology are satisfied if we suppose that a part of the great wave of migration which shook Egypt

<sup>1</sup> The *Matsyas* figure along with *Tur-vaśa* in the fight against *Sudās* in *Ṛig-Veda*, VII. 18.

twice within a few years of 1200 B.C. reached India synchronously, much as the Hun migration at a later epoch simultaneously overran Asia and Europe. And the Tur-Vaśa combination was effected either on the way (if a land-route be imagined) or after their arrival in India. Divodāsa would accordingly have to be placed somewhat later than 1200 B.C.

### III

Yet another tribe figuring on the Egyptian monuments appears to have secured access to Indian soil about the same period. This is the *Peleset*, a tribe arrayed along with the Weshesh and others against Ramses III. Their identity with the *Philistines* of the Bible is well-established. Scholars vocalize the name variously: *Pulishka* (Myres), *Purasati*, *Pulasati*, etc. It is difficult to avoid connecting the name with *Pulastya*, the (eponymous) ancestor of Rāvaṇa, with whom Rāma of Ayodhyā had, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, an epic conflict. The periods tally; for, the events of the Rāmāyaṇa are stated therein to have taken place during the lifetime of the Vedic rishis, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, etc., who flourished in the age of Sudās. That the original rishis, and not their descendants, are intended admits of no doubt. One case will suffice. Viśvāmitra, about whose real, individual existence no suspicion has been entertained, is called in the Rāmāyaṇa 'a son of Kuśika'—an appellation corresponding precisely to his pedigree and denomination in the Ṛig-Veda (III. 33. 5; III. 53. 7. 12). Misunderstanding there could not be; for, the grammarian Pāṇini, writing his grammar at a period not far removed from the period of composition of the Rāmāyaṇa in its original form,<sup>1</sup> lays down a rule (IV. 3. 103) recognizing the distinction between Kauśika, the rishi, and Kauśika, the non-rishi. Nor is there any reason to imagine that the author of the epic committed a wilful anachronism by synchronizing the Rāma-Rāvaṇa conflict with the hymn-composing rishis of the age of Sudās.

Egyptian archaeology combines well with Indian tradition in support of the Pulasti = Pulastya equation. On the Egyptian monuments, the Pulasti people are seen with what has been regarded as a peculiar head-dress, of felt or of feather, which makes them look very much like men with all the *hair standing upright* on the head. I have a suspicion, however, that what appears to be the head-dress of the Pulasti is no head-dress at all, but merely a mode of coiffure. Being unable to see the originals myself, I wrote to Professor Myres in 1922. The learned professor's reply could not resolve my doubts, as 'the representations are all rather rough, and most of them are small'. Whatever the truth may be, the fact that the Pulasti head has the *appearance* of a head with upright hair is important as providing a clue to its ethnographic affinities. Indeed, it is this characteristic in a pictographic symbol occurring on the Phaestos disc that has earned for it the denomination of 'Pulasti head' from archaeologists. If, therefore, the Pulasti = Pulastya equation be correct, we shall be justified in expecting an allusion to this characteristic in Indian traditions respecting the race. Such an allusion is fortunately to be found in the Purāṇas. The Vāyu Purāṇa (ch. 70), for instance, has handed down a traditional description of the Paulastya 'Rākṣasas' who, by the way, are distinguished by physical features from three other varieties of 'Rākṣasas'. Among other characteristics, as moulded by nature (*svabhāvena vyavasthitam*), the Paulastyas are said to possess round eyes, a brown colour, an ample physique,

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 136, n. 2, for a suggested date of Rāmāyaṇa. I place Pāṇini c. 500 B.C.

a corpulent waist, a wide mouth, and a head with hair standing upright like blades of *muñja*-sprouts (*muñjadhūmorddhvamūrdhajāh*). This account of the Rākṣasas closes, be it noted, with an acknowledgment (v. 63) that it is derived from earlier accounts 'remembered by the wise'; and the goblin-features attached thereto must be the result of a distortion normal to popular transmission. What is noteworthy is that essentially human elements persist in the picture. The traditional picture of the Paulastyas thus coincides, in one characteristic feature, with the monumental representation of the Pulastis.

Although we possess no direct evidence that a tribe bearing the name Pulasti existed in the Vedic age—and the Rāmāyana story places them in Southern India, away from the homeland of the Vedas—strong indirect evidence of its existence is available. The word *pulastin* already occurs in the Yajur-Veda, and has been understood to denote one wearing the hair plain, as distinguished from *kapardin*, denoting one wearing the hair in braids.<sup>1</sup> The denotations cannot, in either case, be primary; for, neither the word *pulastin* nor the word *kapardin* can be connected with any Vedic word-elements so as to elicit these meanings etymologically. We can hardly resist the inference that the denotations were derived secondarily. In the case of *pulastin*, it becomes easy to understand how, since there was a race denominated *Pulasti*, characterized by a mode of coiffure or a head-dress that looked very much like a mass of upright hair, a similar way of wearing the hair came to be designated 'the *pulasti* way'. For *kapardin*, a parallel explanation does not, at first sight, appear probable. If, however, we look into the Bible, we may derive some light. There, frequently, we come across the Philistines. And there, too, we stumble upon the Caphtors. The Philistines are, of course, the *Pulasti*-race. Do the Caphtors represent the *Kapardi*-race? The resemblance in form between *Caphtor* and *Kapardi* is impressive enough. Instead of the consonants *ka-pha-ta-ra*, we have the consonants *ka-pa-ra-da*. For the *pha*, we can readily substitute *pa*, on the analogy, so near at hand, of *Pulasti* for *Philistine*. A metathesis of the last two syllables would yield the form *ka-pa-ra-ta*, which could easily pass into the form *ka-pa-ra-da* by the simple substitution of *da* for *ta*—a substitution analogous to the change of *k* to *g* in the name Sigru, as shown above (p. 138).

The Caphtors have been connected with a tribe called *Keftiu* on Egyptian monuments. They were a Minoan people. The Egyptians represent them (Rekhmire) as wearing their hair in braids. This characteristic, which distinguishes them from other races portrayed on the monuments, compels us to think of a connexion between *Keftiu* and *Kapardi*. Here, obviously, is the tribe whose mode of wearing the hair gave rise to the Vedic word *kapardi*, in the same manner as *pulasti*. And, since ways of wearing the hair were then, as now, important characteristics differentiating one race from another, we should conclude that the *Tytsu*-clan to which Vasiṣṭha probably belonged, described as 'white-skinned' and 'wearing their hair in braids' (Rig-Veda, VII. 33, 11 and 83, 8), should be considered Keftian in origin. Their intrusive character is revealed by the Vedic characterization of them as white-skinned. The fact that the *Kapardi* Vasiṣṭha plays the rôle of magician-helper to King Sudās, rather than that of an actual fighter, accords well with the unwarlike and friendly character of the Minoan visitors to the Egyptian court who are designated the *Keftiu*. When and how the *Keftiu* immigrated into India we cannot determine at present. But it may be noted that they cease to figure on Egyptian monuments

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. 'Pulastin' and 'Kapardin'.



been either *I* or *U*, assuming that one of the three primary vowels—*A*, *I*, and *U*—is intended, and *A* being ruled out by the consideration that it is shown after *K* and would have been shown before it, if intended.<sup>1</sup> By similar reasoning we may infer that a vowel, either *I* or *U*, has been omitted between *R* and *SH*. A more precise restoration of the missing vowels can, with some degree of confidence, be effected by comparison with the Gk. and Lat. forms *Sikelos* and *Siculus* which would lead back to the forms \**Sikala*, \**Sikulu*, \**Sikula*, or \**Sikalu*, the last conforming most to the hieroglyphic representation which we may read as SH(I)KAR(U)SH. Analyzing the Vedic form *Śigraras* as nominative plural of \**Sigru*, we find that it may be equated with the Egyptian form by (i) Svarabhakti, or interposition of the vowel *a* between *g* and *r*, (ii) Substitution of *k* for *g*, (iii) Declension of stem \**Sigru* as a masculine *u*-stem like *madhu*, avoiding, as alternatively provided, a *guṇa* of the terminal *u* in nominative plural. The phonological correspondence between four of the tribes who assailed Egypt c. 1200 B.C. and four of the tribes who made a combined attack on King Sudās as mentioned in the R̥g-Veda is thus fully established.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the omission of the short vowel after *L* in *LKA*.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

**THE VERTICAL MAN.** A Study in Primitive Indian Sculpture. By W. G. ARCHER. Illustrated. Pages 120. Allen and Unwin. Price Rs.12-6-0.

Mr. Archer, the acknowledged authority on the peoples of Bihar, has chosen for his study the figures set up by the Ahirs of that Province in honour of their cattle-god, Bir Kuar. It is he who protects the buffaloes and causes them to increase and multiply, and if an animal fails to come into heat in due season the owner will promise to erect a wooden or stone image in honour of the god if he remedies the weakness. The ceremonies held when images are installed conclude with the remarkable 'dance of the cows', at which a pig is trampled and gored to death.

The purpose of the images, namely, to reward Bir Kuar for his favour, is therefore clear and the author proceeds to discuss their style in relation to that purpose. There are, in fact, two styles depending on whether wood or stone is used, the material being largely determined by what is readily available in a particular area. Both styles, in the author's view, spring from what he calls 'a will to vital geometry', that is to say, to a geometry in which the horizontal line is associated with the recumbent and passive, the vertical line with the energetic and strong, angles with the hard and brutal, roundness with vitality and fruitfulness, and so forth. In Ahir figures the vital human form is given geometric distortion to intensify its power. This is true vital geometry.

All critics will not agree with the author's conclusions. Some may argue, for instance, that art, which is based on free sentiment, must inevitably and always be opposed to the fixed axioms of mathematics, or that the primitive sculptors and carvers of Bihar cannot be held to have a *will* to anything as abstruse as vital geometry and that the geometrical forms which the figures exhibit more truly correspond to the curves and straight lines of children's drawings. But the fact that the book is controversial enhances rather than detracts from its interest, especially as it has the supreme merit of containing all the evidence and so of enabling every reader to form his own conclusions. The account of the myth and ritual of Bir Kuar, without an understanding of which the figures are meaningless, is admirably full and clear and, unlike those in many books, the illustrations really do illustrate; not one is superfluous and yet the series is complete enough for the reader to base on them his own judgment on every point of style.

In his preface Mr. Archer aptly compares the contrast between the parish church and cathedral styles of architecture in England with that between temple and peasant sculpture in India. The art of the great monuments of India has long received attention, but by producing this book on living village art the author has led the way into a new field. May others follow him.

J. P. MILLS.



*Saṅgītarāja* of KĀLASĒNA (Mahārāṇā Kumbha), Vol. I, *Pāṭhyaratnakosha*. Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1946. Pp. lix + 106, one plate.

*Saṅgītarāja* is a voluminous work dealing with the various branches of musical science. It is divided into five sections, such as *Pāṭhyaratnakosha*, *Gītaratnakosha*, *Vādyaratnakosha*, *Nṛītyaratnakosha*, and *Rasaratnakosha*. It is only the first of these sections that is edited here by the eminent Sanskritist Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. There are several manuscripts of the work in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, of which No. A is the only complete copy known. The present edition is chiefly based on it, though the editor gives his readers some details about the other fragmentary copies in the Preface. In the colophon of the manuscript A, one king Kālasēna is described as the author of the work. The learned editor has put forward sound reasons both in the Preface and in the elaborate Introduction to prove that the name Kālasēna was a wilful substitution for Kumbhakarna. Mahārāṇā Kumbha's name as the author of the work occurs in many of its incomplete manuscript copies in the Bikaner State Library. Dr. Raja suggests that the substitution of the author's name was made in a methodical way sometime after Kumbha's death, just to dissociate the memory of the august king from the work later used 'by the people (the actors and actresses) employed in the theatre attached to the royal court'.

Mahārāṇā Kumbha was a great patron of the Fine Arts. The many architectural and sculptural remains in Chitorgaḍh and other localities of Mewar belonging to his time testify to the skill and excellence of the contemporary artists of Rajputana. In his court lived Maṇḍana, the eminent Rūpakāra of mediaeval times, with his two sons Jaita and Saita. Kumbha was also a reputed author with many works to his credit, such as, *Rasikapriyā* (a commentary on *Gīta Govinda*), *Sudaprabandha*, a commentary on *Chandīsataka* and others. The *Saṅgītarāja* not only shows his literary attainments and poetical skill but also proves him to have been an authority on music and other allied arts. He thus kept up the tradition of a Bhoja, a Samudragupta, and the traditional Vikramāditya.

The Bikaner State has done a real service to the connoisseurs of musical literature by bringing out this useful edition of the first section of the *Saṅgītarāja*. It is hoped that the remaining sections will also be edited in due course under the auspices of the State.

J. N. BANERJEA.

NUMISMATIC PARALLELS OF KALIDĀSA. By C. SIVARAMA MURTI, M.A. Sakti Karyalayam, Madras. Pp. xvi + 40. Price Rs.2.

Mr. Sivarama Murti has already made his name as a young and circumspet scholar of repute by his comprehensive work on the Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum. In his other smaller works such as 'Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa', and 'Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa', he has attempted to explain some of the art-motifs and epigraphical allusions of ancient India with the help of extracts from the works of the immortal poet and dramatist. In the brochure under review, he has very skilfully cited passages from the great author to throw light on some of the devices on several types of pre-Muhammadan coins of India. Though all his explanations are not convincing, some are highly suggestive and interesting. His free-hand sketches of the coin-types are artistic, and the

work shows his thorough acquaintance with ancient Indian Numismatics and Sanskrit literature.

J. N. BANERJEA.

COINS OF MARWAR. By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU. Printed and published by the Jodhpur Government, 1946. Pp. vi+31, Plates I and V.

The work under review is an account of the different types of coins used as currency in Marwar for more than 2,000 years. The coins illustrated by the author are all, with the exception of only one, from the collection of the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. The various types of ancient and mediaeval coins of India, such as the Punch-marked ones, the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, the Gādhaiyā *paisās*, the Ādi-Varāha *drammas*, the Chauhan coins, the silver issues of the early Arab invaders of Sind, the money of the Delhi Sultans, the Sher Shahi and Mughal coins were all current in Jodhpur in different times, as is proved by the hoards discovered in various parts of the State. Some of the Jodhpur Mahārājās like Bijai Singh, Tukht Singh and others enjoyed the right of minting coins in their territory in the name of the suzerain power; a short description of these issues has also been incorporated in the booklet. MM. Pandit Reu has given us short descriptive accounts of the mints of Marwar and has noticed some of the special features of their respective issues. It is a useful publication after W. W. Webb's book on 'The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana', and it will be highly valued by the numismatists. Similar descriptive accounts of ancient and mediaeval coins in the collections of the various Indian States will be welcome.

J. N. BANERJEA.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN BARODA, 1934-47 (A Brief Review). By A. S. GADRE. Baroda State Press, 1947. Pp. iii+39, Plates I-XXXVI, and a Map of Gujrat and Kathiawar showing archaeological and historical sites in the State of Baroda. Price Rs.3-8-0.

This brochure owes its origin to the meeting of the members of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology at Baroda sometime ago. Though written mainly with the purpose of acquainting them with the work done by the State Department of Archaeology, it has much to recommend itself to the general students of Indian archaeology. It places before us in a short compass the archaeological wealth of Baroda, and describes the nature of the activities undertaken and progress made by the different branches of the State Archaeological Department. In Appendices A and B, H. D. Sankalia and H. Goetz have given their respective accounts on prehistoric archaeology in the State and the collection of antiquities in the Baroda Museum. In Appendix C, attention of the readers is drawn by the author to the other important activities of the Department. Baroda is an educationally and culturally advanced State, and it is in the fitness of things that it should devote so much care for the progress of archaeology there.

Mr. Gadre has done his work conscientiously, and students of Indology will be grateful to him for presenting to them in a handy little book the antiquarian account of Baroda. The plates are good, and the map and the index are helpful appendages to the work.

J. N. BANERJEA.

A HISTORY OF THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF ANDHRADEŚA (c. 200–625 A.D.).  
By BHAVARAJU VENKATA KRISHNARAO, M.A., B.L. Published by V.  
Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras, 1942. Pages 716 with two  
maps and several illustrations. Price Rs.25.

The volume under review deals with the history of the various dynasties that flourished in the heart of the Andhra country and the adjoining regions after the decline of the Śātavāhanas. The work is divided into five sections of which the first and second treat respectively the Ikṣvākus and the Pallavas. Certain minor dynasties such as the Br̥hatphalāyanas, Ānandas, Śālanīkāyanas and Mātharas form the subject-matter of the third section. Section IV deals with the Viṣṇukunḍins, while the concluding part discusses the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas, Śailodbhavas, Śarabhapuriyas and Nalas. Of the dynasties dealt with in the volume under review, the Śarabhapuriyas ruled in South Kosala far away from the Andhra country or the Telugu-speaking area.

The author of the volume under review has to be congratulated for the wealth of materials he has been able to gather. His is undoubtedly the most detailed and comprehensive study of the subject in question. A feature of the book is that the author has discussed numerous problems to the minutest details and, in many of the cases, offered new theories for the consideration of scholars. In such deliberations the author has no doubt exhibited great patience, diligence and learning, although one may not be inclined to agree with his conclusions. The writer of these lines finds it difficult to agree with such theories as that *Ehuvula*, a name of Ikṣvāku Śāntamūla II, is really *Bahubala* (p. 109), that the Pallavas 'were a family of powerful Brāhmanas who were probably descended from the Pahlava Suviśākha' (p. 171) or that not one but two Viṣṇukunḍin kings both named Mādhavavarman were 'performer of eleven Akṣamedhas' (p. 412).

The theories of other scholars that have been criticized in the volume under review have not always been correctly reproduced. By way of illustration one may refer to page 411 commenting on the views of the author of the *Successors of the Śātavāhanas* in regard to the import of the epithet 'delighter of the damsels residing in the houses of Trivaranagara', applied to the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman. It has been observed in the volume under review that the interpretation, suggested in the *Suc. Śāt.* 'referring to the marriage of Mādhavavarman with the Vākātaka princess is utterly untenable. Here there is no reference to the Vākātaka capital, for Trivaranagara was not the Vākātaka city. Trivaranagara was the capital of the Somavaṃśi kings or the Later Guptas of Mahākosala'. As a matter of fact, however, the author of the *Suc. Śāt.* has nowhere stated that the above epithet refers to Mādhavavarman's matrimonial relation with the Vākātakas, and it was he who originally suggested that Trivaranagara was probably the capital city of king Tivara of South Kosala. Cf. *Suc. Śāt.*, pp. 128–30. Thus the criticism of the *Suc. Śāt.* in the volume under review, at least in the present case, is not only wrong but even unjust. It may further be pointed out in this connection that the mention of Tivara's family as 'Later Gupta' and that of South Kosala as 'Mahākosala' are both unwarranted.

The author of the volume under review is not always quite up-to-date. The genealogy of the Vākātakas printed at page 670 is based on the Basim grant as wrongly interpreted in a paper appearing in the Proceedings of the third session of the Indian History Congress published in December 1940, although the real import of the epigraph was discussed in *I.H.Q.*, March 1940, pp. 182–86 and *op. cit.*, March 1941, pp. 110–16.

We have no doubt that the learned author will remove all such defects of the book in the second edition, so that it may be an excellent work of reference.

D. S.

**HĀRĀ-MANĪ** ('Lost Gems'): A Collection of Bengali Folk-Songs, Religious and Mystic, mostly by Muslim Poets. By MUHAMMAD MANSURUDDIN, M.A., Professor of Bengali, Rajshahi College. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1942. Pp. lx+67+208. Price Rs.3-8-0.

This is a book which as a document of Indian culture and religious thought is remarkable in many ways. Here we have a collection of nearly 300 songs, gathered mostly in the countryside of Bengal, in which we find an expression of the folk-mind of Bengal under the impact of the mystic thought-currents from four different sources—orthodox Hindu *Yoga*, heterodox Hindu *Bāul*, Hindu *Vaishṇava*, and Islāmic *Tasāwuf*. Some of the songs are secular in character, but the spirit of most of them in this collection is religious.

The people of Bengal had their own pre-Aryan religion, which with a veneer of Hinduism and later of Islam has survived to some extent in the various village cults, in the worship of gods and godlings like Dharma, Pāñcu Thākur, Manasā, Śitalā, Dakṣin Rāy, Ghāzī Miyān, Pāñc-Pir and others. With the Aryanization of the people in language, which started probably from the fourth century B.C., the non-Aryan heritage of Bengal, particularly in religious and cultural matters, was also Aryanized and transformed into local Bengal forms of Brahmanism and Buddhism (and to some extent Jainism). The Purāṇas and the Tantras, of all forms of Hindu scripture, combined with Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, exerted the greatest influence on the mind of the Bengali intellectual classes in the formative and early periods in the history of the Bengali people; and *Yoga* cults and practices, originating in the dim past independently of Brahmanism and Buddhism, appear to have deeply influenced and modified the religious life of both Brahmanists and Buddhists, not only in Bengal but all over India, during the greater part of the first millennium A.D., the final triumph of *Yoga* in both orthodox Brahmanism and Buddhism having taken place during the closing centuries of that millennium. *Yoga* and *Tantra* became attached to Brahmanism, and finally these came to be regarded as forms of orthodox Brahmanism; and so also we have late Mahāyāna Buddhism of Eastern India transformed by the absorption of *Yoga* and Tantric ideas and cults and ritual. While this was taking place, and the religion of the masses was still in what may be called a fluid state, the *Yoga* and *Tantra* teachers, known as the *Siddhas*, had their rise (roughly between 600–1200 A.D.), and they are claimed equally by Brahmanical Hindus and Buddhists as exponents of the *Yoga* and *Tantra* doctrines and practices. The *Sahaja*, and, later, the *Bāul* sects, neither wholly Brahmanical nor wholly Buddhist, took their rise in Bengal probably after 800 A.D. We can mention names like Matsyendranātha (Machindar), Goraksanātha (Gorakh-nāth), Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Kānhu-pā), Jālandhari-pāda, Luyī-pā and other Siddhas, who form a class by themselves, receiving the homage of both Brahmanical Hindus in ancient times and at the present day and of Mahāyāna Buddhists of pre-Muslim times (when Buddhism was still a living religion) in Northern India and of the present day in Nepal. The cults and ritual of the *Sahaja* sect are treated in the *Caryā-pada* poems in Old Bengali and in *Dohās* in Western Apabhraṃśa attributed to these Siddhas which

are still extant: and later forms of Sahaja we find in the heterodox Bāul sectarians in Bengal, and among the Nāth or Kān-phaṭā Yogis of North India.

The religious tangle, or, better, synthesis, of remnants of pre-Aryan religion, of Vedic and Puranic Brahmanism, of Buddhism both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, of Yoga and Tantra ('Āgama') as modified by Puranic Brahmanism and themselves modifying Brahmanism and Buddhism, and of Jainism, which we find in Bengal towards 1000 A.D., was being constantly influenced by a revived and orthodox Brahmanism which gained in strength with the establishment of the Sena kings as rulers of Bengal and Bihar (second half of the twelfth to first quarter of the thirteenth century.) And then after 1200 A.D., with the establishment of the Turks in West Bengal, Islām was established in Bengal through both the aggressive and iconoclastic Turki military conquest and the mild and persuasive Sūfi penetration. But the influence of Islām, specially on the mystic side, came in some centuries later, only when a Bengali-speaking Muslim community grew up, through conversion of native Bengalis and through settlement of Turki and North Indian Muslims in Bengal. In the meanwhile, revived Brahmanism of the days of the Senas was permeating and leavening Bengali life, and this was to some extent strengthened by Chaitanya's Vaishnavism after 1500 A.D. Sūfi literary and ritualistic patterns unconsciously or consciously coloured those of Bengal Vaishnavism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

All this gave rise to a spiritual culture of a mosaic character, sometimes rather confused, sometimes well-knit and systematized, which became an inevitable common heritage of the masses of Bengal, whether they had formally acknowledged an affiliation to Islam or had remained faithful to the current religion of the country. From the seventeenth century a strong current of the Islamic faith, both orthodox Quranic and heterodox Sūfiistic, came and coloured the mind of the Bengali Muslim, and a direct result of this was the creation of a Muslim tradition in Bengali literature.

In its fundamental character, however this new Muslim tradition did not differ much from the current Hindu one: only a new subject-matter of romance was imported from Iranian and Arabian sources, and Muslim theological, philosophical, mythological, hagiological and ritualistic notions from the Islamic world of Arabia and Persia were treated in the old Bengali manner, with all the atmosphere of Bengali Hindu religious or lyrical and romantic or narrative poetry preserved intact—the only difference being in the employment of a few Arabic and Persian words of specific Islāmic contexts and concepts. The old Bengali lyric tradition, of which the oldest extant representatives are the *Caryā* poems of the Siddhas, altered itself in post-Muslim times to the Bāul songs on the one hand and Vaishnava *padas* on the other; and with a dash of the Islāmic spirit in it, it became Muslim Bāul songs and *Mārifati* (*ma'rifati*) or mystical Islāmic songs, such as are heard from Muslim mendicants all over Bengal—*Faqirs*, *Darwishes*, *Qalandars* and *Bāuls*.

In these *Mārifati* songs, in which the Muslim element or the Muslim *cachet* goes hand in hand with the non-Muslim, we have the most distinctive contribution of the Muslim Bengali to his literature, embodying his deepest spiritual experiences and expressions. These *Mārifati* songs of Muslim Bengal are of as great significance in Muslim Bengali life and spiritual culture as are the Sūfi poems of Islāmic Iran: and a good few of them can be presented as a spiritual heritage for the whole of humanity.

All religions whenever they pass the bounds of the countries where they originated must make a compromise with the mentality and the in-

grained traditions of the foreign peoples which accept them. Bengali Islām, till very recently, was the result of this compromise: and some of the poems collected by Mr. Muhammad Mansuruddin show that the compromise was in its own way quite distinctive, as much as Central Asian Turki Islām, or Persian Islām, or Osmanli Islām. These songs formed the best lyric expression of Bengali Muslimdom for some centuries past, but Hindu Bengalis (except in the case of some unfamiliar Persian and Arabic religious terms) will enjoy them as much as Muslim Bengalis. The Hindu or Indian and Muslim elements are easily analyzable in most of the songs.

Mr. Mansuruddin deserves the thanks of all students of literature and religion referring to Bengal and India for his pioneer efforts (at least among Muslim Bengalis) in collecting these songs. Their value as documents of Bengal's culture and spirituality was recognized by Rabindranath Tagore himself, and an illuminating article written by him giving his blessings to Mr. Mansuruddin's first attempts to collect and publish these songs has been printed as an Introduction to the book and has added to its value. Mr. Mansuruddin has prefixed to his book some of his papers on the Folk Literature of Bengal; and in one of these he has succinctly characterized these Mārīfatī songs of Bengal as being born out of the intimate association and combined spiritual culture of the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal. These songs certainly demonstrate an identity of culture (in spite of difference in religion) between the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal, who are of the same blood and same speech and form one people.

A laudable enterprise in an important field of literature and religious contacts should only be received in a kindly and appreciative spirit. We congratulate Mr. Mansuruddin on this collection, for which his main urge was his love of the literature in his mother-tongue and his love for the people who produced this literature. But we wish the songs were properly classified according to subject-matter, and that word-notes and other elucidations were added on a much larger scale than the few meagre foot-notes which he has given, to make the songs easy of understanding and appreciation, particularly when the poets indulged in the symbolical language of Hindu Yoga or Muslim *Tasawwuf*. Bibliographical and other references (Mr. Mansuruddin has quoted from various books in his introductory essays and occasional foot-notes, and has given bibliographies, admittedly incomplete) and quotations, again, demanded greater accuracy: and a deeper knowledge of both Indian and Perso-Arabic mysticism with their respective terminologies is necessary.

We hope that these defects will be remedied when a second (and we hope, a much more enlarged) edition will be necessary. The two quotations from Browne's *Literary History of Persia* and Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs*, given in a separate page by themselves, seem to offer a justification for the collection of this kind of Bengali folk-poetry: surely such a justification is not at all necessary, and it seems to suggest the compiler's feeling a little nervous in apprehension of a possible frown of disapproval from orthodoxy in his own community.

On the whole, this is a very significant production, and we only wish that Mr. Mansuruddin will continue his labours, and give us in due time a bigger and a more varied collection, forming a veritable *Veda-saṃhitā*, or a *Paṭa-saṅgraha* or anthology of lyrics (like those of the Bengal Vaishnavas) of Bengali Muslim folk-poetry of mystic and religious character.

**EPIGRAPHICAL ECHOES OF KĀLIDĀSA.** By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., with a Foreword by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B. (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of South India*, No. 1). Published by Thompson & Co., Ltd., Madras, 1944. Pages xvi+95+9.

The author of *Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa* has collected in the interesting little book under review a large number of expressions and passages from epigraphic literature, which are, in his opinion, borrowed from or at least inspired by the works of Kālidāsa. Certain epigraphic passages have also been traced to the writings of Vālmiki, Bhāravi, Māgha, Viśākhadatta, Śūdraka, Bāna and Daṇḍin. The book shows that the author is a laborious student of Sanskrit literature and epigraphy, and is also a good artist.

The importance of epigraphy in the study of all aspects of Indian history is well known. Its value in regard to the history of Sanskrit literature is illustrated by the mention of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in the Aihole inscription showing that those two poets attained to fame certainly before 634 A.D. But no less interesting is the fact that the Mahakuta pillar inscription, in describing the Calukyas of Badami, borrows the passage यथाविधिज्ञतामीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनाम् from the *Raghuvamśa*, Canto I, verse 6, as this proves that Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, to which the Calukya court poet was indebted, became quite popular in the Deccan before 602 A.D. (cf. p. 26 of the book under review).

But the attempt to trace the influence of one poet on another is not always without difficulties. The learned author of the book under review (p. 55) believes that the epithet *ekadhanurdhara* applied to a Pallava king in the inscriptions in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī was borrowed from the *Raghuvamśa* passages *ghanasy=eka-dhanurdharaḥ* (XII, 97) and *ekadhanurdhara=pi sah* (III, 31). But the same epithet is found applied to Gautamiputra Śātakarni (c. 106-30 A.D.) in the Nasik cave inscription of the nineteenth year of his son's reign (*Sil. Ins.*, I, p. 198), while the author of the *Raghuvamśa*, as we believe, flourished in the age of the Gupta Vikramādityas. There may likewise be doubt or difference of opinion as to the origin of certain other passages quoted in the book. The passage

साध्वसाधूदयप्रलयहेतुपुरषस्याचिन्त्यस्य has been related to the *Raghuvamśa*, IX, 9 (pp. 47-48); but we have elsewhere (*Bhār. Vid.*, VIII, pp. 109-110) traced its origin in the *Gītā* passage परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् etc. It moreover seems that the Allahabad inscription (middle of the fourth century A.D.) is earlier than the *Raghuvamśa*, apparently a product of the poet's mature pen.

The book under review contains a good index and some fine figures (6 in number) drawn by the author himself. Epigraphic passages (94 in number) have in all cases been supplied with a copy prepared by the author in the script of the record in question. These no doubt show that the author is a painstaking student of palaeography also. Unfortunately, however, these illustrations have little to do with the author's discussions and should have better been omitted.

An unfortunate feature of the book under review is that there is no indication as to the exact or approximate date of any of the poets and epigraphs under discussion. We request the learned author to remove this defect in the next edition of his work so that it may be more interesting

and useful to students. There are certain cases of omission ; cf. the passage of the Nasik inscription referred to above.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

**FIVE TAMIL IDYLLS.** Edited with a Preface by J. M. Somasundaram Pillai. Printed at Solder & Co., Madras 5. Price Re.1.

The above booklet is edited with a prefatory note by J. M. Somasundaram. This prefatory note extends to fifteen pages and is a bird's-eye view of the Tamil works before the *Tevaram* and *Prabandham*. The author could well omit these books except the five idylls. But one is sure that the note will benefit non-Tamilians. The editor has missed the Reviewer's translation of the *Silappadikāram*, and has omitted diacritical marks.

The main booklet consists of Tiru-Murugarruppadai's translation by J. M. Nallaswamy Pillai and Kurinji-pattu by the same author. Mr. Nallaswamy Pillai does one thing in seeming verse and the other in complete prose. The first idyll of Tiru-Murugarruppadai was, according to legend, by Narkirar. According to this, one who had received the grace of Muruga tells the other that if he wanted salvation he must go to Tirupparamkunram, Tiruchendur, Tiruvavinkudi (Palani), Tiruveragam, Kunruthoradal, Palamuthisolai (Alaga-Kovil) and receive His grace.

The Mullai-pattu is another idyll and is by Somasundaram. He puts it between the second and third century A.D. The other idyll Nadu-nal-vadai is also by Somasundaram and is reprinted from the *Journal of Indian History*. Its main theme is love in separation. Rev. Pope's translation of Kurinji-pattu is also given. It should have been better if Kabilar were spelt as Kapilar.

Lastly, Kothandapani Pillai's translation of Pattinap-palai is given. Pattinap-palai is in praise of Karikalan the Chola king. Some of the achievements of this king are mentioned here.

The idylls deserve much better editing. But Mr. Somasundaram has at least come forward to publish in a small book form what is available. We congratulate him.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.





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## KŌL INSCRIPTION OF SULTĀN ALTAMASH

By DR. A. HALIM, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Dacca ;  
formerly Reader in History, Muslim University, Aligarh

(Received July, 7, 1948)

The city of Kōl (old name of Aligarh) and its vicinity possess some of the oldest inscriptions of the Muslim period of Indian History. An inscription of the year 652/1254, of the reign of Sultān Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd (1246-1266 A.D.), which stood at the entrance of a two-storied tower<sup>1</sup> at the south-east of the cathedral mosque at Bālā-i-Qila', constructed by Bahāuddīn Qutluḡh Khān Balban Al-Shamsi, the governor of the Eastern Provinces, is at present, fixed up in the southern wall of the Nizām Museum, (used now as the History Seminar Room, of the Aligarh University).<sup>2</sup> The chief mosque of Jalālī, a town 14 miles east of Aligarh, a little aside from the Grand Trunk Road (but formerly forming a link in the high-way to the east), was repaired by Ṣābit Khān, Turkmān, the Muḥammad Shāhī governor of Kōl Sarkār. It was originally laid out by Sultān Ghīāsuddīn Balban, in 665/1266, during the first year of his reign as a monarch, as is evidenced by the existence of an inscription at the right corner opening of the mosque. Pilakhna (corruption of Pil-khāna, an Elephant-House, from the existence of an elephant stable belonging to the Kōl governors), a township of the district, about 16 miles east of Kōl city, has a mosque commemorating the history of its construction in 935/1528, during the reign of Bābar.<sup>3</sup> The Kālī Masjid of Kōl city (in Muhalla Bani-Isrāī-lān), which stands intact and in very bold and majestic relief, contained an inscription pointing 930/1523, as the date of its construction during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī.<sup>4</sup> The Delhi Gate of Kōl, bore an inscription, attesting to its construction by Muḥammad Khān, son of 'Umar Khān Sherwani, the Shiqdār of Kōl, during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī, in 931/1524.<sup>5</sup>

My interest in the history of Aligarh has been responsible for the discovery of an inscription, which is earlier than any previously referred to, an inscription of the reign of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamash (607-633/1210-1235). This inscription, described in the following lines, has an interesting history. I came to know of the existence of an inscribed stone-slab in the house of the late lamented Mr. Amiruddīn of Muhalla Atash-bāzān, one of the most elevated locality in the city of Kōl-Aligarh, in 1943. His father had made use of the stone-slab by fixing it up in place

<sup>1</sup> Was 74 feet high at the time of its demolition, in 1861, with part of its upper storey having given way.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Thomas, *Chronicle of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 129; articles in the *R.A.S.B.*, Cal., p. 166 of Vol. for 1872, and pp. 330ff. of Vol. for 1878; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-14; and *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Lahore, 1940, pp. 195ff., for Article entitled Balban Inscription of Kōl by the writer in collaboration with Dr. Muḥammad Azīz Ahmad.

<sup>3</sup> See *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Aligarh Session, 1943, p. 406, for the text of the inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Fuhrer, *Arch. Survey of India Report*, New Series, Vol. II, 1891, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Reported by Mr. Atkinson, in the *Proceedings Volume of the Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 167 and I suppose is housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

of bricks in the verandah wall of his outer house. I was informed that his father had purchased heaps of masonry, stone and other building materials from the vicinity of the present Jāma' Mosque, in Bālā-i Qila', in a public auction. The letters of the inscription had become illegible due to repeated white-washing of the walls. But Mr. Amīruddīn had the slab cleansed, and last summer, just a few months before his death, he obliged me by shifting the slab to the Muslim University Library. This inscription will soon be fixed up in the Nizām Museum opposite the Balban Inscription. The text of the inscription is as follows:—

۱ بِنَاءِ اِیْنِ بَقْعَةِ مَبَارَکِ دَر عَهْدِ سُلْطَنَتِ بَادِشَاهِ اِسْلَامِ شَمْسِ الدُّنْیَا وَالدِّیْنِ  
ذَوِ الْاِمَانِ لَاهِلِ الْاِیْمَانِ [ن] \*  
۲ دَر نَوْبَتِ اِیَالَاتِ خَدَاوَنْدِ خَوَاجَةِ جِهَانِ دَسْتُوْرِ صَاْحِبِ قِرَاْنِ نَظَامِ الْمُلْکِ  
مَلِکِ مُلُوکِ الْو [ر]۱ \*

*Translation* : Line 1. The foundation of this holy place (was laid) during the reign of the king of Islām, the sun of the world and of religion (Shams-ud-Dunyā Waddīn), the bestower of peace upon the Faithful.

2. During the period of the governorship of his lordship, Khwāja-i Jahān, minister of the Lord of the Two Conjunctions, Nizām-ul Mulk, the chief of the chief Wazīrs.

The inscription described above, is incomplete in the sense that its latter part is severed, though it makes no difference in interpretation or importance, except in respect of the date which was contained in the missing end. The inscription is on ordinary yellow sandstone and in its present dimension, measures 2 ft. 5 inches by 1 ft. 4 inches and supposing it was as long as the Balban inscription of Kōl Tower (which is 4 ft. 10 inches by 1 ft. 6 inches), it is 2 ft. 5 inches shorter in length. The missing portion fortunately, in the first line, contains attributes and titles of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamash, and in the second line, those of Nizām-ul Mulk, the Wazīr, in addition to the date portion.

There cannot be any doubt as to the two historical personalities of the inscription. The Sultān is named Shams-ud-dunyā Waddīn, which is another way of expressing Shamsuddīn. Khān Jahān Nizām-ul Mulk (Muhammad-i Abu Sa'id Junaidi) is associated as the chief Wazīr and governor of Kōl.

Nizām-ul Mulk Kamāluddīn (Muhammad-i) Abu Sa'id Junaidi was the Wazīr of Altamash and held that office till the reign of Ruknuddīn, the second son of Altamash, an incompetent youth and a thorough debauchee. He joined the rank of the rebel nobles when the affairs of the State began to go to the dogs, during Ruknuddīn's reign, by slipping away from Delhi at a time when the Sultān had gone to the west to quell an insurrection. Meanwhile, when the citizens of Delhi supported Raḍia, Nizām-ul-Mulk did not acknowledge her, and when two of his confederates secretly offered their allegiance to Raḍia, Nizām-ul-Mulk fled to the Sirmoor hills where he died soon after.<sup>2</sup> A proof of the antiquity of the inscription is the style of the script. Though the language is Persian, the Tughra style of calligraphy

<sup>1</sup> Can be read as مَلُوکِ الْو [ر]۱ on account of the dot clearly visible after the waw of [ر]۱

<sup>2</sup> Tab Nāsiri, Text II, 179 also Raverty's Translation II, pp. 632ff.

is used, typical of the seventh century Hijra found in Egypt and other Middle East countries.

The question which can seriously be asked is the nature of the structure over which this inscription was placed. Since the slab was acquired through an auction along with other dismantled building materials, this question cannot be answered with certainty and definiteness. In the absence of direct evidence, the clue hinges on the interpretation of the words Buqa'-i Mubārak. This can be used in respect of a shrine of a holy man or a mosque. Khwāja Hasan Nizāmi in his *Tāj-ul-Maʿāzīr*<sup>1</sup> has spoken of the Delhi mosque which was being constructed during his time, as Buqa'-i mutabarrak. Apart from the fact that the slab in question was acquired from the lot of building materials after the dismantling of the Kōl Tower (in 1861), which stood in the vicinity of the present Jāma' Masjid, there are circumstantial evidences to connect this inscription with a mosque, the first cathedral mosque built by Muslims in the city of Kōl.

Rājē Muḥammad Kōlvī in his *Akḥbār-ul Jamāl*<sup>2</sup> which is the local history of Aligarh up to 1728 [1141 H.], has given a very clear account of the history of the Jāma' Masjids of Kōl-Aligarh. According to him, Qutbuddīn Aibak ordered the construction of a mosque soon after the conquest, of the city<sup>3</sup> in 1193 (590 Hijra), and that mosque 'having decayed', Muḥammad Tughlaq constructed in its site a huge mosque<sup>4</sup> with seven openings, in 733/1329. Rājē Muḥammad prayed in this mosque which contained an inscription commemorating its construction by Muḥammad Tughlaq at the afore-mentioned date. On account of damage suffered by the mosque in an earthquake, Šabīṭ Khān Turkmān (*alias* Ja'far Bēg) son of Muḥammad Bēg, the governor of Kōl (during the reign of Muhammad Shāh) totally dismantled it, and constructed a new one which saw completion in 1728 after four years (1137 to 1141 H.) of continued work. This mosque is perched in the highest ground in the Bālā-i Qila' or the old fortified city area, and catches the eyes of travellers approaching Aligarh by road or rail. The fact that the structure connected with this inscription is referred as a holy or sacred place and also the circumstance that Altamash took great interest in mosque-building of which the Delhi and Ajmēr mosques are the finest specimens, incline me to think that the inscription appertained to the first Jāma' mosque which might have been begun by Qutbuddīn and finished by Nizām-ul-Mulk Kāmal-uddīn Junaidī, during the reign of Altamash.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Habib's Manuscript, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> MS. in the Private Library of Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur at Habibganj, Aligarh District, fol. 204-206.

<sup>3</sup> Most probably after Qutbuddīn had come to Aligarh a second time to quell a local disturbance led by the conquered people. See *Tāj-ul-Maʿāzīr*. Prof. Habib's MS., pp. 323ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Akḥbār-ul Jamāl*, fol. 205a.



## TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University*

(Received September 14, 1948)

### I.—BENARES STONE-PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BUDHAGUPTA.— GUPTA YEAR 159

It was reported to me several years ago that a stone inscription of the age of the imperial Guptas had been discovered at Rajghat in Benares. It was secured for the Bhārat Kalābhavan at Benares and is still exhibited there. Recently I met Rai Krishnadas, founder of the Kalābhavan, in Calcutta and from him learned that the inscription remained still unpublished. He readily agreed to allow me to edit the record, and to send me a few estampages of the epigraph together with a description of the inscribed stone and the details of its discovery. My transcript of the epigraph is published here, and I thank Rai Krishnadas for his kindness in allowing me to edit the inscription.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription, which is not in a very satisfactory state of preservation, covers a space about 1' in length and about 4" in breadth. The size of the *akṣaras* is a little above  $\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ . There are only four lines of writing. The characters employed belong to the so-called North Indian alphabet or the Gupta script. But a point of palaeographical interest is that while the letter *h* is of the type usually known as the western variety, *s*, *l* and *m* are of the so-called eastern type. The *akṣara du* is of the early type. The language is Sanskrit; but there are errors of grammar. As regards orthography, the duplication of *g* and *v* in conjunction with superscript *r* is worth noticing. Figures and symbols for 8, 9, 20, 50 and 100 occur in the inscription.

The date of the inscription is the year 159 falling in the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Budhagupta (wrongly written *gupta*). The year has no

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<sup>1</sup> My attention has been recently drawn by Mr. Adris Chandra Banerji to his paper entitled 'Some Sculptures from Rajghat, Benares', published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. III, Part 1, November, 1945, in which the pillar under discussion was noticed. As regards the discovery of ancient objects from Rajghat, Mr. Banerji says, 'In 1941 in order to facilitate the regrading of the Dufferin Bridge it was decided to direct the G.T. Road near the Kushi Railway Station of the E.I. Railway over the Rajghat plateau. The demolitions of the E.I. Railway in 1940 resulted in the finds of antiquities of various dates and the subsequent excavations carried out by Mr. S. Mukerji, at the instance of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, yielded interesting results. In order to conserve the ancient relics as far as possible to be unearthed during the conversion of the G.T. Road, Pandit M. S. Vats, deputed his sub-overseer, Pandit U. C. Sharma, to make a proper record of the finds. The work in fact resulted in a good harvest, as commencing from potsherds generally ascribed to the Mauryan period up to a Muhammadan child's tomb-stone were found. All these have now found a safe refuge in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares City.' In regard to the pillar in particular, he says, 'Pillar inscribed in the 157th year of the Gupta era in the time of Budhagupta. Buff sandstone of Chunar, height 4 feet and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches approximately. It is rectangular at base up to 2 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, which contains four niches in which there are four Avatāras of Viṣṇu. Above the niches is an octagonal section  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, superimposed on which is a sixteen-sided section  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. Above, base with foliage  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, surmounting which there is a square portion, absolutely plain and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height.'



doubt to be referred to the Gupta era starting from 320 A.D. The date thus corresponds to 478 A.D. which falls in the reign-period of Budhagupta (circa 476-95 A.D.). The actual date is the 28th day of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa.

The inscription records the erection of a stone-pillar by a lady named Dāmasvāminī in the year 159 of the Gupta era (i.e. in 478 A.D.) during the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Budhagupta. The name of her father seems to have been Māraviśa who was an inhabitant of a locality called Pārvarika, while her mother's name was possibly Sābhātī.

The purpose of the lady in erecting the pillar is not stated in words. But such unassuming pillars raised by private individuals were usually of two types, viz. votive and monumental. Votive pillars were erected in religious establishments with a view to acquiring merit, while monumental pillars were raised in honour of one's dead relatives. Instances of votive pillars are numerous in the inscriptions discovered in the ruins of old Buddhist establishments like those at Barhut, Sanchi and Nagarjunikonda (cf. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions; Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 95ff.; XX, pp. 1ff.; *Sel Ins.*, I, pp. 219-31). The erection of monumental pillars in honour of one's dead relatives is referred to in such records as the Suivihar inscription of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniska I, dated in his 11th regnal year probably corresponding to 89 A.D. (*Sel. Ins.*, I, pp. 135-36) and in the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 probably belonging to the Śaka era and corresponding to 130 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 167-68). It seems, however, that the pillar raised by the lady Dāmasvāminī was not a monumental but a votive one. This is possibly suggested by the word *stambha* used in our record. The monumental pillars are known to have been called *yaśti*; cf. *yaṭhi* and *laṣṭi* used respectively in the Suivihar and Andhau records. An estampage of a Gupta inscription, said to be discovered in Central India and recently shown to me, was also found to contain the words *sva-puṇy-āpyāyanārtham yaśaḥ-kīrtti-pravardhamāna-gotraśailikā bala-yaśti(h\*) pratiṣṭhāpitā*. On the other hand, votive pillars raised in religious establishments were called *stambha* (in Prakrit *thabha* or *thambha*). Again, inscriptions on the votive pillars were in some cases short, referring simply to the erection of a *stambha* by one and without specifying even the name of the monastery or temple in which it was erected. In the present state of our knowledge therefore it seems better to suggest that Dāmasvāminī raised the pillar in a religious establishment at Benares for merit; cf. also the Nalanda inscription of Rājyapāla's time edited below.

I am unable to locate the place Pārvarika mentioned in the inscription.

#### TEXT <sup>1</sup>

- L. 1. स[म्ब] १००(+\*)५०(+\*)६ मार्ग-दि [२०](+\*)८ महा-  
राजाधिरा[ज]-  
L. 2. बुध[गु\*]त्प-राज्ये पार्वरिक-वास्तव्य-मार-  
L. 3. [विष ?]-दुहिता सा भाटि(?)-दुहि च दामखा-  
L. 4. मि[न्या] शिलास्तम्भ स्था[प]ितः (॥\*)

<sup>1</sup> From a set of three estampages kindly supplied by Rai Krishnadas, founder of the Bhārat Kalābhavan, Benares.

## CORRECTED TEXT

संवत्सरे १५६ मार्गशीर्ष-दिवसे २८ महाराजाधिराज-बुधगुप्तराज्ये पार्वरिक-  
वास्तव्य-मारविष-दुहित्रा साभाटि-दुहित्रा च दामस्वामिन्या शिलास्तम्भः स्थापितः ॥

## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

On the 28th day of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year 159, during the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Budhagupta, the stone pillar is set up by Dāmasvāminī, [who is] the daughter of Māraviṣa (?), an inhabitant of Pārvarika, and is also the daughter of Sābhāti (?).

## II.—NALANDA STONE-PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RĀJYAPĀLA.— REGNAL YEAR 24.

Very recently, Mr. D. P. Ghosh, Curator of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University, gave me an estampage of a stone inscription for examination. The record is engraved on a stone-pillar which is now exhibited in the Museum; but it was secured from the collection of the late Mr. P. C. Nahar and originally belonged to the Jain temple at Bargaon on the site of the ancient city of Nalanda in the present Patna District of Bihar. On a careful examination of the estampage, I found that it bears the same inscription that was published by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, p. 111. It was, however, also found that Banerji's reading and interpretation of the record differed considerably from those of mine. Mr. Ghosh kindly agreed to my suggestion that the inscription should be re edited by me. I thank him for the kindness shown to me.

The pillar bearing the inscription is of white stone with an overall height of 5' 7" and the shaft of which is 3'  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The base of the pillar is 1 ft. sq. and the capital is 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " sq. at the base and 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " sq. at the top; but the writing covers only a space about 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ "  $\times$  7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and breadth respectively. The record contains five lines of writing, the size of the *akṣaras* being about 1"  $\times$  1". The preservation of the fifth or last line of the inscription is not satisfactory. The characters employed are of about the tenth century and belong to the medieval East Indian script commonly called Proto-Bengali. Letters like *g* and *j* have developed Bengali forms; but the vowel-mark of *e*, indicated at the left end of the serif, is exceptionally short. *G* is doubled in conjunction with superscript *r*.

The date of the inscription is the year 24 of the reign of king Rājyapāla (wrongly written *Rāja*) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. The reign-period of this king is now usually assigned to *circa* 908–40 A.D.; cf. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 125; also the Kurkihar (Gaya Dist.) image inscriptions of the years 28, 31 and 32 of Rājyapāla's reign in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 246–50. The date of our inscription therefore seems to fall somewhere in the period 930–35 A.D. The epigraph seems to record the erection of a votive pillar at the Jain religious establishment at Nalanda by a merchant named Vaidyanātha (wrongly written *Vaida*), the son of Manoratha, on the 27th day of the month of Mārga (i.e. Mārgaśīrṣa) in the 24th year of Rājyapāla's reign. It may be pointed out that Banerji failed to recognize the figures for 27 after *di* standing for *divase* and that his reading and interpretation of the last line of the inscription are different. His reading for this line is *deva-thāne paraṇavata* which he corrected into *devasthāne praṇamati* and translated as '[Vaidyanātha] bows in the temple'.

The last two *akṣaras* are, however, °*sthitaḥ* which apparently suggests the word *pratiṣṭhitaḥ*. The two *akṣaras* read by Banerji as °*thāne* appear actually to be *thambha* which is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *stambha* meaning 'a pillar'. According to my reading and interpretation, therefore, the merchant Vaidyanātha raised a pillar and did not merely 'bow in the temple'.

TEXT <sup>1</sup>

L 1. [सिद्धम् ॥]<sup>2</sup> सम्मत २४ म[र्ग]-दि २७<sup>३</sup>

L 2. श्रीराजपालदेवरा-

L 3. जे वणिक-कुले मनोर-

L 4. थ-सुतेन श्री-वैदनाथ-

L 5. देव थ[म्भ] प[ि]छितः<sup>4</sup>

## CORRECTED TEXT

[सिद्धम् ॥] संवत्सरे २४ मार्ग[श्रीर्ष]-दि[वसे] २७ श्रीराजपालदेवराज्ये  
वणिक-कुले [जातेन] मनोरथ-सुतेन श्रीवैदनाथदेवेन स्तम्भः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥

## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[Let there be welfare.]

On the 27th day of [the month of] Mārga (i e. Mārgaśīrṣa) in the 24th year of the reign of the illustrious Rājyapāla, the pillar is set up by the illustrious Vaidyanāthadeva [who is born] in a family of merchants and [is] the son of Manoratha.

<sup>1</sup> From an estampage kindly supplied by Mr. D. P. Ghosh, Curator, Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Banerji reads सार्धदिने.

<sup>4</sup> Banerji reads देवयाने परणवत्त.



Nalanda Stone Pillar Inscription of Rājapāda, — Year 21.



Benares Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta - Year 159

## SIRR-I-AKBAR <sup>1</sup>

By DR. BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta)

(Received October 19, 1948)

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The *Sirr-i-Akbar* or 'the Great Secret' is a Persian translation of fifty-two <sup>2</sup> Upanishads by Muhammad Dārā Shikūh, which was completed in six months, in the year 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.) <sup>3</sup> at Delhi. The Upanishads, as we know, is the recognized name of the philosophical treatises contained in the Vedas. The etymology and meaning of the word *Upanishad* is disputed both by Indian and European scholars; but according to the view generally accepted, it is derived from the root *sad*, to sit, preceded by the preposition *ni*, down and *upa*, near, so that the whole word would express the idea of sitting down of pupils near their teacher to listen to his confidential teachings. 'Out of this idea of secret session', observes W. Winternitz, <sup>4</sup> 'the meaning secret doctrine—that which is communicated at such confidential session—was developed. Whenever the word occurs, it has the meaning of doctrine or secret or esoteric explanation.' It is, however, not difficult to conclude from the above that Dārā Shikūh's title *Sirr-i-Akbar* (the Great Secret) to his translation of the Upanishads and his further explanation of the word *Upanekhat*, identifies closely to this meaning as 'the esoteric doctrine or secret explanation'; the latter being explained by

him as *āyat-i-Taḥhīd ki sirr-i-poshīdī* است

*ast*, i.e. verse of monotheism, which is a secret to be concealed. The word as pronounced and written in Sanskrit, according to English orthography is *Upanishad*, in Duperron's Latin version it is *Oupnek'hat* and in French *Upanichat*. The Sanskrit character (ॠ) answering to English *sh* and French *ch* has been changed into Persian *kh* (کـ); and the Sanskrit terminal *d* (ॠ) has been changed into Persian *t* (ت) aspirated.

<sup>1</sup> The writer of the present paper has edited the *Sirr-i-Akbar* from the oldest MSS. available of the text. The work which is still in the process of collation would be published in 4 volumes.

<sup>2</sup> The number of the Upanishads varies in different MSS. which I have used in preparing the text, but in none of these it is less than 50. MS. A (No. 52, in the Asiatic Library, Hyderabad-Deccan) on which I have based my text contains 52; MS. B (*R.A.S.B. Cat.*, p. 178) though incomplete gives the list containing 50, MS. C (Calcutta University Library) 50 and MS. D 51; while Anquetil Duperron's Latin version of Dārā Shikūh's translation (*Theologica et Philosophia Indica : Oupnek'hat id Est Secretum. Tegendum*, 1801, Vol. I, p. 13) contains 50, although their number enumerated in the list is 51. Etche has not given the number of Upanishads in any one of seven MSS. in the India Office (*Cat. of Persian MSS.*, Vol. I, Col. 1102-3); while in the British Museum, the only MS. which is complete (Add. 5616) contains 51.

<sup>3</sup> According to an India Office MS. (No. 1976 of the *Cat.*, Vol. I) it is stated on fol. 2a that it was finished on the 29th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 1067.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 242.

## 2. ITS CONTENTS

The *Sirr-i-Akbar* is divided into the following sections:—

- (1) Preface.
- (2) A List of the Upanishads translated.
- (3) A Glossary of Sanskrit-Persian Terms.
- (4) The Translation of the Upanishads in four parts:—
  - Book I. Three Upanishads from the *Rig-Veda*.
  - Book II. Twelve Upanishads from the *Yajur-Veda*.
  - Book III. One Upanishad from the *Sama-Veda*.
  - Book IV. Thirty-six Upanishads from the *Atharva-Veda*.
- (5) The End.

## 3. THE TRANSLATION

Of this translation, the earliest mention has been made by Halhed, in the *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire*,<sup>1</sup> in 1782 A.D., wherein a brief account of Anquetil Duperron's Latin version of the Persian *Oupnek'hat* of Dārā Shikūh is given. To this is affixed an English rendering of the Preface. In the year 1775 A.D., Anquetil Duperron, the renowned discoverer of the *Zend-Avesta*, received a manuscript of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, sent to him by M. Gentile, the French resident at the court of Shuja'-ud-Dawla and brought by M. Bernier. This MS. contained fifty Upanishads and comprised of 247 folios<sup>2</sup>; and Duperron after he had collated it with one other MS., translated it into French and Latin. The latter, under the title of *Oupnek'hat id Est, Secretum Tegendum*, with an elaborately written introduction, copious notes and annotations was published in Paris (1801) in two volumes, but the former remains unpublished to this day. Regarding the Latin version, Max Müller remarks,<sup>3</sup> that Anquetil Duperron treated the Persian translation, rendering it into Latin, word for word, retaining in spite of Latin grammar, the Persian syntax and all the Sanskrit words, which Dārā Shikūh had left untranslated. In his *Monitum ad Lectorem*, Duperron says,<sup>4</sup> that in 1656 A.D., Dārā Shikūh caused a Persian translation to be made, with the assistance of Brahmins of Benares, of the *Oupnek'hat*, a work in Sanskrit language of which the title signifies, 'the word that is not to be said,' meaning 'the secret that is not to be revealed'. The work contains the theological and philosophical doctrines and sacrificial rites of the Hindus as contained in the *Rik Beid* (Rig-Veda), *Ijedir Beid* (Yajur-Veda), *Sam Beid* (Sama-Veda) and *Atharban Beid* (Atharva-Veda). It is an extract of four Vedas and gives in fifty sections, the complete system of Hindu theology, which establishes the unity of first Being, whose perfections and operations personified, became the name of principal divinities of the Hindus and demonstrates the re-union of all nature to this first cause, the Deity.

'This translation, though it attracted considerable interest of scholars,' says Max Muller,<sup>5</sup> 'was written in so utterly unintelligible a style, that it required the lynx-like perspicacity of an intrepid philosopher, such as Schopenhauer, to discover a thread through such a labyrinth.' But nevertheless, it appears, that this secondary translation, which was made by the very first European who went to India for the purpose of studying Oriental

<sup>1</sup> Compiled by Robert Orme, London, 1782.

<sup>2</sup> Full details of this MS. are given by Duperron in his Latin version (*Oupnek'hat id Est Secretum Tegendum*, Vol. I, p. ii).

<sup>3</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I, p. lxi.

<sup>4</sup> *Opt. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Opt. cit.*, p. lviii.

religions, is of prime historical importance, for it was the first work which brought a knowledge of Indian philosophy to the West. It is not known whether Schopenhauer did actually read the Persian translation of the Upanishads, whom he 'had the courage to proclaim to an incredulous age, the vast treasures of thought, which were lying buried beneath that fearful jargon,' and that, 'which had been the most rewarding and most elevating reading which there could be possible in the world, that which had been the solace of his life and would be of his death'; but he pays a very high tribute of keen appreciation to Dārā Shikūh for his translation. At one place he remarks,<sup>1</sup> that Sulṭān Dārā Shikūh, the brother of Aurangzeb, was born and bred in India and therefore, probably understood Sanskrit as well as we our Latin; that moreover he was assisted by a number of most learned Pandits, 'all this gives me a very high opinion of his translation of the Vedic Upanishads into Persian'.

It would be interesting to note that how far Dārā Shikūh's Persian translation, exhibited a unique degree of fascination for Indian philosophy in the West. In 1882 A.D., the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, already made available to Europe by Anquetil Duperron, was carried so far as to the third remove from the original Sanskrit, for, in the same year Franz Mischel translated the Latin version into German. Whatever the shortcomings of Dārā Shikūh's Persian translation, its importance lies in the fact, that, although it was originally meant for 'the spiritual benefit of his own self, his children, his friends and seekers of Truth',<sup>2</sup> when the Upanishads were once translated from Sanskrit into Persian, at that time, the most widely read language of the East and understood likewise by many European scholars, they became generally accessible to all, who took an interest in the religious literature of India. It is, however, odd that the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, did not evoke much interest in India, neither at the time it was written nor at a later period; the Muslims did not take much notice of it and its study was generally confined to the Persianized Hindu court nobility of the time. Even to this day, it had been lying neglected and buried under a corner of obscurity.

Much can be said with regard to the nature and quality of the translation. Dārā Shikūh's own assertion is that he has translated 'these *Upanishads*, which are a treasury of monotheism, and among which the proficient even in the community (Hindu) are very few, without any worldly motive, word for word, in a clear style. A comparison with the original Sanskrit text, aptly bears out this statement, with the exception that at a few places, where the cryptic and philosophical sentences of the translation, need explanation in more explicit and unambiguous manner, he has most faithfully followed Sankarāchārya's commentary.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the inner

<sup>1</sup> *Parerga*, Vol. II, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to *Sirr-i-Akbar*.

<sup>3</sup> Though there is no mention of this fact in the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, but by an elaborate comparison of the Persian text with Sankarāchārya's commentary, I maintain, that in all the major Upanishads, Dārā Shikūh has followed his text and commentary. Sankarāchārya, who lived in the tenth century A.D., restored a critical text of nearly all the fundamental Upanishads of the Vedānta philosophy. It is still undecided as to the number of Upanishads on which he wrote his commentaries, although a long list of those ascribed to him has been compiled by Regnaud (*Philosophical de l'Inde*, p. 34) and Fitzward (*Index of Indian Philosophical System*). But all the twelve principal Upanishads, viz. *Chāndogya*, *Aitareya*, *Kaushitaki*, *Bṛhādarāyaka*, *Śvetāśwātara*, *Kaṭha*, *Taittiriya*, *Isāvāsya*, *Mundaka*, *Kena*, *Prasna* and *Māndūkya*, are admitted on all hands to contain Sankara's commentary. It is with regard to these twelve Upanishads that I am convinced that Dārā Shikūh has followed Sankara's text and his commentary. The only references to this fact in the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, are in one passage in the *Śvetāśwātara-Upanishad* (Fol. 119b) where it is said:



structure and the composite and heterogeneous character of the latter,<sup>1</sup> it would be found that disconnected and much repeated sacrificial rituals and dialogues, which form a part of the *Brāhmaṇas*, have been left undisturbed. An attempt has further been made, as would be found in the Sanskrit-Persian Glossary, to adapt the sense of the text, as far as possible, so as to make it more intelligible to the Muslims, by giving suitable words equivalents from Islamic phraseology, of the Indian philosophical terms and gods. In this respect, the *Sirr-i-Akbar* not only attains the merit of an excellent translation but also possesses the charm of an original work. As for instance, no amount of explanation or commentary would convey a clear idea of Indian deities like *Mahādeva* as *Isrāfīl*, *Viṣṇu* as *Mikā'il* and *Brahmān* as *Jibra'il*; or *Brahmāṇloka* as '*Ālam-i-Dhāt*, *Brahmloka* as *Sadrat-ul-Muntahā* or *Ākāśvānī* as *Wahī*, *Prāṇayām* as *Habs-i-Nafs*, *Om* or *Veda-mukha* as *Ism-i-A'zam*. *Om naman* as *Hū Allāh*, *Mahāpralaya* as *Qiyāmat-i-Kubra*, etc.

#### 4. THE PREFACE

Dārā Shikūh's preface to the *Sirr-i-Akbar* forms a very interesting study. It is a most revealing document of supreme importance, which must be read in  *toto*, for it touches many things besides his spiritual aspirations, which led to the translation of the Upanishads. In the following is given the Preface in the original with a complete English rendering of the same followed by a brief analysis of its salient features:—

### دیباجہ<sup>2</sup>

حَمْدِ ذاتیکہ نقطۂ باقی بسم اللہ در جمیع کتب سماری از اسرار (fol. 1b)

قدیم (اوست) و الحمد کہ ام الکتاب<sup>3</sup> است، در قرآن مجید اشاره بہ اسم اعظم

and the *Mundaka-Upanishad* (Fol. 170a):

and again at the same place:

تا اینجا تفسیر شنکراچارج بود

<sup>1</sup> The reason offered by Max Müller is that it has been supposed that Śankarā-chārya, who in writing his commentaries on the Upanishads, was chiefly guided by philosophical considerations, but it has nonetheless, fulfilled the first and indispensable task in a critical treatment of the text of the Upanishads. (*Ibid.*, p. lxxi.)

<sup>2</sup> A begins with اوم سری گنیش کنیمہ (ओम् श्रीगणेशाय नमः) which seems to be a later addition obviously by the Hindu scribe. D opens the Preface with the following verse:—

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم  
نقطۂ باہست چون سر قدیم

C omits the Preface; while nearly all other MSS. begin with: بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم. The Latin version adds the superscription: 'Aum' to the Preface.

<sup>3</sup> B and D both have: اوم الکتاب which reading is unsatisfactory. Anquetil Duperron's Latin translation (Vol. I) has: *alham am alketab* (*inspiratio primae souratar*).

اوست، و جمیع کتب سماوی و انبیا و اولیا همه مندرج در این اسم است  
و صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَیْ خَیْرِ خَلْقِهِ مُحَمَّدٌ آلِهِ و اصحابه اجمعین \*

اما بعد چون این فقیر بی اندوه، محمد دارا شکوه در سنه ۱۰۵۰ هـ یک  
هزار و پنجاه هجری به کشمیر جنت نظیر رفته بود، و بجاذبه عنایت الهی  
و فضل نامتناهی، سعادت ازادت اکمل کاملان، زبده عارفان، استاد استادان،  
پیر پیران، پیشوای پیشوایان، موحد حقائق آگاه حضرت ملا شاه سلمه الله<sup>۱</sup> دریافت -  
و چون ذوق دیدن عارفان هر طائفه و شنیدن سخنان بلند توحید بهم رسیده بود  
و اکثر کتب تصوف بنظر در آورده و رساله ها تصنیف کرده بود و تشنگی توحید  
که بحر است بی نهایت، دمدم زیاده میشد (fol. 2a) و مسئله های دقیق  
بخطا می رسید که حل آن جز بکلام الهی و اسناد (ارشاد) ذات نامتناهی امکان  
نداشت، و چون قرآن کریم و فرقان عظیم اکثری مرموز است و امروز داننده آن  
رمز کمیاب، خواست که جمیع کتب سماوی را به نظر در آورد، تا از همه کلام الهی  
که تفسیر خود است (?) اگر در کتابی مجمل باشد در کتابهای دیگر مفصل  
یافته شود و ازان تفصیل آن اجمال دانسته شود - نظر بر تورات و انجیل و زبور  
و فرقان و دیگر مصحف انداخت، اما بیان توحید در آنها هم مجمل و مرموز  
بود، و از ترجمه سهلی که اهل غرض (کرده) بودند، مطلوب معلوم نگردید \*

پس در پی آن شد که از چه جهت در هندوستان وحدت عیان، گفتگوی  
توحید بسیار است و علمای ظاهری و باطنی طائفه قدیم هند را بر وحدت انکاری  
و بر موحدان گفتاری نیست بلکه پایه اعتبار است - برخلاف جهلای این وقت  
که خود را علما قرار داده اند و در پی قیل و قال و آزار و به گفتر و انکار  
خدا شناسان و موحدان افتاده، جمیع سخنان توحید را که از فرقان حمید  
و احادیث صحیح نبوی صریح ظاهر است، رو می نمایند و راه زنان راه خدا اند \*

<sup>1</sup> For the life, works and relations of Mullā Shāh with Dārā Shikūh, vide the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. VI, Part II (New Series), pp. 134-146 and Vol. VI, Part IV (New Series), pp. 331-345, where the present writer has discussed Dārā Shikūh's relations with the saints of various orders.

<sup>2</sup> A reads: خود علما را قرار داده اند

بعد از این مراتب معلوم شد که در میان این قوم قدیم، پیش از جمیع کتب سماوی، چهار کتب<sup>1</sup> آسمانی که رِک بید و جَجَر بید و سَام بید و اَنَهَرین بید باشد، بر انبیای آن وقت که بزرگترین آنها برهما که آدم صغی الله است، با جمیع احکام نازل شده و این معنی از همین کتابها ظاهر است - و از قرآن مجید نیز معلوم میشود که هیچ قومی نیست که بی کتاب و پیغمبر باشد، چنانچه میفرماید: وَمَا كُنَّا مُعَذِّبِينَ حَتَّىٰ نَبْعَثَ رَسُولًا<sup>2</sup> و در آیت دیگر: وَأَنَّ مِنْ أُمَّةٍ إِلَّا خَلَا فِيهَا نَذِيرٌ<sup>3</sup> و در جای دیگر میفرماید: لَقَدْ أَرْسَلْنَا رُسُلَنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ وَأَنزَلْنَا مَعَهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْمِيزَانَ<sup>4</sup> پس ازین مشخص شد که الله تعالی هیچ قومی را عذاب نکند تا آنکه رسول در آن قوم مبعوث نه شده باشد، و هیچ آئینی نیست که در آن پیغمبری نه گذشته باشد، و تحقیق که فرستاده است رسولان را با معجزات ظاهر، و نازل شده است به ایشان کتابی و میزان \*

و خلاصه این چهار کتب را که جمیع اسرار سلوک<sup>5</sup> و اشغال توحید صرف در آن مندرج است، آپنکِہت می نامند و ابنای<sup>6</sup> آن زمان بر آن تفسیرهای به شرح و بسط تمام (fol. 2b) نوشته اند و همیشه آنرا بهترین عبادت<sup>7</sup> دانسته اند - این حق جوئی خود مبین را چون نظر بر اصول وحدت ذات بود، نه بزبان عربی و سُرِدانی و عبرانی و سنسکرت، خواست که این آپنکِہت ها را که گنج توحید است و دانندگان او در آن قوم هم کم مانده اند، بزبان فارسی، بی کم و زیاد، و بی غرض نفسانی، بعبارت راست، لفظاً بلفظاً ترجمه نموده بفهمد که این جماعه که آنرا از اهل اسلام اینقدر پوشیده و پنهان میدارند، در آن چه سراسر است؟

<sup>1</sup> کتاب : A :<sup>2</sup> Qur'an: XVII, 15.<sup>3</sup> Qur'an: XXXV, 24.<sup>4</sup> Qur'an: LVII, 25.<sup>5</sup> A : سلوک (śloka); Duperron's has *selouk*, translated as 'religiosi instituti'.<sup>6</sup> A : انبیای<sup>7</sup> A : عبارت

و چون در این ایام بلدۀ بنارس که دارالعلوم این قوم است، تعلق به این حق جو داشت، پَنَدَتَنان و سَنیاسیان را که سرآمدِ وقت و بید و آپنکِهت دان بودند، جمع ساخته، خود این خلاصۀ توحید را که آپنکِهت ها یعنی آسار پوشیدنی باشد و منتهای مطالب جمیع اولیاء ست، در سنه ۱۰۶۷ هزار و شصت و هفت هجری، بیغرضانه ترجمه نمود و هر مشکلی و هر سخن بلندی که میخواست و طالب آن بود و جست و نمی یافت، ازین خلاصۀ کتاب قدیم که بی شک و شبه اولین کُتبِ سماری و سرچشمۀ بحرِ توحید است و مطابق قرآن مجید بلکه تفسیر آنست، یافت \*

و صریح ظاهر میشود که این آیت بعینه در حق این کتاب است: إِنَّهُ لَقُرْآنٌ کَرِیمٌ فِی کُتُبٍ مَّکْنُونٍ لَا یَمَسُّهُ إِلَّا الْمُطَهَّرُونَ، تَنْزِیلٌ مِّن رَّبِّ الْعَالَمِینَ<sup>۱</sup>، یعنی قرآن کریم در کتاب است که آن کتاب پنهان است و او را ادراک نمیکند مگر دلی که مطهر باشد، و نازل شده از پروردگارِ عالمیان است - و مشخص و معلوم شد که این آیت در حق زبور و توریت و انجیل نیست و از لفظ تَنْزِیل چنین ظاهر میگردد که در حق لوح محفوظ هم نیست و چون آپنکِهت که سر پوشیدنی است، اصل این کتاب است (fol. 3a) و آیت های قرآن مجید بعینه در آن یافته میشود، پس تحقیق که "کتاب مکنون" این کتاب قدیم باشد، و ازین فقیر نادانسته ها را دانسته و ناهمیده ها را فهمیده شد \*

(د) وقت شروع در ترجمه از مصحف مجید فال کشوده و سورۀ اعراف بر آمد که اول این آیت: المص، کُتُبُ أَنْزَلَ إِلَیْكَ فَلَا یُکُن فِی صَدْرِكَ حَرَجٌ مِّنْهُ لَتُنذِرَ بِهِ وَذِکْرٌ لِلْمُذْنِبِینَ<sup>۲</sup> - یعنی الف، لام، میم، صاد، کتابیست که

<sup>۱</sup> Qur'ān: LVI, 77, 78, 79.

<sup>۲</sup> Qur'ān: VII, 1, 2.

نازل کرده شده به سوی تو ای مُحمّد صلعم، پس نباشد در سینه تو شکمی از آن  
 کتاب، و بیم گنی مردمان را و پندیست مومنان را \*  
 و بغیر از مستفید شدن خود و آل خود و دوستان خود و طالبان حق  
 مطلبی و مقصودی نبوده - سعادت‌مندی که غرضِ نفسِ شوم گذاشته، خالصاً  
 لوجه الله، این ترجمه را که به سرِ اکبر موسوم است، ترجمه کلام الهی دانسته،  
 ترک تعصب نموده بخواند و بفهمد، بی‌زوال و بیخوف و بی اندوه و رستگار مؤید  
 خواهد شد \*

### Translation

'Praised be the Being, that among whose eternal secrets, is the dot in the (ب) of the *Bismillāh* in all the heavenly books, and glorified be the mother of books. In the holy *Qur'ān* is the token of His glorious name; and the angels and the heavenly books and the prophets and the saints are all comprehended in this name. And be the blessings of the Almighty upon the best of His creatures, Muhammad and upon all his children and upon his companions universally!'

'To proceed: whereas this unsolicitous *faqīr*, Muhammad Dārā Shikūh in the year A.H. 1050 went to Kashmir, the resemblance of paradise, and by the grace of God and the favour of the Infinite, he there obtained the auspicious opportunity of meeting the most perfect of the perfects, the flower of the gnostics, the tutor of the tutors, the sage of the sages, the guide of the guides, the unitarian accomplished in the Truth, Mullā Shāh, on whom be the peace of God.'

'And whereas, he was impressed with a longing to behold the gnostics of every sect, and to hear the lofty expressions of monotheism, and had cast his eyes upon many books of mysticism and had written a number of treatises thereon, and as the thirst of investigation for *Tawhīd*, which is a boundless ocean, became every moment increased, subtle doubts came into his mind for which he had no possibility of solution, except by the word of the Lord and the direction of the Infinite. And whereas the holy *Qur'ān* is mostly allegorical, and at the present day, persons thoroughly conversant with the subtleties thereof are very rare, he became desirous of bringing in view all the heavenly books, for the very words of God itself are their own commentary; and what might be in one book compendious, in another might be found diffusive, and from the detail of one, the conciseness of the other might become comprehensible. He had therefore, cast his eyes on the Book of Moses, the Gospels, the Psalms and other scriptures, but the explanation of monotheism in them also was compendious and enigmatical, and from the slovenly translations which selfish persons had made, their purport was not intelligible.'

'Thereafter he considered, as to why the discussion about monotheism is so conspicuous in India, and why the Indian theologians and mystics ('*Ulema' i zāhiri wa bāṭinī*) of the ancient school do not disavow the Unity of God nor do they find any fault with the unitarians, but their belief is perfect in this respect; on the other hand, the ignoramuses of the present

age—the highwaymen in the path of God—who have established themselves for erudites and who, falling into the traces of polemics and molestation and apostatizing from and disavowing the true proficients in God and monotheism, display resistance against all the words of unitarianism, which are most evident from the glorious *Qur'ān* and the authentic traditions of indubitable prophecy.'

'And after verifications of these circumstances, it appeared that among this most ancient people, of all their heavenly books, which are the *Rig-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, the *Sama-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda*, together with a number of ordinances, descended upon the prophets of those times, the most ancient of whom was Brahmān or Adam, on whom be the peace of God, this purport is manifest from these books. And it can also be ascertained from the holy *Qur'ān*, that there is no nation without a prophet and without a revealed scripture, for it hath been said: *Nor do We chastise until We raise an apostle* (*Qur'ān*: XVII, 15). And in another verse: *And there is not a people but a warner has gone among them* (*Qur'ān*: XXXV, 24). And at another place: *Certainly We sent Our apostles with clear arguments, and sent down with them the Book and the measure* (*Qur'ān*: LVII, 25).'

'And the *summum bonum* of these four books, which contain all the secrets of the Path and the contemplative exercises of pure monotheism, are called the *Upanekhats*, and the people of that time have written commentaries with complete and diffusive interpretations thereon; and being still understood as the best part of their religious worship, they are always studied. And whereas this unsolicitous seeker after the Truth had in view the principle of the fundamental Unity of the Personality and not Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit languages, he wanted to make without any worldly motive, in a clear style, an exact and literal translation of the *Upanekhat* into Persian. For it is a treasure of Monotheism and there are few thoroughly conversant with it even among the Indians. Thereby he also wanted to solve the mystery which underlies their efforts to conceal it from the Muslims.'

'And as at this period the city of Benares, which is the centre of the sciences of this community, was in certain relations with this seeker of the Truth, he assembled together the *pandits* and the *sannyāsis*, who were the most learned of their time and proficient in the *Upanekhat*, he himself being free from all materialistic motives, translated these essential parts of monotheism, which are the *Upanekhat*, i.e. the secrets to be concealed, and the end of purport of all the saints of God, in the year 1067 A.H.; and thus every difficulty and every sublime topic which he had desired or thought and had looked for and not found, he obtained from these essences of the most ancient books, and without doubt or suspicion, these books are first of all heavenly books in point of time, and the source and the fountain-head of the ocean of Unity, in conformity with the holy *Qur'ān* and even a commentary thereon. And it becomes clearly manifest that this verse is literally applicable to these ancient books: *Most surely it is an honoured Qur'ān; in a book that is protected. None shall touch it save the purified ones. A revelation by the Lord of the worlds* (*Qur'ān*: LVI, 77, 78, 79, 80).'

'It is evident to any person that this sentence is not applicable to the Psalms or the Book of Moses or to the Gospel, and by the word "revelation", it is clear that it is not applicable to the Reserved Tablet (*Lauh-i-Mahfūz*); and whereas the *Upanekhat*, which are a secret to be concealed and are the essence of this book, and the verses of the holy *Qur'ān* are literally found therein, of a certainty, therefore, the hidden book is this most ancient book, and hereby things unknown became known and things incomprehensible became comprehensible to this *faqir*.'

'At the commencement of the translation, he opened the pages of the holy *Qur'ān* to take an augury and the Sura *al-A'raf* came up of which the first verse is thus: *I am Allāh, the best knower, the Truthful. A Book revealed to you—so let there be no straitness in your breast on account of it—that you may warn thereby and a reminder to the believers* (*Qur'ān*: VII, 1, 2); and he had no intention and no purpose except for the spiritual benefit of his own self and of his children, his friends and the seekers of Truth.'

'Happy is he, who having abandoned the prejudices of vile selfishness, sincerely and with the Grace of God, renouncing all partiality, shall study and comprehend this translation entitled the *Sirr-i-Akbar* (the Great Secret), knowing it to be a translation of the words of God, shall become imperishable, fearless, unsolicitous and eternally liberated.'

When analysed, the Preface to the *Sirr-i-Akbar* throws much light on Dārā Shikūh's spiritual longings, his thirst for religious investigation and attitude towards Hinduism. Briefly, it can be summarized as follows:—

- (1) Invocations, praise of God and Muḥammad.
- (2) He visits Kashmir in A.H. 1050 (A.D. 1640) and meets his spiritual teacher Mullā Shāh.
- (3) He asserts that he had come into contact with saints of various orders and sects and had studied to a great extent works on mysticism.
- (4) His desire for investigation for Truth made him collect into view all the heavenly books with the object of seeking illumination on many spiritual and religious matters.
- (5) In the *Qur'ān*, he finds some passages allegorical and for the clarification of these, he entertains no doubt 'that there was no possibility of solution except by the word of the Lord', he therefore, studies the Book of Moses, the Gospels, the Psalms, etc., but 'the slovenly translations of interested persons' fail to satisfy him.
- (6) He then turns towards Hinduism, 'where there is so much discourse on the *Tauḥīd*', and finds that both in its outer and inward forms 'there is no disavowal of Divine Unity'.

Thereafter he treats with contempt 'the ignoramuses of the present age, the highwaymen in the path of God who have established themselves as erudite and often molest and harass the true lovers of Monotheism'.

- (7) The *Vedas*, to him appear as 'the essence of Monotheism', and he translates the *Upanishads* 'without any worldly motive' in 1067 A.H. with the help of learned Pandits of Benares and gives his translation the title of *Sirr-i-Akbar* (Great Secret), for, he regards the *Upanishads* as Divine Secrets.

In support of his assertion he cites this verse from the *Qur'ān*: *Most surely it is an honoured Qur'ān; in a book that is protected. None shall touch it save the purified ones. A revelation by the Lord of the worlds.* Commenting on the verse, he observes, that it became literally applicable to the *Upanishads*, which are 'secrets to be concealed' and the essence of this book and the verses of the Holy *Qur'ān* are literally found therein. 'Of a certainty, therefore,' he remarks, 'the hidden book is this most ancient book and hereby things unknown became known and things incomprehensible became comprehensible to this *faqīr* (Dārā Shikūh).'

- (8) He was afraid lest such bold an assertion might shock the orthodox Muslim ecclesiasts, so he adds, that he had translated the *Upanishads* for his own spiritual benefit and for the religious advancement of his children, his friends and the seekers of Truth, and not for the general public.

### 5. DĀRĀ SHIKŪH'S APPROACH TO HINDU PHILOSOPHY

We have briefly outlined elsewhere Dārā Shikūh's interest in Hinduism and his approach towards Indian philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Two things are clear from the study of his works on Hinduism and his translations from Sanskrit. *First* his pursuit of Indian religious thought was intuitive with a spiritual background; it was neither academic, nor intellectual, nor, as some think, it had any political motive. As he himself observes, it was a part of 'his desire for investigation of the Truth'.<sup>2</sup> *Secondly*, its comparative value was confined, unlike Badāūnī and Abul Faḍl to Islamic thought only—mostly in the details of technical terms and not of any major speculative problems. Thus in the first place we find that his 'word for word' translation of the Upanishads was made 'for his own spiritual benefit and for the religious advancement of his children, friends and the seekers of the Truth'.<sup>3</sup> Similarly he remarks in the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* that his researches (in comparative study) were according to his own intuition and taste, for the benefit of the members of his own family and that he had no concern with the common folk of either community.<sup>4</sup> He does not find disavowal of the Truth in Hinduism and the Vedas appear to him as the essence of monotheism. The monotheistic philosophy of the Upanishads he thinks, is in conformity with the holy *Qur'ān* and a commentary thereon.<sup>5</sup> And he comes to the conclusion that in the Upanishads, 'the verses of the holy *Qur'ān* are literally found'.<sup>6</sup>

### 6. HIS WORKS ON HINDUISM AND TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT

Dārā Shikūh's translations from Sanskrit include that of the Upanishads, entitled the *Sirr-i-Akbar* (wr. 1067 A.H.), the *Bhāgavat-Gīta* (wr. between 1065-67), and a translation of the *Yoga-Vāsishṭha* made at his instance. His other works on Hinduism are the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam; and the *Mukālama* or Seven Dialogues on comparative mythology with a Hindu saint, named Lāl Dās. The *Risāla'i Haq Numā'*, though a treatise on Šūfī practices, shows distinct signs of the influence of the Indian Yoga philosophy. Dārā Shikūh claims that he had read a Persian translation of the *Yoga-Vāsishṭha* by Shaikh Šūfī—probably by Šūfī Sharif Qubjahānī ent. the *Tuhfa'i Majlis*, based on the *Yogavāsishṭha-sāras*—prior to A.H. 1066, when he ordered a retranslation of the work. Some of the physical exercises detailed in the *Risāla*, e.g. the *Habs-i-dam*, the *āwurd-burd*, the astral healing, the centres of meditation in the heart and brain, etc. bear a close resemblance to the Hindu *Tāntric* meditations. The *sālik's* journey through the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, *Jabarūt*, *Malakūt* and *Lahūt*, for instance, is compared by him to the Indian *Avasthātman* or the four worlds of *Jāgrat*, *Swapna*, *Sasupatī* and *Turiya*.<sup>7</sup> The *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, written in 1065 A.H. prior to the translation of the Upanishads, shows clearly that by that time Dārā Shikūh had acquired considerable knowledge of Hindu—Yogic and Vedantic—philosophy, together with Sanskrit technical vocabulary of Indian mythology and cosmology, etc. which would enable him to make a comparative study of the same with their equivalents from Islamic thought. Thus we find, that he has dealt with the identical conceptions of Elements, Senses, Devotional Exercises, Soul,

<sup>1</sup> Vide the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Santiniketan, Vol. V, Part III (New Series), p. 275-290.

<sup>2</sup> *Sirr-i-Akbar*; Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Bib. Ind.*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Sirr-i-Akbar*; Introduction.

<sup>7</sup> *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 46.



Air, Sound, Vision of God, Skies, Earth, Resurrection, etc. as found in both the religions. The *Mukālama Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh* shows the same comparative spirit and his knowledge of Indian mythology and some aspects of the speculative philosophy of the Hindus.

## 7. HIS KNOWLEDGE OF SANSKRIT

Dārā Shikūh's knowledge of Sanskrit language, notwithstanding the fact that he employed a large number of Sanskrit pandits in the translation of the Upanishads, appears to be very considerable. It is not known as to how many Sanskrit works he had read in the original. Stray references in some contemporary works allude to his keen appreciation of Sanskrit poetry. A delightful story tells how being pleased with the Sanskrit poetry of his favourite poet Jagannāth Miśra, Dārā Shikūh promised to give him anything he asked for.<sup>1</sup> Many contemporary Sanskrit poets, including Kavīndracarya, Kavī Harirām and others have showered great praises on him for his learning and patronage of Sanskrit poetry.<sup>2</sup> Nothing, however, is known of the actual scope of his studies in the field of Sanskrit literature and philosophy, either from contemporary Sanskrit writers or Persian historians. Unless such evidence is forthcoming, his knowledge of Sanskrit literature can only be based on the internal evidence of his works on Hinduism—his intimate acquaintance of Hinduism, particularly Hindu mythology as evidenced from the *Mukālama*; of traces of Hindu gnosticism from the *Risāla-i Haq Numā*, of the technical Sanskrit philosophical vocabulary from the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*; of the Vedantic and philosophical terminology, cosmogonic myths, legends, mystic interpretations and the symbolisms in the intricate Āraṇyakas and Brāhmaṇas from the *Sirr-i-Akbar*. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute claims to have discovered a Sanskrit work (?) of Dārā Shikūh, entitled the *Samudrasaṅgama* (Mingling of the Two Oceans) in the form of a MS. dated 1708 A.D. I do not know on which basis he claims it to be a Sanskrit work of the prince. It would be a rare find if the work does not happen to be a Sanskrit translation of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* (Mingling of the Two Oceans).

## 8. SANSKRIT SCHOLARS ASSOCIATED WITH DĀRĀ SHIKŪH

Dārā Shikūh was associated with many Sanskrit scholars and it can be presumed that he gained much knowledge of Hinduism from that contact. In the Preface to the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, he observes that the city of Benares 'the centre of the sciences of this (Hindu) community' was 'in certain relation with him'<sup>3</sup> Bernier tells us that 'a large staff of Benares Pandits' was presumably brought to Delhi for the purpose of helping him in the translation of the Upanishads.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, difficult to ascertain the names of the Sanskrit scholars and their exact share in the translation. Nearly all Persian and Sanskrit sources are silent in this respect and the meagre information like that of Mirza Muḥammad Kāẓim that 'he was constantly in the society of Brahmans, jogis and sanniyasis'<sup>5</sup> does not

<sup>1</sup> *Medieval Indian Mysticism*, London, p. 143 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the *Kavīndracandrodaya* (Poona, 1939): An anthology of addresses presented to Kavīndracarya, the poet-scholar of the house of Dārā Shikūh, by 69 pandits of Benares and Prayag, for the poet's successful persuasion of Emperor Shāh Jahān to abolish the pilgrim tax on Allahabad and Benares. For a complete list of the names of the pandits, many of whom refer to Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shikūh in most eulogizing language, *vide* preface to the work (p. xv ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *Opt. cū.*

<sup>4</sup> *Travels*, p. 323, n 3 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*.

lead us anywhere. From the chroniclers of the Mughal period, we gather that at the Delhi Imperial court many eminent Sanskrit scholars were employed and maintained by the Emperors Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān.<sup>1</sup> Among those, who were at the court of Shāh Jahān were Pancharāj of Benares and Phatan Mīśra, former *protégés* of Jahāngir; Harnāth on whom Shāh Jahān conferred the title of *Mahāpātra*, Kavīndracarya Saravati on whom the Emperor conferred the title of *Sarva-vidyānidhāna*; Vāmasidha Mīśra, and Jagannāth (Mīśra?) of whom it is said that he 'was once weighed with silver at the Emperor's order, and the money was given to him as a reward'.<sup>2</sup> Jagannāth was also given the title of *Mahākabrā'i* (poet-laureate) by the Emperor. Another Benares Pandit (probably Kavīndracarya, *infra.*) was granted a pension of Rs.2,000. Other Sanskrit scholars who were directly in the pay of prince Dārā Shikūh included:

(1) Banvali Dās, with the *nom de plume* of *Vali*, a munshī of Dārā Shikūh. He was a bi-lingual scholar in Persian and Sanskrit and remained in the service of the prince for a long time. His works include the *Rajavali*,<sup>3</sup> a historical work on the Delhi kings from Yudhistira to Shāh Jahān and a *mathnawī*.<sup>4</sup>

(2) Jagannāth Mīśra, the eminent Sanskrit poet and scholar on whom Shāh Jahān bestowed the title of *Panditrājā*. He was attached to the court of Dārā Shikūh, who was a great admirer of his poetry. Among his works is the *Jagatsimha* containing eulogies of Dārā Shikūh and the *Āṣif-nīlāsa* devoted to the praise of Āṣif Khān, brother of Nūr Jahān. So attached was the Pandit to the prince that after the latter's execution in 1659 A.D., he left the Mughal court and retired to Muttra.

(3) Chander Bhān Brāhman, another munshī of Dārā Shikūh, who translated for him the *Mukālama* into Persian.

(4) Kavīndracarya Saravati of Benares, whose connection with the Mughal court and his great influence with Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shikūh is established from the Sanskrit anthology *Kavīndracandrodaya*. Gode has identified him with Bernier's 'most celebrated pandit in all Indies', who 'belonged to the household of Dārā Shikūh'.<sup>5</sup> He was an honoured person at the court and led a deputation of Benares Pandits before the Emperor to seek the abolition of Pilgrim Tax on Benares and Allahabad. Shāh Jahān conferred upon him the title of *Sarva-vidyānidhāna* and also gave him a pension of Rs.2,000.

## 9. THE NUMBER OF THE UPANISHADS

The number of the Upanishads translated by Dārā Shikūh in the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, is fifty-two; but their original number as given by various scholars is not the same. According to Weber,<sup>6</sup> so far it can be relied upon, it is two hundred and thirty-five. Both in the *Mahāvākya-muktāvali* and *Muktikā-Upanishad*, it is one hundred and eight. Max Müller<sup>7</sup> counts

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliography of Mughal India* (Karnatak Publishing House), Appendix III, pp. 154-65, on the *Sanskrit Writers of Mughal Period*. Among those who lived during Shāh Jahān's reign the names of 63 writers are recorded. Some of these, at least, appear to have connection with the Mughal court.

<sup>2</sup> *Tadhkira'i 'Ulemā'i Hunūd* (Cawnpore), p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Rieu: II, 855a iii.

<sup>4</sup> Sprenger: *Oude. Cat.*, p. 589.

<sup>5</sup> *Kavīndracarya Saravati at the Mughal Court*: vide the *Annals of Sri Venkateswara* Oriental Institute, Vol. I, part 4.

<sup>6</sup> *History of the Sanskrit Literature*, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> An alphabetical list published in 1865 in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XIX, p. 137-158.

them as one hundred and fifty-nine; and Haug gives this number as one hundred and seventy, but apart from the exact determination of the total number of the Upanishads, it is admitted on all hands, that out of these twelve form as the source for the history of the earliest Indian philosophy. These called by W. Winternitz<sup>1</sup> as 'the Vedic-Upanishads', viz. *Aitareya*, *Bṛīhāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Taittiriya*, *Kaushītaki*, *Kena*, *Kātha*, *Śvetāśvatara*, *Praśna*, *Īśāvāsya*, *Māṇḍūkya*, *Muṇḍaka*, have all been included by Dārā Shikūh in the *Sirr-i-Akbar*. The remaining, whatever their true number, are classified as 'the non-Vedic-Upanishads', only few of them having real traditional connection with the Vedic schools, mostly contain the religious doctrines rather than philosophical ideals of a much later period. Of this category Dārā Shikūh has included forty in his translation. As I have already remarked, this number varies slightly in different MSS.<sup>2</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Full details of the MSS. used, are given later on, while Anquetil Duperron's Latin version, based on a MS. transcribed decidedly earlier than 1775 A.D. contains only fifty Upanishads in the following order:—

1. Oupnek'hat *Tschandouk* é Sam Beid.
2. Oupnek'hat *Brehdarang* é Djedjr Beid.
3. Oupnek'hat *Mitri* é Djedjr Beid.
4. Oupnek'hat *Mandek* ex Atharban Beid.
5. Oupnek'hat *Eischavasiéh* é Djedjr Beid.
6. Oupnek'hat *Sarb* ex Atharban Beid.
7. Oupnek'hat *Narain* ex Atharban Beid.
8. Oupnek'hat *Tadiw* é Djedjr Beid.
9. Oupnek'hat *Athrb* ex Atharban Beid.
10. Oupnek'hat *Hensnad* ex Atharban Beid.
11. Oupnek'hat *Antrteheh* é Rak Beid.
12. Oupnek'hat *Kok'heuk* é Rak Beid.
13. Oupnek'hat *Santaster* é Djedjr Beid.
14. Oupnek'hat *Pors* ex Atharban Beid.
15. Oupnek'hat *Dehanbandhu* ex Atharban Beid.
16. Oupnek'hat *Maha* ex Atharban Beid.
17. Oupnek'hat *Atma Pra Boudeh* ex Atharban Beid.
18. Oupnek'hat *Keioul* ex Atharban Beid.
19. Oupnek'hat *Schat Roudri* é Djedjr Beid.
20. Oupnek'hat *Djog Schak'ha* ex Atharban Beid.
21. Oupnek'hat *Djoqtan* ex Atharban Beid.
22. Oupnek'hat *Schiw Sanklap* é Djedjr Beid.
23. Oupnek'hat *Athrb Schauk'ha* ex Atharban Beid.
24. Oupnek'hat *Atma* ex Atharban Beid.
25. Oupnek'hat *Brahm Badiu* ex Atharban Beid.
26. Oupnek'hat *Anbrad Bandeh* ex Atharban Beid.
27. Oupnek'hat *Tidjbandeh* ex Atharban Beid.
28. Oupnek'hat *Karbheh* ex Atharban Beid.
29. Oupnek'hat *Djabal* ex Atharban Beid.
30. Oupnek'hat *Mahanaran* é Djedjr Beid.
31. Oupnek'hat *Mandouk* ex Atharban Beid.
32. Oupnek'hat *Schekl* ex Atharban Beid.
33. Oupnek'hat *Techehourka* ex Atharban Beid.
34. Oupnek'hat *Prahm Hens* ex Atharban Beid.
35. Oupnek'hat *Arank* ex Atharban Beid.
36. Oupnek'hat *K'in* ex Atharban Beid.
37. Oupnek'hat *K'hiouni* ex Atharban Beid.
38. Oupnek'hat *Anandbli* é Djejr Beid.
39. Oupnek'hat *Bharkbli* é Djedjr Beid.
40. Oupnek'hat *Bark'heh Soukt* é Djedjr Beid.
41. Oupnek'hat *Djounka* ex Atharban Beid.
42. Oupnek'hat *Amrat Lankoul* ex Atharban Beid.
43. Oupnek'hat *Anbratnad* ex Atharban Beid.
44. Oupnek'hat *Tachhakli* é Djedjr Beid.
45. Oupnek'hat *Tark* ex Atharban Beid.
46. Oupnek'hat *Baskal* ex Rak Beid.
47. Oupnek'hat *Ark'hi* ex Atharban Beid.

text, which I have utilized, between fifty and fifty-two. In the following is given the list and the order in which they appear in MS. A on which I have principally based my text:

*Book I. From the Rig-Veda: (3). (Fol. 1a-26b.)*

- (1) Aitereya-Upanishad.
- (2) Kaushitaki-Upanishad.
- (3) Vāskala-Upanishad.

*Book II. From the Yajur-Veda: (12). (Fol. 27-143b.)*

- (4) Śivasāṅkalpa-Upanishad.
- (5) Śatarūdrīya-Upanishad.
- (6) Brihadārṇyaka-Upanishad.
- (7) Maitri-Upanishad.
- (8) Śwetāśvātara-Upanishad.
- (9) Īśāvāsyā-Upanishad.
- (10) Tadeva-Upanishad.
- (11) Mahānārāyaṇa-Upanishad.
- (12) Bhṛigavallī-Upanishad.
- (13) Puruṣasūkta-Upanishad.
- (14) Ānandaballī-Upanishad.
- (15) Chhādeya-Upanishad.

*Book III. From the Sama-Veda. (Fol. 144a-168b.)*

- (16) Chāndogya-Upanishad.

*Book IV. From the Atharva-Veda. (Fol. 169b-253a.)*

- (17) Mundaka-Upanishad.
- (18) Sarva-Upanishad.
- (19) Nārāyaṇa-Upanishad.
- (20) Atharvaśīrah-Upanishad.
- (21) Hamsanānda-Upanishad.
- (22) Praśna-Upanishad.
- (23) Dhyānbindu-Upanishad.
- (24) Mahā-Upanishad.
- (25) Ātmaprabodha-Upanishad.
- (26) Kaivalya-Upanishad.
- (27) Yogaśikha-Upanishad.
- (28) Yogatattva-Upanishad.
- (29) Atharvaśikha-Upanishad.
- (30) Ātma-Upanishad.
- (31) Brahmavidyā-Upanishad.
- (32) Amritavindu-Upanishad.
- (33) Tejovindhu-Upanishad.
- (34) Garbha-Upanishad.
- (35) Jāvala-Upanishad.
- (36) Māṇḍūkya-Upanishad.
- (37) Piṅgala-Upanishad.
- (38) Cūlika-Upanishad.

48. Oupnek'hat *Pranou* ex Atharban Beid.

49. Oupnek'hat *Savuk* ex Atharban Beid.

50. Oupnek'hat *Narsing'heh* ex Atharban Beid.

(Oupnek'hat *id Est Secretum Tegendum*, Vol. I, p. 13.)

- (39) Paramahansa-Upanishad.
- (40) Ārunika-Upanishad.
- (41) Kena-Upanishad.
- (42) Kathaka-Upanishad.
- (43) Kshurika-Upanishad.
- (44) Mrityulangula-Upanishad.
- (45) Amritanāda-Upanishad.
- (46) Taraka-Upanishad.
- (47) Praṇava-Upanishad.
- (48) Ārsheya-Upanishad.
- (49) Śaunaka-Upanishad.
- (50) Narsinha-Upanishad.
- (51) Vāmautaravāṇī-Upanishad.
- (52) Gopālautaravāṇī-Upanishad.

### 10. THE TRANSLITERATION

The inaccuracy of the transliteration of Sanskrit words into Persian is the chief defect of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, but perhaps, Dārā Shikūh's aim was not altogether philological, and so no uniform method of transliteration has been followed. Indianized forms of letters, e.g. کھ, *kh*; گھ, *gh*; چھ, *ch*; ٹھ, *th*; ٹ, *t*; ٹھ, *th*; بھ, *bh*, etc. which do not exist in Persian have been freely used. No distinction has either been made between the nasals, viz. ञ *ñ* (*med. palat.*); ण, *ṇ* (*gutt.*); ण, *ṇ* (*ling.*) and न, *n* (*dent.*) and all have been transliterated as ن, *n*. In many cases it is not possible to distinguish between hard and sonant consonants. More often letters have either been omitted, added or interchanged, so as to give a more convenient Persianized pronunciation, e.g. addition of ن, *n* in the terminal and interchanging of ब, *b*, ب with व, *v*, و as in آتھرن for *Atharva*; substitution of ज, *j*, ج, for य, *y*, ی as in یاجُر for *Yajur*; of त, *t*, ت for द, *d*, د as in اُپنیشَد for *Upanishad*; of क, *k*, ک for ग, *g*, گ as in رِگ for *Rig*; of स, *s*, س, for श, *ś*, ش as in بهوت آکس Bhūtākāśa, etc.

Even these glaring inaccuracies form an inconsistent process, which has further been worsened by the orthographical mistakes made by various scribes, who had probably no knowledge of Sanskrit and have very often transformed the original word into something quite unrecognizable. So far as possible, I have identified all the Sanskrit words and given in the foot-notes their correct reading. The following table of transliteration, though not quite perfect in itself, may to some extent, help in this respect:—

क, *k*, ک e.g. in ارک, *arka* or in برهم لوك *Brahmāṇloka*.

ख, *kh*, کھ e.g. in کھنڈپرلی *Khaṇḍaparalaya*.

ग, *g*, گ e.g. in हरणगर्भ *Hiraṇyagarbha*, or سرگ *Swarga*; often interchanged with क, e.g. in گریٹش *gritsa*.

घ, *gh*, گھ e.g. in گھريت *ghrit*.

च, *ch*, च, e.g. in मरिच, *marīchi*; अर्धरच, *ardharcha*.

छ, *ch* (*palat.*), छ, e.g. in च्छान्दोग, *Chāndogya*.

ज, *j*, ज, e.g. in जिवान्मा, *jivātman*; जाग्रित, *jagrit*.

झ, *jh* (*palat.*) झ.

ञ, *ñ* (*med. palat.*), ञ, e.g. in याचन, *yāchñā*.

ण, *ṇ* (*nas. ling.*), ण, e.g. in प्राणायाम, *prāṇayām*; or नारायण, *Nārāyaṇa*.

उ, *ṇ* (*nas. gutt.*), उ, e.g. in अङ्गुस, *āṅgrisa*.

न, *n* (*dent.*), न, e.g. in निराकार, *Nirākāra*.

य, *y*, य, but more often as ज, e.g. in योगतत्त, *Yogatattva*.

श, *ś* and ष, *sh*, श or स e.g. in आकसबानि, *Ākāśavānī*; पुरुष, *Purusha*, etc.

त, *t*, त, e.g. in तमोगुण, *tamoguṇa*.

थ, *th* (*dent. asp.*), थ, e.g. in पागथ, *Pāgātha*; उदगित्थ, *Udgūtha*; sometimes as त, *t*, e.g. in उक्त, *Uktha*.

द, *d*, द, e.g. in देव, *Deva*; दारसपूरणमस, *Darśapūraṇmās*; sometimes as त, *t*, e.g. in उपनिषद्, *Upanishad*.

ध, *dh* (*dent. asp.*), ध, e.g. in बुद्धि, *Buddhī*; समद्धि, *Samādhī*.

ल, *l*, ल, e.g. in लोकपाल, *Lokapālan*.

ळ, *l* (*semivocalis mollis*), ल.

स, *s*, स, e.g. in स्वप्न, *swapna*; सलज, *Sārajya*.

र, *r*, र or त, e.g. in वीरात, or वीरात, *Virāṭa*.

ड, *ṭh* (*dent. asp.*) ढ.

ढ, *ḍ* (*med. ling.*), ढ, e.g. in ब्रह्मण्ड, *Brahmāṇḍa*.

ण, *ḍh* (*med. asp.*) ण.

र, *r*, र, e.g. in राजसूय, *Rājsūya*.

प, *p*, प, e.g. in पवामानि, *pāvamānī*; प्रकृत, *Prahuta*.

फ, *ph* (*Lab. asp.*), फ.

ब, *b*, ब, e.g. in ब्रह्मण, *Brahmāṇ*; ब्रिहति, *Brihati*.

व, *v*, व, e.g. in वायु, *vāyū*; very often interchanged with ब, *b*, e.g. in विसुअनर, *Vaiśwanara*; विजरा, *Vijara*; वेद, *Veda*; वामदेव, *Vāmadeva*, etc.

भ, *bh*, भ, e.g. in बिभरदवाज, *Bibharadvaja*; भूतलोक, *Bhūtiloka*.

ह, h, ɛ, e.g. in اَهِه, *aha*; اَنَاهِت, *Anāhita*.

अ, a, ı.

इ, i, ı.

अ, a, ı, e.g. in اَنْتَرَجَامِي, *Antrajāmin*.

आ, a, ı, e.g. in آپ, *āp*.

इ, i, ı, e.g. in اِنْدْرِیَانِی, *Indriyāni*.

ऊ, u, ı, e.g. in اُکْت, *Uktha*; اُودان, *Udāṇa*.

## II. THE TEXT

With regard to the Persian text, I have endeavoured, so far it was practicable, to compare the major Upanishads with the Sanskrit original and if still at a few places, it remains cryptic, disconnected and unsatisfactory, it is because the translator, who has rendered into Persian portions of Śaṅkarāchārya's classical commentary, has not distinguished the text of the Upanishads from the former. He has mixed up the both, without any thought of proper classification and arrangement of each separately. This intermixed and disjointed character of narrative, which constitutes a very substantial defect of the translation, has further been intensified by the fact that each *adhyāya* with its various *khaṇḍās* has not been classified as in the original Sanskrit text. The metrical portions of the Sanskrit text have also been treated in the same manner and the *ślokas*, *triśṭubhs* and *anuṣṭubhs* have been mixed up with the non-metrical portion. The *Brāhmaṇas*, mostly containing a collection of utterances and discussions of learned priests upon sacrificial rites, cosmogonic myths and ancient legends, have been incorporated fully and often repeated. This does not in any way minimize the value of the work, but makes the text extremely unpalatable.<sup>1</sup> Not too often the *Āraṇyakas*<sup>2</sup> have been omitted in the Persian translation, as for instance, in the *Āitereya-Upanishad* the first *Āraṇyaka* has been entirely left out, while the second and the third *Āraṇyakas* known as the *MahāĀitereya* have been retained.

The translation at some places is too literal and very vague, but it is faithful to the original, and nowhere Dārā Shikūh has tried to take liberty with the text. The scope of the present paper being limited, I cannot do better than give a few passages from the original Sanskrit and their Persian translation by Dārā Shikūh in order to illustrate my remarks. From the translation, its simple and unaffected style would be manifest. In many cases, the original Sanskrit words, which due to philosophical and technical considerations, have been left untranslated, make things more comprehensible than their mere equivalents in Persian would have done.

<sup>1</sup> Both Sylvian Levi and W. Winternitz call these *Brāhmaṇas* as 'priestly pseudo-science'. Even Max Müller remarks that however interesting the *Brāhmaṇas* may be to the students of Indian literature, they are of small interest to the general reader. The greater portion of them is simply twaddle, and what is worse, theological twaddle. No person, who is not acquainted beforehand with the place which the *Brāhmaṇas* fill in the history of Indian mind, could read more than ten pages without being disgusted (cited in the *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 187).

<sup>2</sup> The *Āraṇyakas* or 'forest texts' as distinguished from sacrificial or ceremonial rites contained in the *Brāhmaṇas*, are hardly distinguishable from the Upanishads. They are in fact, component parts of the *Brāhmaṇas*, but contain only 'the mysticism and symbolism of sacrifice and priestly philosophy'.

## Sanskrit

ओम् । उवा वा अश्वस्य मेध्यस्य शिरः । सूर्यश्चक्षुः, वातः प्राणः, व्यास-  
मग्निर्वैश्वानरः, सम्पत्सर आत्मानस्य मेध्यस्य । द्यौः पृष्ठम्, अन्तरिक्षमुदरं, पृथिवी  
पाजस्यम्, दिशः पार्श्वे, अवान्तरदिशः पर्ववः, ऋतवोऽङ्गानि, मासाश्चाद्धमासाश्च  
पर्वाणि, अहोरात्राणि प्रतिष्ठा, नक्षत्राण्यस्थीनि, नभो मांसानि । ऊवर्धं सिकताः,  
सिन्धवो गुदाः, यक्षश्च क्लोमानश्च पर्वताः, ओषधयश्च वनस्पतयश्च लोमानि, उद्यन्  
पूर्वार्धः, निस्त्रोचञ्जघनार्धः, यदिष्टम्भते तद्विद्योतते, यदिधूनुते तत्क्षनयति, यन्मेहति  
तद्वर्षति, वागेवास्य वाक् ॥

(Brihad. Upan. I, 1, 1.)

## Persian

سرِ آن اسپ پاک صبح است، و چشمِ او آفتاب، و پَرِ آنِ آن باد، و دهنِ  
کُشاده آن آتشِ بیسوانر یعنی حرارتِ غریزی که در کل عالم است، و بدنِ او  
یک سالِ تمام، و پُشتِ او بهشت، شکمِ او فضا، و سُمِ او این زمین، و پهلوهای  
او جهات، و استخوانهای او پهلویی کُنجهای جهات، و اعضایی باتیمانده او  
فصلها، و مفاصلِ او مالهها و نصف مالهها (که آنرا پچه گویند) و پاهای او شب  
و روز چهار قسم، (اول شب و روز برهما، دوم شب و روز فرشتها، سوم شب و روز  
عالمِ ارواح، چهارم شب و روز آدمیان، این چهار قسم هر چهار پایِ اوست)،  
و استخوانهای بانی او ستارههای ثوابت، و گوشتِ او ابر، و غذایِ او ریگ  
و رگهای او دریاها، و جگر و سپرز او کوهها، و موهای او درختها، و نصف  
پیشِ بدنِ او نصفِ اولِ روز، و نصفِ آخرِ بدنِ او نصفِ آخرِ روز، و خمیازه او  
درخشیدنِ برق، و تکانیدنِ او غرشِ ابر، و شاشِ او بلران، و شهیه او گویائی \*

(برهد آرنگ آپنکَهت fol. 34a)

## Sanskrit

अथ यदिदमस्मिन् ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेष्ट्म दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तराकाशस्तस्मिन्  
यदन्तस्तदन्वेष्ट्यं तद्वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति ॥ १ ॥ तं चेद्ब्रूयुर्यदिदमस्मिन् ब्रह्मपुरे  
दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेष्ट्म दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तराकाशः किन्तदत्र विद्यते यदन्वेष्ट्यं यद्वाव  
विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति ॥ २ ॥ स ब्रूयाद् यावान् वा अयमाकाशस्तावान् एषोऽन्तर्हृदय



आकाश उभे अस्मिन् द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरेव समाहिते उभावपि च वायुश्च  
सूर्याचन्द्रमसावभौ विद्युन्नक्षत्राणि यच्चास्येहास्ति यच्च नास्ति सर्वं तदस्मिन्  
समाहितमिति ॥ ३ ॥ तं चेद्ब्रूयुरस्मिंस्त्रेदिदं ब्रह्मपुरे सर्वं समाहितं सर्वाणि च  
भूतानि सर्वे च कामा यदेतज्जराभाप्नोति प्रध्वंसते वा किं ततोऽतिशय्यत इति ॥ ४ ॥  
स ब्रूयान्नास्य जरयैतज्जौर्यति न वधेनास्य हन्यत एतत् सत्यं ब्रह्मपुरमस्मिन् कामाः  
समाहिता एव आत्मापहतपाप्मा विजरो विमृत्युर्विशोको विजिघत्सोऽपिपासः  
सत्यकामः सत्यसंकल्पः ॥ ५ ॥

(Chândogya-Upanishad, VIII, 1, 1-5.)



Persian

## بیانِ شهرِ خُدا

اندَرینِ برَہمِ پُورِ یعنی شہرِ خُدا کہ تن است، حُجرَةُ ایست خورد، مانندِ  
گلِ نیلوفر - و درو آکاشِ لطیف است، و آنکہ در آن آکاشِ لطیف است  
آفرای باید جُست و دانست \*

اگر کسی پرسد کہ درین شہرِ خُدا کہ حُجرَةُ خورد است مانندِ گلِ نیلوفر  
و درو آکاشِ لطیف است، درمیانِ آن چیست کہ او را باید جُست  
و دانست؟ جواب باید گفت کہ آنقدر آکاشی کہ بیرون است، همانقدر  
آکاشِ درونِ آن حُجرَةُ خورد ہم است و آسمان و زمین ہر دو درو گنجیدہ  
است و آتش و باد و آفتاب و ماہ و برق و ستارگان و ہرچہ در اینجاست و در  
اینجا نیست، ہمہ درِ آن آکاشِ لطیف است \*

و اگر کسی گوید کہ درین شہرِ خُدا کہ تن است و درو آکاشِ لطیف است  
کہ اینہمہ درو گنجیدہ است و ہمہ چیزها دروست و ہمہ آرزوها دروست،  
چون این شہرِ خُدا کہ تن است پیر شود و نابود شود چہ چیز باقی میماند؟  
او را چنین جواب باید گفت کہ از پیریِ تنِ آن آکاشِ لطیف پیر نمی‌شود،  
و از کُشتنِ تنِ او کُشتہ نمی‌شود - همان حق است این شہرِ خُدا کہ ہمہ چیز درو

گنجیده است، و آن آتما است از همه بدی‌ها دور، و پیری و مرگ و بیماری و اندوه و آزار خوردن و آشامیدن ندارد - راست آرزو است و راست عزم \*

(اُپنِکَهت چَهاندوک : fol. 163b)

### Sanskrit

आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाय आसौमन्यत् किञ्चन मिषत् स ईक्षत् लोकान्  
 रक्षा इति स इमाँल्लोकान् रक्षत अम्भो मरीचिर्मर आपः अदोऽम्भः दिवन् द्यौः  
 प्रतिष्ठान्तरिक्षं मरीचयः पृथिवी मरो या अघस्तात्ता आपः स ईक्षतेमे नु  
 लोकालोकपालान् रक्षा इति सोऽद्भ्य एव एवमं समुद्धृत्यामूर्च्छयत् तमभ्य-  
 तपत्तस्याभितप्तस्य मुखं निरभिद्यत यथाहं मुखाद् वाग् वाचोऽग्निः ।

(Ait. Upan. I, 1, 1-3.)

### Persian

اول از همه پیدائش، آتما یگانه بود و هیچ نبود - آتما خواهش کرد که  
 پیدائش عالم کنم - اینهمه عالمها پیدا کرد و اول این چهار چیز پیدا کرد : آب،  
 مریچ، مَرَو و آپ - آب، آتْمَه آبِیست که جای بودن آن بالای بهشت است، و مریچ  
 عالم فضا است که پائین بهشت است، و مَرَو عالم زمین است که می‌فرندها درو  
 می‌باشند، و آپ آبِیست که در زیرِ جمیع طبقات عالم زمین است \*

باز آن آفریننده خواهش کرد که این عالم را که پیدا کرده است،  
 نگهبانان هم پیدا کند تا بی نگهبانان عالم ابد نگردد - ازین جهت خواهش کرد  
 که لوکیالان را که نگهبانان عالم اند، پیدا کند - از میان آب هیکلی شخصی  
 بی حواس بر آورد و برای او آفریننده خواهش کرد که دهنی پیدا شود مثل  
 بیضه که بشکند - دهن شکفته شد و ازان دهن گویائی بهم رسید و از گویائی  
 موکل گویائی که آتش است، ظاهر شد \*

(اِیتریه اُپنِکَهت : fol. 11b)

### Sanskrit

दा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते ।  
 तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वति अगश्नन्त्यो अभिषाकशीति ॥

(Mundaka-Upanishad, III, 1.)

## Persian

دو پرندۀ خوب اند و هر دو همنشین اند و بیکدیگر یاراند و در یک درخت  
میباشند - و یکی از آن دو میوه آن درخت را شیرین دانسته میخورد و دیگر  
نمیخورد و می بیند \*

مراد ازین دو پرندۀ که یکی میخورد و دیگر نمیخورد و می بیند، (ایذست):  
آنکه میخورد جیو آتما است و آنکه نمیخورد پرم آتما است، و مراد از درخت بدن،  
و مراد از میوه آن درخت که شیرین دانسته میخورد نتیجۀ اعمال است -  
و آن پرندۀ که میوه آن درخت میخورد بسبب نادانی از حقیقت خود واقف  
نیست و از همین جهت در فکر و آزار است - و قتیکه بر حقیقت پرندۀ که  
نمیخورد و می بیند مطلع شود، او هم از خوردن باز ماند و مثل او شود، یعنی  
از قید عمل فارغ و بیفکرو بی اندوہ میگردد \*  
(مُندک آپنکَهِت از اَتهَرین پید (fol. 173b)

## 12. MSS. USED FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE TEXT

MSS. of the *Sirr-i-Akbar* are not rare, but out of a large number of them, I have made a very critical selection:—

(1) MS. A. For the basis of my text, I have principally used MS. 52. (*Cat. of the Asiatic Library*, Vol. II, p. 1540), Foll. 253; 24½ × 15 cm.; 15 lines, 9 cm. long; written in plain and clear *Nasta'liq*; with chapters and Sanskrit names written in bold letters and marked in red, transcribed by one Asharfi Lal b. Kewal Rām b. Pratit Rā'i b. Sukhī Lāl, dated 1166 A.H. 1157 Fasil, 1807 Bikramī, 1750 A.D.<sup>1</sup> in the H.E.H. the Nizam's State Library, Hyderabad-Deccan. It was the arrangement and classification of the Upanishads grouped under each of the four Vedas, which made the task more convenient, for in no other MS. such arrangement exists. This MS. which through the kindness of the Vice-President of the Library, I had at my disposal for more than 6 months at Santiniketan, I found in close agreement with MS. C, with the exception of the afore-mentioned classification of chapters and a few minor variations in the method of transliteration of Sanskrit names.

(2) MS. B No. E/103, dated 1210 A.H. in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (*Cat. of Persian MSS.*, p. 178), which though incomplete is quite good in other respects. The order of the Upanishads in this MS. as compared with A is as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> This date of transcription is wrongly given as 1067 A.H. in the *Catalogue of the Asiatic Library*, Vol. II, p. 1540, in the case of all the three MSS. (Nos. 1, 2 and 52) which are in the Library's collection. This date is in reality the date of the composition of the work as stated in the preface of the *Sirr-i-Akbar* (fol. 2b, MS. A). In the colophon of MS. 52 (fol. 253a) someone has tried to scratch out the original date of its transcription in order to make the MS. look earlier. The real date seems to be 1166 A.H. = 1157 Fasil = 1807 Bikramī = 1750 A.D.

16, 6, 7, 4, 9, 18, 19, 10, 20, 21, 2, 8, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 5, 27, 28, 4, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 11, 36, 37, 38, 43, 39, 40, 41, 42, 14, 12, 13, 44, 15, 46, 48, 49, 50.

(3) MS. C in the Calcutta University Central Library, whose Librarian very kindly lent it to the Department of Islamic Culture, Santiniketan, for my use for more than a year, is a beautiful specimen of ornamental calligraphy. It is written on fine hand-made paper and contains Foll. 310,  $27\frac{1}{2} \times 15$  cm.; 15 lines  $11\frac{1}{2}$  cm. long, in plain *Nasta'liq*. Each chapter is decorated with ornamental flowery designs in gold red and blue, each line is intercepted with tri-coloured bold lines, each page contains marginal flowery embellishments and each chapter opens with a verse (decidedly a later addition) inserted within a bunch of flowers. There is no colophon, hence the name of the scribe and the date of its transcription (which appears to be a recent one) could not be ascertained. The translator's preface is also missing and in the end, there is an additional chapter which ends abruptly. The MS. contains 50 Upanishads and is otherwise complete and perfect. The order is as follows:—

16, 6, 7, 17, 31, 41, 43, 34, 32, 9, 22, 39, 4, 20, 40, 18, 29, 30, 36, 24, 25, 26, 5, 27, 28, 42, 14, 12, 13, 38, 8, 10, 12, 45, 33, 23, 21, 3, 15, 19, 35, 37, 44, 11, 46, 48, 47, 49, 50.

### 13. THE GLOSSARY

The most remarkable feature of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, as pointed out above, consists in its aptness of translation of Sanskrit philosophical terms or giving their nearest equivalents from Islamic phraseology. In this *Dārā Shikūh* has been chiefly guided by his own understanding of Indian mythology, cosmogony, symbolical interpretation of the ritualistic and sacrificial rites and has attempted, so far as it was conceivable, to give an identical or a more easily comprehensible term from the Islamic conception of the same. This he has accomplished more thoroughly in his *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* or 'the Mingling of the Two Oceans'. I have selected, at random, some of these terms, which would amply bear out the ingenuity of the translator in this respect:<sup>1</sup>

اوم (Om): اسمِ بزرگ: 97b.

اشو (āśva): حرکت دهندهٔ همه: 8b.

34b. ذاتِ اسبِ ترکی است

امرت (amrita): آبِ حیات: 65b; 99b, بیزوال

164b.

آل (Ilya): درختِ طوبی: 15b.

آشوتها (āśvattha): درختِ بهشت: 165a.

آناهد (anāhata): آوازِ مطلق: 104a.

آنبه (ambhas): آبِستِ اکه جایی بودنِ آن

11b. بالایی بهشت است

آنکه درمیانِ دل: آنترجامی (antrayāmin): 4a, 128a. باشد و سرِ دل بدانند

سرورِ معض: 150a خوشحالی: آنند (ānanda): 134b.

عینِ سرور (ānandswarūpa): آنندِ سرور: 119b.

انگ: زندهٔ اعضاء: انگرس (āṅgīrasa): 38b. زندهٔ اعضاء (aṅga): رس (rasa):

آپاسنا (upāsana): مشغولی: 3b.

آودیا (avidyā): جهالت و نادانی: 164b, 146a, 40b.

<sup>1</sup> Numericals in the Glossary indicate the number of folios of the MS. of *Sirr-i-Akbar* (No. 52) in the Āṣifiya Library, Hyderabad-Deccan (*Cat.*, Vol. II, p. 1540).

13a. حالت: (awastha) اَوَسْتَهَا

عالم بیداری (Jagrat) اوستهای جَگرت

حالت خواب: (swapna) سُوپَن — سُوپَن

حالت آرام (Sashupat) سُوپَت — سُوپَت  
بِخواب

حالت بزرگترین: (Turīyu) تُوْرِیا — تُوْرِیا  
114b.

طریق نشستن وقت مَشْغُولِی: (āsana) آسَن  
3b.

40a باطل و دروغ: (a-sattva) اَسَت

5a هزار آیت بید: (uktha) اُکْت

79b بیخرواهش: (akāma) اکَام

165a نادان: (Ajñāni) اِجْیَانِی

165a حوض کوثر در بهشت سوم: (Āra) آر

خندقی که از خواهش و غَضَب

15b و حرص و شهوت ساخته شده است

3b, 144a قِوَارَت باهنگ: (udgītha) اُدْگِیْتَه

Etymological explanation: اُد (ud):

and عالم فضا: (gī) گِی ; عالم بهشت

145a sq. زمین: (tha) تَه

3a, 24b جانِ جانها: (ātman) آتْمَا

23a, 24b جانِ بزرگ: (Paramātmān) پَرَم آتْمَا

روح متعلق شده ببدن: (Jivātman) جِیَو آتْمَا  
3a, 13a.

3a روح حیوانی: (Bhūtātman) بُهَوْت آتْمَا

آتْمائیکَه در بدن: (Lingātman) لَنگ آتْمَا  
55b. لطیف است

اسبِ قِربان: (śva-medha) اَشْوَمِید ، اَشْمِید  
60a.

خورشهای حلال: (āhāra-buddhi) آهَار شُدْهِی  
163a.

161b آرزوی نایافته: (āśa) آشَا

صاحب همه: (Iśa) اِش: (Iśāvāsyā) اِشَابَاس  
125a پوشیده: (vāsyā) وَاَسِی

165a شهر برهما: (aparajit) اِپَرَاچِیت

[آنکه] بنهایت سخن: (ativadīn) اتِوَادِین  
162a رسیده است

آبیست که در زیرِ جميع طبقات (āp) آپ  
11b; 99b. عالم زمین است

149a غیر عارف: (a-Brahmaṇa) اَبْرَاهْمَن

آیت توحید که سر: (Upanishad) اُپَنِکْهَت  
2a, 3b, 169a پوشیدنی است

7b نام بزرگ همه و زنها: (Brihati) بْرِیْهَتِی  
10a هزار آیت بید

جبرئیل 2a; آدم صفی الله: (Brahmān) بْرَهْمَا  
3b.

3a, 151a آفریدگار: (Brahma) بْرَهْم

163a شهر خدا: (Brahmapura) بْرَهْم پُور

8a کوه خدا: (Brahmagiri) بْرَهْم گِر

82a, 117b عالم ذات: (Brahmaloka) بْرَهْم لُک

چرخ خدا که: (Brahma-Chakra) بْرَهْم چَکْر  
در گردش است

4a, 64a کوه عالم: (Brahmāṇḍa) بْرَهْمَانْد

134b علم توحید: (Brahmavidyā) بْرَهْم وِدْیَا  
150a معرفتِ بْرَهْم

حرارتِ عزیزِ کُل عالم: (Vaiśvanara) وِیْسَوَانَر  
3b.

15b حوضِ کوثر: (Vijarā) وِجَرَا

100a سازنده همه: (Vidhātṛi) وِیدْهَاتَر

81a محیط و بسیار بزرگ: (Vyāpak) وِیَاپَک

محیط عناصرِ اربعه: (Bhūtākāśa) بُهَوْت آکَاس  
3a, 7b.

نَـصُورِ بَـسْتَنِ بَـيْکَ: (Dhyāna) دَهِیَان (۳)

چَـیْزِ خَـاصِ

مَـضْبُوطِ سَـاخْتَنِ: (Dhāraṇa) دَهارِنا (۴)

تَـصَوُّرِ دَرِ اَن چَـیْزِ

یَقِیْنِ دَرِ سَـتِ کُردَنِ: (Tarka) تَرک (۵)

دُرو مَـعْـو شُـدَنِ: (Smādhi) سَـمَـادِهی (۶)  
123b.

نَـیْتِ: (Tyat) تَـو 65b.

رَـاسَـتِ دَـانَـسَـتَنِ کُـثُـوتِ: 40a, مَـوْتِ: (Tamo) تَـم  
40a. و دَـوِیِ

مَـفَـتِ اَـفَـنَا: (Tamoḡuṇa) تَـمَـوِگَن

عَـالَمِ لَـا هَـوْتِ کَـه عَـالَمِ ذَـاتِ اَـسَـتِ: (Turiya) تَـوِنا  
120a.

رِیَـاضَـتِ: (tapas) تَـپَـسِیا 3a, 134b.

نَـصُورِ بَـسْتَنِ بَـيْکَ: 3b تَـصَوُّرِ: (Dhyāna) دَهِیَان  
103b. چَـیْزِ خَـاصِ

مَـضْبُوطِ سَـاخْتَنِ نَـصُورِ: (Dhāraṇa) دَهارِنا

100a. دَـارَندَۀ هَـمَـه: (Dhātṛi) دَهارِتری

رَکِ: (rik) رَکِ 145a.

مَـفَـتِ اَـبِجَـادِ: (Rajoḡuṇa) رَـجَـوِگَن

144b; Ety. Exp.: (Sāmān) سَـامِ

39b. پَـرَـان = (۱) مَـ گَـوِـنَـایِ = سَـا

نَـامِ شَـهَرِ کَـه اَـشَـارَۀ اَـزِیْنِ: (Sālaja) سَـالِجِ  
15b. بَـه فُـرَـدَوسِ اَـعْـلَیِ اَـسَـتِ

53a. بَـنَـاتِ النَـعْـشِ: (Sapta-riḡhī) سَـپَـتِ رَکَـهَـیْـثَرِ

3b. مَـفَـتِ اَـبَـقَـا: (Sattva-ḡuṇa) سَـتَـوِگَن

157a. سَـوِپَنِ اَـنَـتِ: (Swapnanta)

157a. یَـافَـتَنِ خَـودِ: (Svampita) سَـوَـمَـپَـتِ

41ab. پَـیـدَـائِشِ: (Sriṭi) سَـرِشَـتِ

112b. مُـشَـتَری: (Bṛihaspati) بَـرَـهَـسَـپَـتِ

3a, 132a. مِیـکَـائِیلِ: (Viṣṇū) وِشَـنِ

پَـنَـاۀ هَـمَـه: (Vasīḡḡha) وِـسَـیْـشَـتِ

9a. دَـوِـسَـتَـدَـارِ هَـمَـه عَـالَمِ: (Vīśvāmītra) وِـسَـوَـمَـیْـتَرِ

99a. سَـوزَـنَـدَۀ گَـنَـا هَـا نِ: (Bhargu) بَـهَرِگِ

160b. قَـوْـتِ: (Bala) بَـلِ

6a, مَـوِـرَـتِ کُلِ عَـالَمِ: (Prajapati) پَـرَـجَـا پَـتِ  
130a.

108a. حَـالَـتِ بَـزَـرِگِ: (Paramḡuṇi) پَـرَـمِ گَـتِ

نَـفَـسِ: (prāṇa) پَـرَـانِ

3b. حَـبَـسِ نَـفَـسِ: (prāṇayām) پَـرَـانَایَـامِ

3b, 115a. سَـه مَـفَـتِ: (prakṛiṭi) پَـرَـکَـرَـیْـتِ

98b. یَـیَـوِـرَـدِگَـارِ مُـطَـلَـقِ، نَـامِ اللّٰه: (Prāṇav) پَـرَـنَـوِ

4a. قِیَـامَـتِ: (pralaya) پَـرَـلَیِ

4a. قِیَـامَـتِ کَـبِـرَیِ: (mulāpralaya) مَـلَـا پَـرَـلَیِ

قِیَـامَـتِ مَـغَـرَیِ: (Khamulpralaya) کَـهَـنَـدِ پَـرَـلَیِ  
4a.

76b. سَـوِـرَـوِ بَـزَـرِگِ: (Paramānanda) پَـرَـمِ اَـنَـنَـدِ

40a. نَـوَرِ ذَـاتِ: (Jyoti) جَـوِـتِ

3a. قَـرْبانِ: (Yajña) یَـجِ

رُوحِ مَـتَـعَـلَـقِ شَـدَۀ بَـدَنِ: (Jivāṇman) جِیـو اَـتَـمَـا  
3b.

4a. یَکِ کُردَنِ دَو چَیْزِ را: (Yoga) یَـوِگِ

101b. عَـارَـفِ، سَـنَـیَـاسِیِ: (Yogī) یَـوِگِیِ

126b, 113a. مَـلَکِ المَـوْتِ: (Yama) یَـمِ

6 Yoga) شَـشِ جَـوِگِ

حَـبَـسِ نَـفَـسِ: (pranayām) پَـرَـانَایَـامِ (۱)

مَـضْبُوطِ حَـوَاسِ اَـزِ: (Pratyāhāra) پَـرَـتِیَـا هَـارِ (۲)

بَـیَـرَونِ و اَـنَـدَرونِ .

سُپیت، سُکھویت، سُکھپیت (*Sashupata*):  
عالمِ جبروت که حالتِ خوابِ بارام است

155a: ست مطلق 99b: حق (*Sat*) ست  
162a: راستی

161b: (حافظه) یاد: (*Smara*) سمر

100a: پادشاهِ کل عالم: (*Samraj*) سمرآج

ضبطِ حواسِ بیرونی: (*Sanjam*) سنجم

4a, 19b: ترکِ کُل: (*Sannayāsa*) سننایاس

133a: ترکِ ماسوامی الله

آبعیات: (*Soma*) سوم

154a: نورِ اعلیٰ: (*Sutejas*) سوتیجس

169b: شریعت: (*Sustra*) شاستر

آوازِ مرکب از الفاظ: (*Sabda*) شبد

104b: آوازِ مطلق: (*a-sabda*) اشبد

آیتِ بید: (*Sloka*) شلوک

مجمع ارواح: (*Kapala-Jaṇanin*) کپل گیانی

عارفِ بزرگ 3a: که روحِ معمدی باشد  
12a ff.

36b: آگاهی: (*guna*) گُن

14a, 147b, 126a: معرفت: (*Jaṇana*) گیان

4a: عارف: (*Jaṇanin*) گیانی

3a: عالم: (*Loka*) لوک

عالمِ بهشت: (*Swargaloka*) سرگ لوک  
58b, 164b.

50b: عالمِ زمین: (*Bhūloka*) بُهو —

صدرهٔ المنتهی: (*Brahmaloka*) برهما —  
3a: که مقامِ جبرئیل است

عالمِ ملائک (*Gandharvaloka*) گندهروپ —  
76a: نغمه خوان

مدت خواندنِ یک حرف: (*mātra*) ماترا  
3b: مفرد

ارادتِ ازلی که سببِ نمودِ بی بود: (*Māyā*) مایا  
3b: است

عالمِ فضا که پائینِ بهشت: (*Marīchi*) مریچ  
11b: است

73b, 81a: رسنگاری: (*Muktī*) مُکت

136b: ابو البشر آدم: (*man*) مَن

169a: آدم اول ابو البشر است: (*Manu*) مَنُو

منتربس بزرگ: (*Mahāvāk*) مهاباک

43b: آسرافیل: (*Mahādeva*) مهادیو

3b: آوازِ مطلق: (*Nāda*) نَاد

108a: مطلق: (*Nirguṇa*) نِرگُن

ستاره‌ها: (*Nakṣatra-mandala*) نچتر مندل  
65a.

131b: آتماجی بزرگ: (*Nārāyaṇa*) نارائن

39a: صورتِ کل عالم: (*Vraṭā*) وراث

داناوی: (*Vijnāna*) وِگَنان، [وِجَنان] وِگَنان  
160a.

154a: صورتِ عالم: (*Viśvarūpa*) وِشواروپ

مجمع عناصر: (*Hiraṇyagarbha*) هِرَن گربه  
136b: بسیط

فضای که: (*Hṛdy-ākāśa*) هردی آکاس  
70ab: درمیانِ دل است

100a, 119b: جیو آتماجی عالم: (*Haṇsa*) هنس

3a: انداختن چیزها در آتش: (*Homa*) هوم

## ALLOCUTION POUR LA SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE

By PROF. LOUIS RENOU

It is not without a certain amount of emotion that today I address you, the members of the R.A.S.B., on behalf of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres of Sorbonne, of the Institut de Civilisation Indienne, and on behalf of the Société Asiatique de Paris, that young sister-institution of the R.A.S.B.

I moved about in those beautiful halls hung with the pictures of the great precursors of our studies, resembling the *Citraśālas* described in the Sanskrit dramas. Your library is rich in precious manuscripts and inscriptions. All your activities, from the glorious days of William Jones, Colebrooke, Prinsep, R. Mitra, was brought vividly before my eyes. Those famous names have been like music to our ears, from the day our interest was awakened in oriental studies.

In homage to those great men I would like to recount today the progress of Indological studies in France. The foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and the works published under its auspices brought about the birth of Indianism in Europe, and particularly in France. The Sanskrit texts translated by Wilkins and Jones, the early volumes of the old 'Asiatic Researches', were quickly made known to the Western world through their German and French translations. In short, it is Calcutta which gave the impetus to Orientalism (in those days one did not talk as yet of Indianism or Indology).

Certainly there existed researches on Indianism in France before that date. Voyagers and missionaries had a more or less fair knowledge of Sanskrit, and ancient Indian civilization. But the learning, buried under masses of obscure publications which were not transmitted from master to disciple, had remained a dead letter. The first collection of Indian manuscripts to arrive in Europe was that of the Bibliothèque Royale de Paris (now the Bibliothèque Nationale). It goes back to 1731 and contains an important lot of Vedic texts. But the whole remained unknown and undeciphered for about three-fourths of a century. Our great writer of those times, Voltaire, who was greatly interested in ancient India, believed that the Veda was a forgery of the missionaries. He mistook Sanskrit (Sanskritan or Sanskrutan, as it was then called) for a document. Even Anquetil du Perron, who was perhaps the first Westerner to explore India with the true feelings of a scholar, was unable to learn Sanskrit, as its secret was jealously guarded by the Brahmans. He was unable to learn anything about the Vedas and could have access to the Upanisads only through a Persian version of the sixteenth century.

But from 1800 things changed suddenly in response to the call of Herder and Goethe. The name of ancient India began to figure among the great laws of humanism along with those of the other peoples of antiquity, Egyptians, Jews and Arabs. The École des Langues Orientales, newly established in Paris, grouped around the great personality of Sylvestre de Sacy, an élite of researchers who came from all the corners of Europe. It is in Paris, long before London or Berlin, that Indianism was born in the Occident. The Germans, Klaproth, Lassen (who were to be the founders of Indological studies in Germany), the brothers Schloegel (both great enthusiasts of Indian thought), Bopp (who was to write, taking Sanskrit as a pivot, a comparative grammar of Indo-European languages)



all these men were united in Paris in their thirst for knowledge. The Asiatic Society of Paris was the first, as you are aware, to be instituted in Europe, many years before that of London. And when we celebrated its centenary, 27 years ago, we did not forget the words of friendship which were addressed by your Society. The first teaching of Sanskrit to be instituted in Europe was in the College de France. A royal decree in 1816 created a professorship of 'History of Sanskrit' which was conferred on Louis de Chezy. All Sanskritists should read the study that Sylvain Lévi wrote on what he calls the entry of Sanskrit into the College de France, published in the volume commemorating the fourth centenary of that institution. In it we see how step by step scientific research developed and intelligent interest awakened in an atmosphere entirely impregnated by romantic reverie and musings.

It is hard for us to imagine nowadays when we have so many instruments of work and rich libraries, what must have been the task of deciphering of Sanskrit in those early days. In our countries deprived of a living tradition, it was indeed a question of deciphering perhaps less spectacular than that of hieroglyphics and cuneiform but demanding without doubt more varied talents. Chezy relates in the preface of his magnum opus (French edition of *Śakuntalā*) what his difficulties were. He explains how he had to constitute for his own use a dictionary and a grammar and how great was his joy when he was able to penetrate, after a long and laborious work, into the sense of the glorious lyrical verse of the Sanskrit dramas.

However, Chezy, in spite of his great merits, was only an amateur. A great philologist was needed to establish the study of Sanskrit on a sound basis. This philologist was Eugène Burnouf who succeeded Chezy in 1832. His name is intimately connected with the glorious achievement of the period. He counted among his students or friends all the orientalists of his time. The historian Michelet, Renan the historian of religions, went to his lectures eagerly and regularly. He was in communication with your Society, as has been proved by our friend, Dr. Kalidas Nag. Among his German pupils we must make mention of Rudolph Roth, who introduced Vedic studies in Germany, and Max Müller who had, among other merits, that of reviving comparative mythology. It was at the instance of Burnouf that Max Müller went to London in 1846 and undertook the collation of the manuscripts of the *Rk Samhitā* and *Sūryanabhāṣya* a task which he had started the preceding year in Paris, but had been obliged to discontinue due to insufficient material. In the same year Roth published his little book 'Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda' which was to open up a new field for Vedic studies.

At that period Burnouf was already ailing and was near the end of his career. Founder of Avestic Philology he was also the initiator of the scientific study of Buddhism. At the age of 22, in collaboration with Lassen he proved in his book 'Essai sur le Pali' that Pali was a language derived from Sanskrit according to a strict process of evolution. His 'Introduction to the history of Buddhism in India' opened for us the whole domain of Mahāyāna. He obtained from Hodgson, British Resident of Katmandu, and who was one of the first members of your Society, the copy of Nepali manuscripts which enabled him to write his synthesis.

But Burnouf was not able to lay the foundations in France of Vedic studies, although all his teaching and so many of his notes printed or in manuscript refer to them. History repeated itself, and 100 years after, the same ill luck that had weighed on Anquetil du Perron, prevented Burnouf from accomplishing this task, and the sceptre of those studies passed to the Germans for many years.

However, we must mention among his French pupils the name of Langlois, who translated the *Harivaṃśa* and *Rg-Veda*. His translation of the *Rg-Veda* was drawing to its end when that of Wilson began to appear. Mention must also be made of Regnier, who published before Max Müller the first edition of the *R̥k-prātiśākhya*, and of Barthelemy St. Hilaire who was the first to publish a work on the philosophy of Sāṅkhya.

It is only in the years immediately following the war of 1870 with the desire for regeneration called forth by defeat, that we see a brilliant resumption of study in our country. The establishment of the 'École des Hautes Études' at Sorbonne was intended to give France a research institution comparable with the seminars which had been the strength of the German Universities. Valuable philological works, Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar translated by Senart and the *Bhāminivilāsa* translated by Berzaigne, date from that time. Barth's description of the *Religions of India*—merely an item for a dictionary—is an attempt not yet surpassed, to summarize the whole religious development of the country, omitting no factual detail and yet, with all that detail preserving the synthetic character of the work. Even today, seventy years later, this handbook can still be usefully consulted.

Berzaigne's magnum opus, *Vedic Religion according to the Hymns of the R̥gveda*, also dates from the eighties. It may be considered today that there is an arbitrary element in that work and that it is based on philological material to some extent out-dated. Nevertheless it remains the only comprehensive and systematic attempt up to our time, to grasp the very foundation of the speculative philosophy of the Veda, the essence of the thought of the old *ṛsis*. The romantic ideal of the primitive Veda, a sort of spontaneous adoration of natural phenomena, gives place to a religion, in which the mythical element is explained through rituals.

On the other hand, Senart carried on the tradition of Burnouf. In his book on Buddha, he endeavoured to show how much of the legend had become attached to the biography of the founder. He demonstrated that those legends were partly of Vedic origin and partly common to Hinduism. The same scholar was also responsible for an excellent edition of the *Mahāvastu*, which is still unsurpassed. Lastly, a further and most important contribution made by this scholar is the first masterly interpretation of the body of Aśoka's inscriptions, according to the work of the first decipherers. The considerable work which has since been done in this field has consisted mainly of improvement on Senart's recensions and interpretations.

It was by chance, that a few years before his death, Berzaigne had had time to chalk out a course of research, which was destined to be pregnant with consequences of great importance. The French penetration into Indo-China made possible the discovery of a vast quantity of epigraphic literature in Sanskrit in that country. Berzaigne began to classify it with a view to publication and his work was completed after his death by Barth and Senart. These old writings prove that Indo-Chinese civilization was derived from India and that Brāhmanic culture flourished in Indo-China in the early centuries of our era. This fact, important in itself, fell within the framework of still wider research, largely the work of French savants.

Sinological research took a completely new lease of life at the end of the century with Chavannes, who was followed by Pelliot. Fifty years earlier, the French scholars were responsible for the discovery of the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien and Hiuen-Tsang, which are of inestimable value for the study of Indian history. The Sinologists' work on Buddhism in the Far East, and the expeditions to Central Asia (the most famous being the one which went to Tun-Huang in 1908, its full harvest has by no

means yet been garnered)—the ultimate object of all that activity, whether consciously or unconsciously was to restore India to her central position in Asiatic history and to re-establish India as the link between the great civilizations, and as the haven of culture. The basis for the idea of *Greater India*, on which emphasis has been so rightly laid by U. N. Ghoshal, K. Nag and other Indian scientists, was to a large extent laid by these exploring scholars, craselessly devoted to the task of discovering the ancient history of India, from the starting point of China, Tibet or South-East Asia. The attraction of the North-West Frontier regions through which all the invading hordes had passed, can be similarly explained. Foucher's research on *the Graeco-buddhist art of the Gandhara* introduced a new chapter in the history of art, to be supplemented later by his study of Buddhist iconography.

Sylvain Lévi, who died in 1935, and who will probably be remembered by many of you (his journey to India was as recent as 1928) was the most famous of our research workers since Burnouf. His written works are as voluminous as they are varied, and yet by no means give a complete picture of him as a man of scholarship, nor of the charm and critical alertness of his mind, his linguistic gifts and his qualities of heart. Only the dullest could be unresponsive to his glowing personality and inspiring ideas. How can I sum up in a few words his contribution to our knowledge? His early career seemed to foreshadow that of a classical student of Indian civilization, with the *Theatre Indien*, his first attempt to give a complete account of Sanskrit drama from the point of view of dramatic theory, dramatic practice and literary history. Secondly, there was the small book on the *Brāhmaṇas*, the legacy of Berzaigne's ideas, in that book, Sylvain Lévi showed that the only true divinity in those texts was sacrifice and that a sort of 'totalitarian' doctrine had been built up around and for sacrifice. Sylvain Lévi's expedition to India in 1897 put into shade the famous expeditions of Buhler, Peterson and Kielhorn, in the importance of discovery of manuscripts as has been admitted by a scholar like Leumann. Thus, by force of circumstances as well as by vocation, Sylvain Lévi became the historian and philologist of Buddhism. The importance attributed to Buddhism is a characteristic of French scholarship as a whole. It may be considered exaggerated; Indian humanism is in no way connected with Buddhism, and Indian spiritual philosophy has few links with it. So far as antiquity is concerned, however, it is only through an interest in Buddhism that the history of India can be profitably approached and that India can be drawn out of her 'splendid isolation'—this was Sylvain Lévi's primary concern. Thus he was led to begin the study of Buddhism in the North on a comparative basis, i.e. by dealing concurrently with Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. This method bore fruit in India itself in the work of P. Ch. Bagchi, who was Sylvain Lévi's favourite Indian pupil, as also in that of many other scholars. All the present day Indianists in France have been the disciples of Sylvain Lévi. I do not wish to enumerate all those who have made a name for themselves or of those whose new works we await. The total number is evidently not considerable; there are very few openings in this branch for us to hope to be able to keep amongst us young people who are attracted by more advantageous careers, unless they experience an unconquerable call from within.

Nevertheless, of about 30 students who take up the study of Sanskrit each year, we count about one quarter who wish to continue it and undertake research. We give them all encouragement in their choice. It is hoped that the French people will be attracted more and more towards Indian culture by the lectures delivered at the Institut de Civilization Indienne for the benefit of newcomers and by the reports that we publish about your

publications. The mission of a French Indianist is twofold, viz. to promote scientific research and to spread the knowledge and love of India.

What differentiated the Frenchmen from others in the study of Indology has been their love of linguistic precision. They inherited it from that great linguist Meillet, who in all his works had given its right place in Sanskrit. It occupies also an important place in the Buddhist studies of Sylvain Lévi and Burnouf. The Belgian school of Indianism is very close to ours. La Vallée Poussin was a disciple and friend of Sylvain Lévi, and his pupil Lamotte is today a master in Mahāyānic studies. It is also due to Sylvain Lévi that the Tibetan scholars and Sinologists remained in close touch with Indianism. The archaeological excavations carried on by Frenchmen in Afghanistan and Indo China, the Sanskrit epigraphy in Cambodia has enlarged our field of studies by anticipating what you yourselves term 'Greater India'.

I cannot retrace for you, even briefly, the history of the Asiatic Society of Paris. It is the whole history of French Orientalism. We have advanced far from those days when it was possible for one man to describe at one sitting the whole of the movement of Oriental studies, as had been done by Jules Mohl and Darmesteter in the famous reports published annually in the *Journal Asiatique*.

I wish to stress, however, the fact that Indianism was given a fair deal in the publications and communications of our Society. The most illustrious of our presidents, Ernest Renan, was greatly attached to its study. Since 1920 the presidency of the Asiatic Society has fallen on two Indianists, Senart in 1920, Sylvain Lévi in 1928, then in 1935 Pelliot, though a Sinologist but very well-informed about all things concerning India. The present president is Jacques Bacot, who through the medium of Buddhism, is also doing the work of an Indianist.

These men whom I have seen carrying on their duties had each a very different character: Senart was a sort of 'grand seigneur' whose severe judgment was attenuated by his refined courtesy. Sylvain Lévi was capable of drawing conclusions of general interest from the slightest remarks passed by members. He gave his views with his usual generosity, unsparing however in his remarks which were slightly ironical. In Paul Pelliot, whose memory was faultless, we come across precise details, chronology, scrupulously exact philology. All members who spoke at the meetings of the Society were anxious to obtain his approbation. His death in full maturity has deprived our Society of a support so badly needed in the difficult times we are passing through. Speaking of Pelliot I would like to mention a little fact: he made it a point of carrying on during the last war the monthly meetings and publications of the Society, without asking the permission of the Germans. The day came when the publication of the *Journal Asiatique* was forbidden. Yet he carried it on by making a change of pure form. You may notice in our collection that for two years the title *Journal Asiatique* was changed to the title 'Mélanges Asiatiques', which was destined to deceive the German censorship on the continuity of our work.

I regret that I declined to accept the presidency that was offered to me; I feared I could not give enough time to the Society. My consolation rests on the thought that the functions of president lie on the shoulders of Monsieur Bacot, whose devotion and competence ensure the continuance of our tradition.

A few moments ago I referred to certain difficulties. The financial situation of our country, the anxiety that exists in Europe, hinder the progress of oriental studies as of so many others. The French Indianist feels isolated; Germany has been reduced to silence; England, who during

the course of the nineteenth century did not do perhaps as much as she could have, is only just beginning to reconstitute her team of workers. France has an important rôle to play ; she is well prepared for it, thanks to the care she has always had of incorporating Indian culture in the great currents of humanism.

To do full justice to this rôle we must make closer the links that connect us to India. Book-learning and culture is more than ever insufficient. I cannot deal with this problem as completely as one should, it has already attracted much attention, but we are reduced today to the position of merely expressing hopes and wishes for a speedy solution. We would like to receive many more of your publications, but this desire comes at a moment when we are obliged to cut down our expenses and subscriptions. We also wish that our publications reach you more easily. An exchange of Professors between India and France, as exists already between certain European countries, is a necessity for the spread and understanding of each other's culture. Quite naturally and even more so is the exchange of students necessary. In spite of the entirely temporary difficulty which you now experience in learning the French language, the intellectual benefit of a stay in Paris is such that it ought to convince the most hesitant among you. The form of administration in the French Universities freely allows foreigners to conduct research individually under the most favourable conditions, and to satisfy all their curiosities. But in order to render material life more easy in Paris, why should not your Government build an Indian hostel in our Cité Universitaire, as so many other countries have done ?

It ought to be easy to institute an exchange of lecturers between your Universities and ours. I can also visualize, why not, a learned man of yours, possessing the training of a Pandit, who would instil in the minds of our students the methods of traditional interpretation.

The translations of French literary works in India and Indian works in France should be freed from the anarchy of the publishers. An Institute of Indian Studies should be created in India, preferably in Calcutta. We would then see French students and professors imparting their knowledge of French civilization to yours, and at the same time initiating themselves in your methods of work and thus completing their training as Indianists. What France has achieved in Rome, Athens and Cairo could be accomplished with greater benefit in India under a form adapted to the country and circumstances. Scientific research in your country is not easy to follow. Why would you not draw up a critical and analytical bibliography of all the numerous works on Indology that are published in your country ? International collaboration can take diverse forms, all rich in fulfilment, as soon as they pass from the stage of talks and speeches to that of reality.

I came in person to India with the hope of participating in the Thesaurus of Sanskrit which is now being drawn up in Poona. I reckon that this gigantic project will rally the strong forces of your nation, and that all Indian Universities will make it a point of co-operating in the project. Let this be the sign and example of what a collective work can do for us all. I am happy to think that the French Indianist will not be entirely a stranger to it.

I conclude with the hope that in future we may have occasion more often of working together, and of showing each other that sympathy which at the beginning of Orientalism appeared in a manner so vivid between our two sister societies of Calcutta and Paris.\*

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\* Paper read at the Society on 20th January, 1949.

## CHALCOLITHIC PHASE IN SOUTH INDIAN PREHISTORY

By B. B. LAL

(Received February 2, 1949.)

(Communicated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, O.B.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab))

It has often been said that there was no Copper or Bronze Age in South India and that the discovery and use of these metals, in this part of the country, was synchronous with and not anterior to that of iron. Writing in 1905, Vincent Smith opined that in Southern India the Neolithic Period, during which every-day tools and weapons were made of stone, highly finished, and often finely polished, passed *directly* into the Iron Age.<sup>1</sup>

The case was again emphatically made out by Robert Bruce Foote in 1916, in the following words: 'That the Iron Age in peninsular India was not preceded by a Bronze Age, as in Crete, Greece and so many other Western countries, was probably due to the land-loving character of the neolithic people for, had they possessed any sea-faring inclination, they would have certainly sailed across the Bay of Bengal, reached the Tenasserim coast and there become acquainted with the tinstone (cassiterite) of that region. As copper is found plentifully in India, the art of making an alloy must soon have followed. As it fell out, however, the discovery of the alloy was not made in India till after the art of iron smelting had been acquired, and iron weapons and tools had largely come into use.'<sup>2</sup>

True, when Smith and Foote wrote, there was hardly any evidence available to think otherwise. But since then some new discoveries have been made and the entire question needs a re-examination.

The following discussion will show that prior to the use of iron, both copper and bronze *had been used* in South India.

The first evidence in this direction was obtained in 1938-39. While blasting a huge boulder at a hill-side in the vicinity of Kallūr, a village in the Raichur district of the Hyderabad State, the labourers accidentally came across three copper swords (pl. III).<sup>3</sup> When the matter was reported to the Archaeological authorities of the State, they realized the significance of this chance-discovery, particularly because these swords resembled the ones previously found at Fatehgarh in the United Provinces (pl. IV).<sup>4</sup> Consequently, the area near that hill and around the village of Kallūr in general was surveyed and some neolithic and early metallurgical sites were located. Besides, a small-scale excavation was also carried out at the foot of a hill called Yammigudda.<sup>5</sup>

Although the digging was not stratigraphical and thus lacked in scientific precision, the results achieved were indeed very important. In

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<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIV, 1905, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities: Notes on their Ages and Distribution* (Government Museum, Madras, 1916), pp. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department, Nizam's Dominions, for 1937-40* (Calcutta, 1942), pp. 23-24, pl. V.b.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., p. 232, pl. III.

<sup>5</sup> In Kanarese, the local language, the word 'Yammi' means a buffalo and 'gudda' means a hill. This name, buffalo-hill, is self-explanatory, since on a boulder on the hill are carved two buffaloes. These carvings are commonly believed to be prehistoric.

association with an old furnace were discovered a broken axe of copper, a lump of copper pyrites and a few other copper fragments, presumably pins (pl. V, *a* and *b*).<sup>1</sup> These copper objects were further associated with polished stone axes and microlithics. Thus, the picture revealed was of that phase of microlithic-neolithic culture when copper (and presumably bronze)<sup>2</sup> had also come into use, though in a restricted degree.<sup>3</sup>

This incidentally raises the question whether or not these copper implements were locally manufactured. The close association of a lump of copper pyrites and other copper objects with the furnace suggests, though not conclusively, an answer in the affirmative.<sup>4</sup> There was, however, another important piece of evidence. At a place, a little higher up the same hill, was found 'a queer rough stone about 4 feet by 4 feet which had assumed the shape of a big saucer as ores had been crushed and pounded on it for a very long time. Traces of copper-oxide were very prominent on this stone'.<sup>5</sup> This latter evidence adds a lot of weight to the former, and it seems very likely that copper ores were worked upon locally to produce implements and other objects, and that these were not just imports to this site.

The evidence from Kallūr, though remarkable in so far as it opened a new and significant chapter in the prehistory of the Deccan, did not prove the anteriority of copper and bronze to iron in a stratigraphical sequence and this left a shadow of doubt behind.

But the 1947 excavations at Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore State yielded definitive evidence in this direction.<sup>6</sup> Here, in a cutting called Br-21, a copper chisel (pl. VI) was obtained from a middle stratum (layer 13) of the Stone Axe culture (pl. VII).<sup>7</sup> Again, a thin bronze rod, probably a pin, was found in association with an urn-burial belonging to an early level of the same culture (pl. VIII).<sup>8</sup> This Stone Axe culture was characterized by the use of polished stone axes and microliths but no iron was associated with it. Iron appeared at a much later stage, namely, with the intrusion of the Megalithic culture but not before.

There was further corroborative evidence from another cutting, called Br-17. This area was occupied only during the Stone Axe culture, and a copper rod was obtained from one of its low levels.<sup>9</sup> The cutting did not yield any iron object.

These cuttings, thus, showed in a conclusive manner that both copper and bronze had preceded iron.

The position regarding the use of bronze needs some further clarification, especially in view of Foote's remarks that the discovery of the alloy was not made in India till after the art of iron-smelting had been acquired and iron weapons and tools had largely come into use (above).

<sup>1</sup> *An. Rep. Arch., Dept. Nizam's Dominions*, op. cit., p. 27a pl. XII *a* and *b*.

<sup>2</sup> No analysis of these objects has been done.

<sup>3</sup> 'A lump of iron ore containing mica in enormous proportion was also found.' But since the digging was not done stratigraphically, it is doubtful if the iron ore actually lay in the same layer as the copper objects. If soil-deposits are not horizontal—and this is not unusual—objects found at the same depth may not necessarily be contemporaneous. It should further be noted that no iron object as such was recorded.

<sup>4</sup> This could have been definitely discovered if the ashes from the furnace were examined and found to contain copper slags.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Nizam's Dominions*, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Ancient India*, No. 4 (July 1947-Jan. 1948), pp. 202 and 267.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Section at Br-21, p. 205.

<sup>8</sup> The same figure.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

The analysis of the bronze rod or pin from Brahmagiri (referred to above) showed that as much as 9% of tin was used in the alloy. This leaves no room for a doubt that the technique of preparing an alloy for bronze was not known. It will, however, be admitted that like copper, bronze was also used in a very restricted degree. The Kallūr examples, as stated above, have not been analyzed. But it is not unlikely that some of them, when analyzed, might show similar results.

Now to the date of, and period covered by, this Chalcolithic Phase of South Indian Prehistory.

At Brahmagiri, the Chalcolithic culture (called the Brahmagiri Stone Axe culture in the original Report) was represented by a 7-foot thick occupational deposit and was overtaken towards its end by the Megalithic culture. The beginning of this latter culture at Brahmagiri can be dated to the 3rd century B.C., and it follows, therefore, that the preceding Chalcolithic culture continued (at least at Brahmagiri) till about the same period, namely, the 3rd century B.C. That being the upper limit for it, it is for any one to guess the period taken during the accumulation of the 7-foot deposit<sup>1</sup> of the Stone Axe culture. But on general grounds,<sup>2</sup> it seems reasonable to assume that Chalcolithic phase of the Brahmagiri Stone Axe culture began somewhere about 700 B.C.

The copper objects found in the trial excavations at Kallūr (referred to above) yielded no evidence as to their date. But the swords with characteristic 'antennae' hilts certainly call for consideration, because of their similarity with those found at Fatehgarh. The date of the latter has been guessed to be in the neighbourhood of 1000 B.C. (there is no definite evidence to go by),<sup>3</sup> and if this dating is somewhere near precision, the southerly imports at Kallūr may be placed broadly in first quarter of the 1st millennium B.C.

In passing, reference may also be made to a terracotta cylinder seal from Maski (pl. IX).<sup>4</sup> It was just a surface-find, and, as such, has no stratigraphical value. However, its general resemblance with the Babylonian seals<sup>5</sup> seems to suggest a Chalcolithic context. May be, it was associated with some Chalcolithic phase of South Indian Prehistory. But, one swallow does not make a summer, and much cannot be said on the basis of a single find of this kind in South India.

From the foregoing discussion it would now be clear that towards the later part of the Neolithic Age in South India there was a phase when copper and bronze implements were used alongside polished stone axes and microlithics. These metal (copper and bronze) implements were neither produced on a very large scale, nor did they replace their counterparts in the stone, which they only supplemented. There was not an exclusively copper or bronze age in South India but a stage has to be recognized in South Indian Prehistory when bronze and copper had begun to be used but iron was still unknown. Within broad limits, this Chalcolithic phase can be placed in the first three quarters of the 1st millennium B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Only Phase IB has been taken into account, since no bronze or copper was obtained from Phase IA.

<sup>2</sup> This point has been discussed in foot-note No. 1, *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Piggott, in *Antiquity*, Vol. XVIII, No. 72, Dec. 1944, pp. 173 ff.

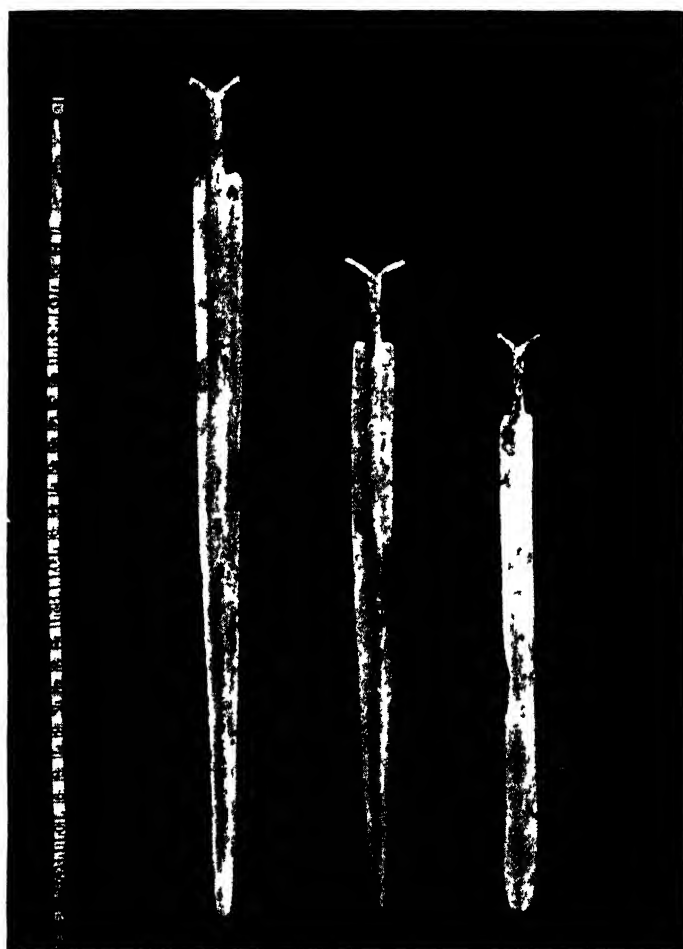
<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Nizam's Dominions*, for 1936-37 (Calcutta, 1939), p. 15 and pl. XIII a.

<sup>5</sup> I have not made a detailed comparison of the Maski seal with those found in the Middle East, but one similarity may be pointed out here, namely, the representation of the head-gear by means of indentations. (cf. W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910), Nos. 574, 709, 738, 761 and 901.

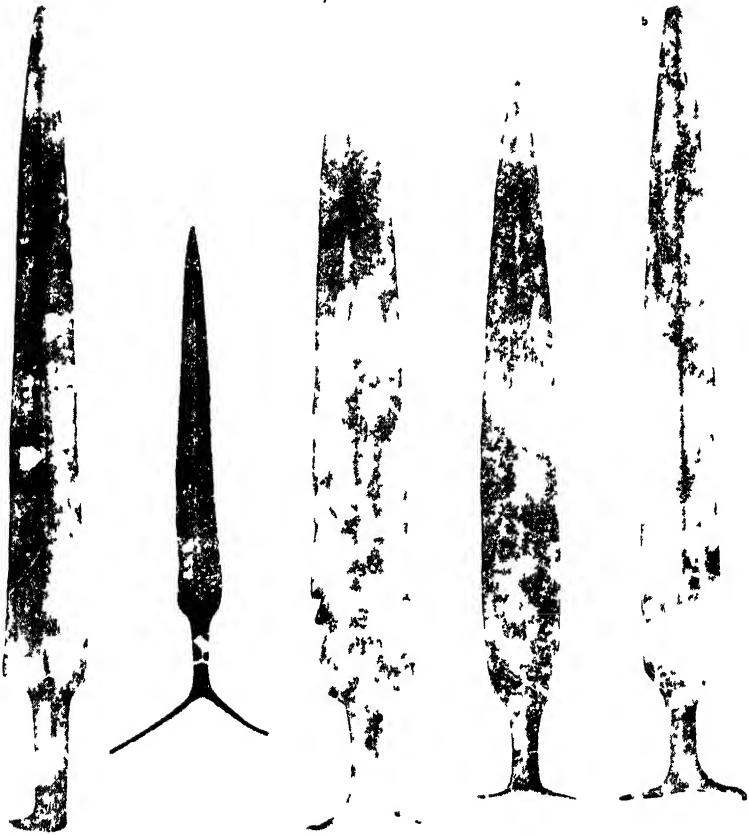


The evidence discussed above is significant and definitive, but to get a more comprehensive picture, further evidence must be awaited, which scientific excavation at a few other late Neolithic-microlithic sites of the type of Brahmagiri is likely to yield.

*Note.*—Plates III, V (a) and (b) and IX have been reproduced from the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department, Nizam's Dominions*; pl. IV from the *Indian Antiquary* and pls. VI–VIII from the *Ancient India*.



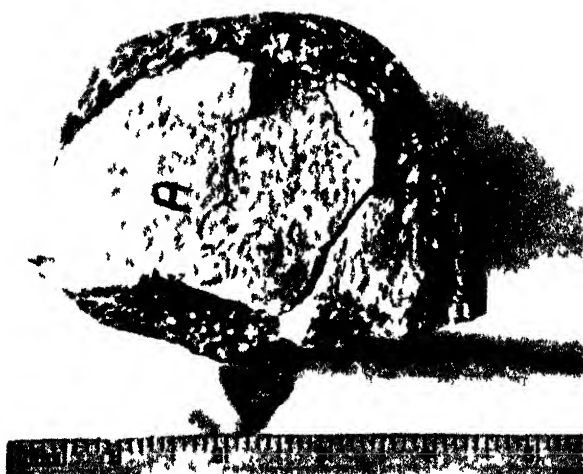
Copper Swords from Kullur (Hyderabad)



Copper Swords from Fitchburgh (U.P.)



(c) Clay tablet fragments from Kallu

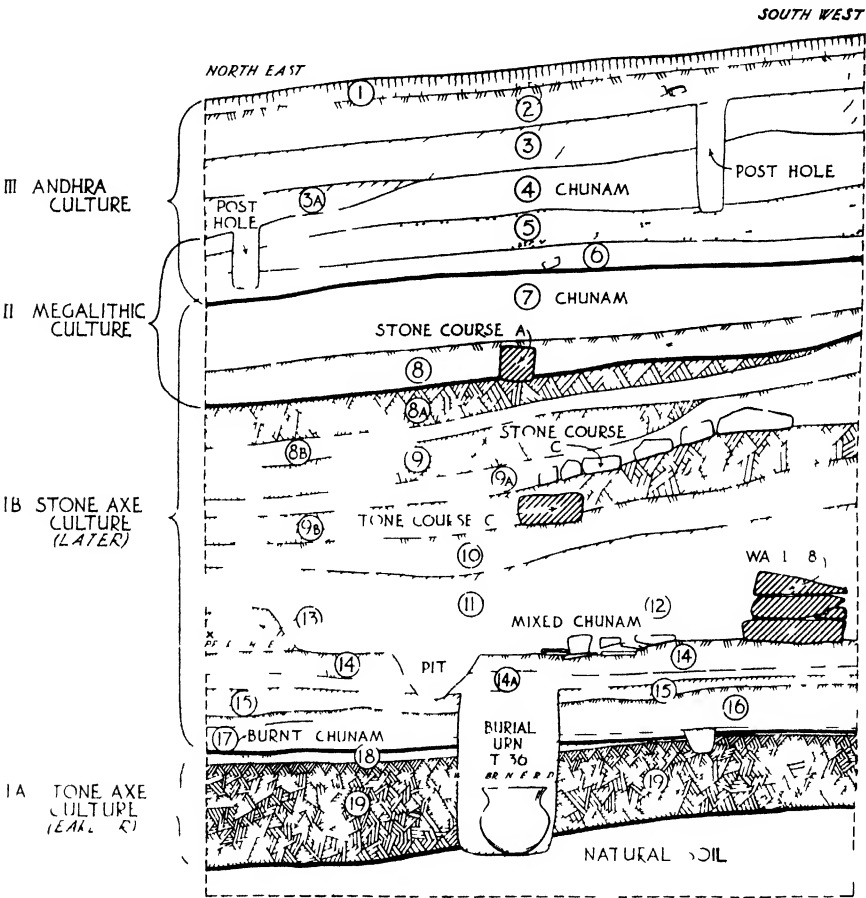


(b) A lump of pottery from Kallu



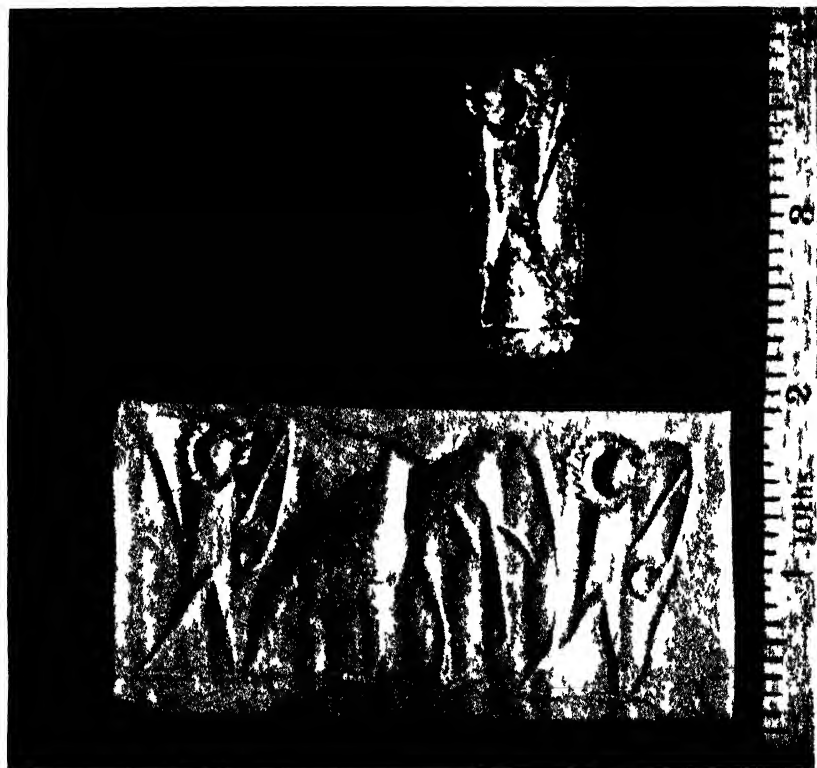
Copper Chisel from Brahmagiri (Mysore State)

BRAHMAGIRI, 1947: SECTION BR. 21  
SHOWING INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CULTURES





Copper and bronze rods from Brehmagnu (Mysore State)



Terracotta Cylinder Seal from Miski (Hvalföður)





### THREE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIBET

By H. E. RICHARDSON, C.I.E., O.B.E.

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*(For ease of reading I have rendered Tibetan names phonetically but on the first appearance of each Tibetan word I have given a literal transcription where this differs from the phonetic form.)*

The first of the inscriptions, of which the texts and translations are given below, comes from a do-ring (rdo-ring(s))—a long stone pillar—near a small lha-khang (chapel) between Ramagang and Liu Dzong, some two miles south-west of Lhasa on the south bank of the Kyi Chhu river.

The lha-khang, surrounded by some poor buildings inhabited by nuns who now occupy the site, stands in the centre of an area about 150 yards square at each corner of which is a large chhō-ten (mehhod rten), or stupa, of earth. The chhō-ten at the north-east corner shows the remains of a covering of thick rectangular red bricks, once coated with a blue-green glaze of which fragments still remain. The do-ring stands in the middle of the east side of the perimeter bounded by the chhō-tens and just outside it. It is on a considerably lower level than the existing lha-khang and its lower part stands in a hollow of the sand from which it has recently been excavated. It is approximately 14½ feet in height, 2½ feet in breadth, and 1½ feet in thickness. It is surmounted by a fluted stone canopy (rgya-bub) on top of which is a carved stone representing a jewel (nor-bu). I am told that it stands on a sort of stone chest finely decorated with a carved pattern of mountains and clouds; but this is now buried in the sand and I have not seen it. The pillar faces north and south and the inscription is on the south face; the other faces are not inscribed. In the courtyard of the lha-khang a stone, similar to the nor-bu on the pillar, is lying together with what appears to be the base of another pillar.

It is believed that there is an 'inner do-ring' buried somewhere inside the enclosure; but no trace of it is visible. The present lha-khang is recent and the only signs of old construction are the remains of a thick mud wall on its west side. An earthen image of the Jo-wo Rimpochhe—the Lord Buddha as a prince—which was shown to me is said to have come from the old Tsuk Lak Khang (gtsug lag khang).

The inscription is in good condition. Only the last two lines are damaged to any extent. It apparently dates from the time of King Tri De Song Tsen (Khri lde strong brstan) and mentions the founding by him of Kar-chung Tsuk Lak Khang (skar-chung).

I have given a copy of the inscription to Professor Giuseppe Tucci of the University of Rome, a pre-eminent scholar of Tibetan history, religion and art, who was recently on a visit to Lhasa. His first reaction was that the detailed references to religion are unique if they really date from the ninth century A.D. and that the inscription may have been put up in the eleventh or twelfth century when, with the revival of Buddhism, there was an effort to glorify the early kings as the benefactors of Buddhism. Professor Tucci may have altered that opinion as the result of detailed study of the inscription; and for reasons which follow I am inclined to think that the inscription is a genuine product of the ninth century A.D.

I have had the benefit of consulting De-chhen Chhō-khor Yong-dzin Rimpochhe, a learned incarnate Lama of the Druk-pa (hbrug-pa) sect, who was responsible for the discovery of the do-ring some twenty years ago. He tells me that he did this partly by his study of history and partly by inspired intuition, for which Lamas of the older sects are famous. According to him, Ramagang was a religious site from early days as there is a record that the Guru Rimpochhe, Padma Sambhava, used to stay there.

The Lha-khang is now called Sang-gye Gompa (sangs rgyas) and the name Kar-chung is unknown anywhere in the neighbourhood. The Rimpochhe says that, before the occupation of the site by nuns, it was inhabited by monks of the Ka-gyu-pa (bkah rgyud pa) sect who first settled in Trip valley a little further east, but finding that place too lonely and exposed to robbers, they moved to what is now Sang-gye Gompa. Some of the prayers used by the nuns seem to have been taken over from their Ka-gyu-pa predecessors.

The chhō-tens are, to all appearances, of great age and so are the remains of the mud walls on the west side of the site. It seems unlikely that a body of monks who were apparently too small to protect themselves from robbery and were unable to build more than a very humble lha-khang, could have made such large chhō-tens. Moreover, from their shape and condition and from the state of the glazed bricks, the chhō-tens appear to have been built much longer ago than within the last two or three hundred years which is the time the Rimpochhe assigns to the migration of the monks from Trip. It is also interesting that in descriptions of the building of Sam-ye (bsam yas) Gompa, the oldest of the great monasteries of Tibet, in the eighth century A.D. there is mention of four chhō-tens of white, red, blue and black respectively; and I believe that a chho-ten covered with blue tiles still survives there. The practice of making coloured chhō-tens thus seems to be very old and I have not seen similar glazed coverings elsewhere.

From the wording of the inscription, with its references to foundations by earlier kings, with Tri De Song Tsen's name at the beginning as the person responsible for the inscription, and with the record of the building by him of Kar-chung Tsuk Lak Khang as the last in the series of foundations, it seems reasonable to assume *prima facie* that the do-ring was set up in front of his own foundation. The total burial of the do-ring in sand also seems to be evidence of considerable age.

Historical references to Kar-chung are, as usual in Tibetan written records, conflicting. The Gyalpo Kathang (rgyal po bkah thang) which is in part, of great antiquity and which purports to have been written at the command of Tri De Song Tsen, tells in a passage on folio 39 about this foundation as follows: 'Afterwards (he built) U-ru Klungs Shod Tsuk Lak Khang; in the form and pattern of a star: the altar of Skar-chhung rdo-rje dbyings'. The account also says that eight chhō-tens were made. U-ru is the old name for the Kyi Chhu valley area. Lung-shō is the present name of a district some 50 miles to the north-east of Lhasa. De-chhen Chho-khor Rimpochhe thinks that the passage quoted ought to read 'U-ru Lung-sho Tsuk Lak Khang *and* Kar-chhung'; but this seems doubtful. On the basis of this passage, since the discovery of the do-ring at Sang-gye Gompa and the claim by De-chhen Chhō-khor Rimpochhe that the site is Kar-chung, the monks of Tsa Potrang (rtsa pho brang) in Lung-sho have asserted that Tsa Potrang is the original Kar-chung. I have visited the place and found that it is apparently an ancient palace and not a Tsuk Lak Khang. It is, however, interesting that there is an annexe, consisting of

a small secular building, called Dorje Ying (rdo rje dbyings) but there is no trace of any chhö-tens or of any do-ring there.

Pu-tön Rimpochhe (Bu-ston) who wrote his *History of Religion* in 1323, says that Tri De Tsen Se Na Lek (sad na legs), who is clearly identifiable with Tri De Song Tsen, built Skar-chhung rgya sde. The Tep Ther Mar-po (Deb ther dmar po), written in 1538, says that Tri De Song Tsen built the Tsuk Lak Khang of dkar-chhung at rgyal-sde.

These are the earliest mentions I have found; but the fullest account is given in the Religious History of Pao Tsuk Lak (dPao gtsug lag) a Ka-gyu-pa monk of Lho-brak. De-chhen Chhö-khór Rimpochhe says that he was contemporary with the eighth incarnation of the Karmapa Rimpochhe who lived in the ninth rab-chung (rab byung) or Tibetan cycle of sixty years. These cycles began in 1024 A.D. and that would give the lifetime of Pao Tsuk Lak as between 1504 and 1564. In his history, when giving an account of the Chinese Emperors, Pao Tsuk Lak gives his last specific mention to the Cheng-te regnal period of the Ming dynasty (1506-1522). He also gives the date of the completion of his work as the Male Wood Mouse year, and states that he took thirty-eight years writing it. This would make the probable dates as between 1526 and 1564, which agree with De-chhen Chhö-khór Rimpochhe's statement. His work is of particular importance in connection with this inscription, for not only does he mention the founding by Tri De Song Tsen of Kar-chung (skar-chhung in one passage and dkar-chhung in another) in Kyi sho (skyid shod) but he also quotes almost verbatim long passages of the text appearing on the do-ring now standing at Sang-gye Gompa. He does not state that the text was inscribed on a do-ring but describes what he quotes as the words of an oath which Tri De Song Tsen made all his ministers take in amplification of a similar oath taken in the time of his father King Tri Song De Tsen (Khri srong lde brtsan). The terms were written on fine paper in letters of gold. Earlier, Pao Tsuk Lak gives a long account, in the form of quotations, of Tri Song De Tsen's oath and he reproduces exactly the text of the do-ring at Sam-ye on which the oath was inscribed in short. I have appended a copy and translation of that inscription. The fact that he specifies the existence of a do-ring at Samye and quotes it verbatim while he does not mention a do-ring at Kar-chung, and that his rendering of Tri De Song Tsen's oath differs to some extent from the inscription at Sang-gye Gompa and is not a verbatim transcription such as is his quotation from the Samye do-ring, makes it possible that his source of information about Tri De Song Tsen's oath was some written record similar to that of his other quotations in connection with Tri Song De Tsen's oath. The do-ring at Sang-gye Gompa may have been buried in sand even in the time of Pao Tsuk Lak which might account for the difference in the spelling of the name Kar-chung which is given by Pao Tsuk Lak as skar-chhung and dkar-chhung as against skar-chung in the inscription itself.

From points of style and language there is evidence of the antiquity and royal origin of the inscription. The kings are described as 'Thrül kyi Lha-tsenpo (hphrul gyi lha tsan po), an honorific title appearing in an indubitably royal inscription of the ninth century A.D.—that on the do-ring in front of the Tsuk Lak Khang of Lhasa which contains the treaty between Tri Ral-pa-chen and the Chinese Emperor Mu Tsung. I shall say more about that inscription later on. The title also appears in two inscriptions recently discovered by me at U-ru Sha-i Lha-khang, some 50 miles north-east of Lhasa. These inscriptions were also set up by Tri De Song Tsen and provide further evidence that this king was a supporter of Buddhism and a writer of inscriptions. The Sha-i Lha-khang do-rings will form the

subject of a later article and it must suffice to say here that they record the royal patronage of a comparatively small religious institution and contain interesting historical matter but no such general injunctions about supporting religion as appear on the Sang-gye Gompa do-ring. Against these uses of 'Thrül kyi Lha-tsen po' on royal inscriptions may be set the terminology of other ancient inscriptions at or near Lhasa. That on the do-ring at Shö, below the Potala, which was set up in the time of King Tri De Tsuk Ten (Khri lde gtsug brtan) in the eighth century A.D. describes the kings only as 'Tsen-po'. Such also is the usage in the inscription from Tsur-bu Gompa which is the third text given by me below. Evidence of age is provided by the appearance of the archaic form known as 'da-drag'—a terminal 'd' used after n.r. and l which has, according to Csoma de Koros, the significance of a past tense. This use is said to have been abolished by Tri Ral-pa-chen in his reforms of Tibetan spelling; and it is noticeable that the da-drag does not appear on Ral-pa-chen's inscription at Lhasa nor in the inscription from Tsur-bu which is also dateable to his reign, but it does appear on the Sho do-ring of the eighth century and on the do-rings at Sang-gye Gompa and Sha-i Lha-khang which relate to Ral-pa-chen's father Tri De Song Tsen. Other old forms are the use of 'my' where modern Tibetan uses only 'm', e.g. myi for modern mi; and the inverted form of the letter ki-ku. These two usages were not abolished by Ral-pa-chen and they appear in his inscription at Lhasa but have vanished by the time of the next batch of inscriptions at Lhasa in the eighteenth century and probably disappeared centuries before that. The similarity of wording between the Sam-ye inscription and that at Sang-gye Gompa is also noticeable.

It is, of course, possible to argue that the stylistic antiquity simply shows skilful imitation and that Pao Tsuk Lak's book version of the oath of Tri De Song Tsen is merely a free adaptation from the inscription at Sang-gye Gompa; and to deduce that the inscription was forged in the eleventh or twelfth century to emphasize the benefits to religion conferred by the early kings. But if this were so, it is surprising that Tri De Song Tsen should be chosen for glorification. Later historians, except for Pao Tsuk Lak, pass over him lightly and his name is almost unknown in Tibet today. No tradition of veneration attaches to him as it does to his father Tri Song De Tsen; and one might have expected that attempts to fake evidence would have concentrated upon the more famous name.

Further, I think that, in the absence of anything but vague doubts based on the unprecedented nature of the detailed references to religion at so early a date, and in the presence of such arguments as I have given to set against those doubts, the suggestion of the deliberate forgery of such an inscription in the eleventh or twelfth century is not acceptable. Such activities are quite uncharacteristic of the Tibetans with their profound reverence for the written word. They may have been ready to accept and embroider legends and traditions about the ancient kings; I doubt if they would have erected counterfeit inscriptions.

It is certain that the early kings supported Buddhism and built temples; and it is not surprising to find some reference to the content of their faith in the simple injunctions about religious duties which appear on the inscription under examination. The evidence seems to me to favour the belief that the do-ring now at Sang-gye Gompa was actually set up by King Tri De Song Tsen who reigned from 804 to 816 A.D.

Whether the present site of the do-ring is in fact Kar-chung is perhaps open to argument. Pao Tsuk Lak, who appears to have been a careful historian, says that Kar-chung was in Kyi-shö. Kyi Shö is the name of the

valley of the Kyi Chhu from Lhasa downwards with special reference to the sunny parts as opposed to the shady parts which are called Trip.

The name *rgyal-lde* or *rgya-sde*, which appears in other writers, may simply mean 'The Royal Estate'. Francke, in his edition of the *Ladakh Chronicles*, tries to identify *rgya-sde* with a district in Ladakh but this is most improbable.

The Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama, which gives an account of the founding of Kar-chung (*dkar-chhung*) tells that it was built at *rgyal-sde* after much discussion about choosing its site, and after ruling out a proposal to build it on the great Northern Plain. This eliminates any possible suggestion that *rgya-sde* could refer to the north-eastern province of that name.

The mention of U-ru Lung-shö in the Gyalpo Kathang is, therefore, the main objection to holding that the present Sang-gye Gompa is the old site of Kar-chung. Against that may be set the existence of the do-ring at Sang-gye Gompa which is apparently an old site, the reference in the inscription to Kar-chung, and the improbability that so large a pillar would have been removed from anywhere else to its present position. The second pillar believed to be buried at Sang-gye Gompa may contain a more detailed account of the founding of Kar-chung, and it is to be hoped that it may some day be unearthed. Without that confirmation it remains a possibility that the reference to Kar-chung is incidental and that the site is that of some other foundation by Tri De Song Tsen of which no historical mention has survived; but the probabilities lead me to think that the site is actually Kar-chung and that the inscription may reasonably be described as 'The Kar-chung Inscription'.

The principal historical interest of this inscription is that it contains the earliest reference to Buddhist religious duties in any detail.

The specific mention of foundations by earlier kings are also of interest, and I have not seen in any Tibetan history which I have read the attribution of any religious foundation to King Dü Song (*hdus strong*). Ling Tri-tse (*Gling Khri tse*) which is ascribed to him in the inscription, is said by Pu-tön Rimpochhe to have been founded by Tri De Tsuk Ten. (*Khri lde gtsug brtan*.) The fact that it was necessary to renew the oath to support Buddhism taken in Tri Song De Tsen's time indicates the strength of the opposition to the religion which culminated in its overthrow by Lang Darma (*Glang Dar-ma*). It is a traditional account in Tibetan histories that when Tri Song De Tsen was young his ministers suppressed religion. This is supported to some extent by a passage in the Sho do-ring which relates that Tri De Tsuk Ten was murdered by two ministers who also tried to kill Tri Song De Tsen. On the question of Tri Song De Tsen's successors and their dates the inscription throws no light beyond confirming that Tri De Song Tsen was Tri Song De Tsen's son. This is stated by most Tibetan historians but there are some exceptions who say that Tri De Song Tsen was the name of Ral-pa-chen. In the Kar-chung inscription the writer, Tri De Song Tsen, refers to Tri Song De Tsen as his father. And in the inscription on the Tsuk Lak Khang do-ring at Lhasa which was set up by King Tri Tsuk De Tsen (*Khri gtsug lde brtsan*), who is identifiable from Chinese records as well as from Tibetan histories as Ral-pa-chen, the writer refers to his father, Tri De Song Tsen.

In passing it may be noted that the inscription on the do-ring in front of the Lhasa Tsuk Lak Khang, which Dr. Waddell in an article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April, 1911, ascribes to Tri Song De Tsen and to the year 783 A.D. is beyond doubt the record of the treaty between Tri Tsuk De Tsen Ral-pa-chen and the Chinese Emperor Mu-

tsung in the year 821/822 A.D. This ascription, which was originally made by Dr. Bushell in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1880, is proved by a copy of the text taken in 1921 by the late Sir Charles Bell, from which the exact date of the inscription is amply clear. The passage containing the date appears to have been buried in sand when Dr. Waddell took his copy in 1904 and this helped to lead to a wrong interpretation. I have examined the text carefully and hope to publish Sir Charles Bell's version and translation as well as that of the Shö do-ring, at a later date.

The second inscription below comes from a do-ring in the courtyard of Sam-ye Gompa. The text was obtained by Sir Charles Bell in 1921 and has not been published before. Although the name of no king is given in it, it is ascribable to Tri Song De Tsen who founded the monastery some time between 763 and 787 A.D., and it is so ascribed by Pao Tsuk Lak in his history as mentioned above. I have included this inscription mainly to show its similarity to that at Sang-gye Gompa; but it is worth noting how its existence tends to confirm the reliability of Pao Tsuk Lak. In the last sentence of the inscription it is stated that 'the detailed text of the oath exists separately'. In Pao Tsuk Lak's history there are long quotations from not one but two oaths taken by Tri Song De Tsen, in addition to the verbatim rendering of the inscription on the do-ring at Sam-ye. The quotations include a reference to the suppression of Buddhism by the king's ministers during his minority. The language of the quotations contains several archaisms which do not appear elsewhere in Pao Tsuk Lak's writing, and they look genuine. The fact that Pao Tsuk Lak took trouble to go to original sources is shown by his exact rendering of the inscription on the do-ring; and his history may therefore prove to be of great value.

The third inscription given below comes from Tö Lung Tshur-bu Gompa, the chief monastery of the Karmapa sect. I saw the do-ring, which stands in the courtyard of the monastery, in 1946 but did not secure a copy of the inscription until 1948. The text has not been published before and I have seen no mention of the existence of an inscribed do-ring at Tsur-bu.

Tshur-bu Gompa was founded about 1187 A.D. but the inscription relates to the founding of Chang-bu Tsuk Lak Khang (Ichang bu) of which no other mention is traceable; and it refers to King Tri Tsuk De Tsen who ruled from 816 to 836 A.D. The name Chang-bu is now unknown in the To Lung valley and it seems probable that Tshur-bu Gompa was built on or near the site of the pre-existing Chang-bu Tsuk Lak Khang and that the do-ring was preserved in the new monastery.

The founder of Chang-bu may have been related to King Tri Tsuk De Tsen as he came from the family of Tshhe Pong (Tshhes Pong) from which Tri Song De Tsen, Tri Tsuk De Tsen's father, took one of his queens; but the appearance in his name of the word 'Shang', which may mean 'uncle' probably does not connote relationship. Shang is a frequently recurring clan name; and the word is also found in the title Shang Lön (blon) which Dr. Laufer in his 'Bird Divination in Tibet' (*Toung Pao*, Vol. XV, 1914) identifies with the Chinese title 'Shang' meaning 'President of a Board of Ministers'. In the present case it most probably refers to the founder's clan.

The inscription, which may be dated between 816 and 836, is included in order to show the difference in style from that of royal inscriptions such as that on the do-ring at Sang-gye Gompa; but its content is not without interest.

The translations of the Sang-gye Gompa and Chang-bu inscriptions have been made with the help of Dechhen Chhökhor Rimpochhe, Tshatrul Rimpochhe, Rai Saheb Pemba Tsering, Extra Assistant Political Officer,

Indian Mission, Lhasa, and Sera Geshe Lobsang Chhodak, whose assistance I wish to acknowledge with all gratitude. There are some difficult passages in the inscriptions and it is not claimed that the translations are free from error. It is hoped that scholars of Tibetan will offer criticism and suggestions.

The translation of the Sam-ye inscription was made by Sir Charles Bell with the help of the Instructor in Logic and History to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

# INSCRIPTION AT SANG-GYE GOMPA (? KAR-CHUNG)

- 1 ཨཱམ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་ཁྱི་མེ་སྤོང་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་།
- 2 ལ། །དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ལུན་དུ་བཅན་བར་གཅོགས་
- 3 བནན་པ། །
- 4 ཨཱམ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ། ཁྱིས་<sup>1</sup> ཁྱི་སྤོང་བཙན་གྱི་
- 5 རིང་ལ། །སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་དེ། །ར་སའི་གཙུག་
- 6 ལག་ཁང་ལས་སྦྱོགས་པ་བཙུགས་ཤིང་། །དཀོན་མཆོག་
- 7 གསུམ་གྱི་དེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། །ཁྱིས་ཁྱི་ཨཱམ་སྤོང་གི་
- 8 རིང་ལ། །ཁྱིང་གི་ཁྱི་ཙེ་ལས་སྦྱོགས་པར་། གཙུག་ལག་
- 9 ཁང་བཙུགས་མྱེ། །དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་དེན་བཙུགས་
- 10 པ་དང་། །ཁྱིས་ཁྱི་མེ་གཙུག་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལ། །བྲག་མར་གྱི་
- 11 ཀྱ་ཙུ་དང་། མཆོང་ཕུར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཙུགས་མྱེ་དཀོན་
- 12 མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་དེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། །ཡབ་ཁྱི་སྤོང་མེ་
- 13 བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལ། །བྲག་མར་གྱི་བསམ་ཡས་ལས་སྦྱོགས་
- 14 པ། །དབྱེད་མཐར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཙུགས་མྱེ་དཀོན་
- 15 མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་དེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། །ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་ཁྱི་
- 16 མེ་སྤོང་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལ་ཡང་། །སྐར་ཅུང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་

<sup>1</sup> Line 4. Myes = the modern mcs.



- 17 ལས་སྟོགས་པ་བཙུགས་ཤྱེ། །དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་དྲིན་  
 18 བཙུགས་པ་ལས་སྟོགས་པ། །གདུང་རབས་རྒྱད་ཀྱིས།  
 19 འདི་ལྟར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚེས་མཛད་པ་འདི། །ཉམ་དུ་ཡང་མ་  
 20 ཞིག། །མ་བདང་ན། །ལེགས་པ་དབག་དུ་སྤྱང་པར་འགྱུར། །  
 21 བདང་སྟེ། ཞིག་གས། སྤྱང་པར་གྱུར་ན། །སྤྱིག་པ་གངས་སྤྱང་  
 22 པར་འོང་བས། །ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད་ཉམ་ཉམ་ཞུ་ཞུ། འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་  
 23 བཙན་པོ། །ཡབ། ཁྱི་སྤོང་ལྷེ་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལ། །དཀོན་མཆོག་  
 24 གསུམ་གྱི་དྲིན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། །སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚེས་མཛད་པ་  
 25 སྤྱི་གདུང་མ་ཞིག་པར། །གདུང་རབས་རྒྱད་ཀྱིས་ཡི་དམ་བཙའ་  
 26 ཞེས་འབྲུང་བ་ལས་སྟོགས་པ། །བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས། །ཇི་  
 27 སྟོན་ཀུན། ཀྱིས་དབྱ་སྒྲུང་དང་བློ་བོར་ཏེ། །གཅིགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་དང་  
 28 རྟོ་རིངས་ལ་བྲིས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡང་མཛད་དོ། །འདི་ལྟར་ཡབ་  
 29 སྲས། གདུང་རབས་རྒྱད་ཀྱིས། །དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་དྲིན་  
 30 བཙུགས་ཤིང་། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚེས་མཛད་པ་འདི། །གཅེས་སྲས་ཅི་  
 31 ལ་ཡང་། སྤྱིག་གོ་ཞེའས། མ་ལེགས་སོ་ཞེས། མོ་དང་སྤྱི་ལྷས་ལས་  
 32 སྟོགས་སྟེ་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཡང་རུང་སྟེ། སྤྱི་གཞིག་གོ། སྤྱི་སྤང་ངོ་། །དེ་སྐད་  
 33 ཅས། ཆེ་ཆུང་སྲས་གསོལ་དུ་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། དེ་ལྟར་སྤྱི་མཛད་དོ། །བཙན་  
 34 པོ་དཔོན་སྲས། །སྤྱི་ཆུ་རུར་བཞུགས་པ་ཡན་ཅད། །ཆབ་སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་  
 35 མངའ་བདག་མཛད་པ་མན་ཆད་ཀྱང་། །དགེ་སྤྱོད་ལས། དགེ་བའི་  
 36 བཤེས་ཉན་བསྐྱོས་སྟེ། ཆོས་ཐུགས་སུ་ཅི་ཆུང་ཆུང་དུ་བསྐྱབ་ཅིང་། བོད་  
 37 ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་སྤྱད་པའི་སྟོ་སྤྱི་གཙང་། ཉམ་དུ་ཡང་བོད་ཡ་

<sup>1</sup> Line 34. Chhu ngur. The first letter looks like Tsh; but close examination shows that is due to damage and the reading given is correct.

- 38 རབས་མན་ཅད། ། བོད་འབངས་ལས་ཐར་པར་གཟུང་པའི་སྒོ་གྱི་བགཁ།  
 39 པར། དད་པའི་རྣམས་ལས་ཐར་པར་བཅུད་ཏེ། ། དེའི་ནང་ནས་  
 40 རྣམ་པ་ལས། ། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལུགས་དྲག་དུ་བསྐོ་  
 41 ཞིང་། ། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལུགས་བྱེད་པའི་རྣམས་ཆོས་འཁོར་  
 42 ལས་བྱའོ་ཅོག་གི་བཀའ་ལ་ཡང་བདགས་སྟེ། ། ཆོས་འཁོར་གྱི་ལས་དང་  
 43 དབང་བྱེད་ཅིང་དག་བའི་བཤེས་ཉིན་བྱེད་པར་བསྐོ་འོ། ། རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་  
 44 རྣམས། ། འདྲ་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱིས་མཆོས་གནས་སུ་གནང་བ་བཞིན་དུ་བྱས་  
 45 སྟེ། ། བཅན་པོ་འི། བོ་བྱང་ན་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་དེན་བཅུགས་ཤིང་  
 46 མཆོད་པ་ཡང་། ། ལྷ་དུ་གྱི་སྤང་གྱི་བསྐྱར་ཞིང་མཆོད་གནས་སུ་བབྱའོ།  
 47 མདོར་ན། ། བཅན་པོ་འི། བོ་བྱང་དང་། བོད་ཁམས་ན། དཀོན་མཆོག་།  
 གསུམ་བྱེད་  
 48 པ་དང་སྤང་བའི་ཐབས་ཅི་ཡང་གྱི་མཛད་དོ། ། ཡབ་བྱས་དབོན་སྲས་  
 49 བཀ་གི་རིང་ལ་ཡང་བྱུང་སྟེ། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་ཀྱིན་བཅད་པའི་རྣམས་  
 50 ཀྱང་མ་དམའས་<sup>1</sup>མ་ཞིག་པའི་ཆོས་སུ་རྩ་རིས་ཀྱི་བྱིས་ཡིག་གི་མགོ་ནན་ལས་  
 51 འབྱུང་བ་བཞིན་དུ་ཆོས་<sup>2</sup>མཛད་དོ། ། ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད་གདུང་རབས་རེ་རེ་ཞིང་ཡང་  
 52 བཅན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱིས། འདི་བཞིན་དུ་ཡི་དམ་བཅའོ། ། དེ་ལས་མནའ་ཁ་  
 53 དབྱེད་པ་དག་གྱི་བབྱེད་བསྐྱར་བར། ། འཛིག་དེན་ལས་འདས་པ་དང་འཛིག་  
 54 དེན་གྱི་རྩ་དང་གྱི་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་། དཔང་དུ་གསོལ་ཏེ། ། བཅན་པོ་  
 55 རྩ་བོ་ཀྱན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་དེ་བྱ་སྤང་དང་བོ་བར་རོ། ། གཅོགས་བརྩ་ནད་བའི་

<sup>1</sup> Line 50. dmahs = the modern dmas.

<sup>2</sup> Line 51. Chhis. This word is slightly damaged but in spite of the difficulty the reading is undoubtedly correct.

<sup>3</sup> Line 55. There is some damage here but enough remains to make the reconstruction 'dbu snyung dang bro bor ro' undoubtedly correct. Compare line 27 above and wording of Samye do-ring given below.

<sup>4</sup> Line 55. There is damage to the final d of brnand which makes it look like dra; but close examination shows it to be an example of the 'da-drag' which appears also in gold in line 33.

- 56 ཡི་གེ་བཞི་བ་མོ་ནི། <sup>1</sup>ཡབ་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་གཙུག་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་བའི་<sup>2</sup>ཐུང་  
 57 <sup>3</sup>བཞག་གོ། ། །

# TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION FROM SANG-GYE GOMPA

A <sup>4</sup>solemn undertaking to maintain the Excellent Religion for ever, made in the time of the <sup>5</sup>Divine King of Miracles, <sup>6</sup>Tri De Song Tsen.

The establishment of the Religion of Sang-gye, and the <sup>7</sup>Images of the Three Precious Ones set up by building the <sup>8</sup>Tsuk Lak Khang of <sup>9</sup>Ra Sa, <sup>10</sup>and its appurtenances, in the time of the Ancestor <sup>11</sup>Tri Song Tsen: and

<sup>1</sup> Line 56. The words yap kyi are damaged but comparison of several rubbings makes this reading clear enough.

<sup>2</sup> Line 56. The end of the line is damaged and I first read it as *klad*, which word is used in Pao Tsuk Lak's History in connection with this oath; but photographs taken while this article was in proof make the reading *zla la*, meaning 'as a pair to' or 'together with' most probable. Cf. inscription No. 3B below.

<sup>3</sup> Line 57. This is badly damaged; but from the traces of letters *bslag* seems almost certain. The last word looks like *Om* but is more probably *Go*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Solemn Undertaking'. 'gt-sigs' is used in phrases in other inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries such as 'gtsigs gyi yi-go', 'gtsigs gnung-wa', 'gtsigs chhen-po' and seems to imply the record of a sworn or exceptionally important charter, deed, or undertaking. Some Tibetan scholars see a connection between 'gtsigs' and 'brtsigs' (to build); and they stress that the word connotes both permanence and reverence. The modern meaning of 'gt-sigs' is 'prized' or 'important'. 'brnan pa' conveys the meaning of something done firmly or urgently.

<sup>5</sup> 'Divine King of Miracles.' (*lprul gyi lha tsan-po*.) The Ch'hos Rgyal or Religious Kings of Tibet are said to have had magic or miraculous powers such as that of levitation. Such powers are particularly ascribed to King Song Tsen Gam Po (*Sromg brtan sgam po*) but the origin of the title is probably earlier. It is applied to O De Pur Gyal (*O lde spu rgyal*) the divine, first king of Tibet, in the Lhasa Tsuk Lak Khang inscription. It appears from Dr. Bushell's translation of the Chinese version of the inscription on the Tsuk Lak Khang do-ring (*J.R.A.S.*, 1880) that the Chinese translation of this title was 'The All Wise'.

<sup>6</sup> Tri De Song Tsen. Also known as *Se Na Lek Jing Yon*. The third son of Tri Song De Tsen. Reigned from 804 to 816 A.D.

<sup>7</sup> The Three Precious Ones are the Lord Buddha, the Religion, and the Clergy. 'rten' means a 'container'. The containers of Buddha are images; of the Religion, books; and of the Clergy, the monks themselves. I have retained the word 'Images' which is used by Sir Charles Bell to translate this phrase which appears in other inscriptions also, as 'containers' or 'vehicles' seem rather clumsy.

<sup>8</sup> Tsuk Lak Khang. The House of the Crown of the Head and the Hands. The Crown of the Head is said to signify Buddha; and the Hands, the Sacred Books and the Monks. The term may be applied to any chapel but is generally restricted to the larger and more important chapels and temples such as the Jo Khang at Lhasa and the main temple at Sam-ye.

<sup>9</sup> Ra Sa. The Place of the Goat, is the old name of Lhasa and is connected in later histories with a legend about the filling of the marsh on which the Tsuk Lak Khang stands, with earth carried on the backs of goats. There is in a remote corner of the Tsuk Lak Khang a small lump of stone in which Tibetans see the *rang chung* (*rang hyung*)—i.e. self-formed image—of a goat.

<sup>10</sup> *Las stogs pa*, which I translate as 'appurtenances', is the equivalent of the modern *las sog pa* meaning 'et cetera'.

<sup>11</sup> Tri Song Tsen. This is Song Tsen Gam Po, the greatest of the Religious Kings, who ruled from about 620 to 650 A.D. The absence of the epithet Gam Po, 'The Profound', which appears in most later histories, is interesting. If the inscription were a later forgery it would probably have been used.

the Images of the Three Precious Ones set up by building the Tsuk Lak Khang at Tri Tse in Ling, and its appurtenances, in the time of the Ancestor <sup>1</sup>Tri Dü Song; and the Images of the Three Precious Ones set up by building the Tsuk Lak Khangs at Kva Tsu and Chhing Phu in Tra Mar, and their appurtenances, in the time of the Ancestor <sup>2</sup>Tri De Tsuk Ten; and the Images of the Three Precious Ones set up building the Tsuk Lak Khang on the border of the Central Province, Sam-ye in Tra Mar, and its appurtenances, in the time of the Father Tri Song De Tsen; and the Images of the Three Precious Ones set up by building Kar-chung Tsuk Lak Khang, and its appurtenances, in the time of the Divine <sup>3</sup> King Tri De Song Tsen; and all such like: these acts for the establishment of the Religion of Sang-gye by <sup>4</sup>each succession of the Royal Family in this way, if they are never destroyed and never abandoned, there will come about blessings without measure; but if they are abandoned or destroyed and brought to nothing, sins without number will come. So, from henceforth let them continue for ever.

In the time of the Divine King of Miracles, my Father, Tri Song De Tsen such sort of oaths were taken by the succession of the Royal Family never to destroy or abandon the Images of the Three Precious Ones which have been set up, and the established Religion of Sang-gye. <sup>5</sup>The King, Father and Son, the Nobles and Ministers, all having taken a solemn oath, acted also in accordance with the letters of the undertaking and <sup>6</sup>the writing on the do-ring.

In the same way, hold in affection, whatever may befall, this Religion of Sang-gye established through the setting up of Images of the Three

<sup>1</sup> Tri Du Song (Hdus srong). Known also as Du Song Mang Po Jo (rje) or Rlung Nam. Reigned from 679 to 704 A.D. I have seen no other attribution to him of any religious foundation. Pu Ton Rimpochhe attributes. Do Me Ling Chhu Tri Tse (mdo smad ling chu khri rtse) to his successor. If this is the same place it is apparently in Kham—East Tibet.

<sup>2</sup> Tri De Tsuk Ten. Known also as Me Ag Tshom (Mes ag tshhoms). The son and successor of Du Song. The last syllable of his name is spelt 'brtan' on the Lhasa Sho do-ring, and 'brtsan' on the Lhasa Tsuk Lak Khang do-ring. His foundations at Ka Tsu and Chhing Phu survive in the Sam-ye district which is covered by the name Tra Mar (brag mar). Chhing Phu (Mchhing Phu) is the burial place of Lhacham Pema, the sister of Tri Song De Tsen.

<sup>3</sup> Tri Song De Tsen. Succeeded in 755 A.D. The date of his death is a minor puzzle of Tibetan history but may be put tentatively at 797 A.D. The foundation by him of Sam-ye Gompa is the subject of long poetical accounts in Tibetan histories. Dbung mthar. Ung meaning 'centre' is perhaps an old spelling of Ü (dbus), the present name of Central Tibet.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting that there is no mention of Tri De Song Tsen's immediate predecessor, Mu Ne Tsen Po. This may confirm Tibetan tradition that Mu Ne's reign was short. It may also indicate that it was unpopular. He is said to have gone in for a communistic experiment of dividing up the land equally among rich and poor. If there was any such experiment it was probably aimed at the power of the feudal nobility. He was poisoned by his mother who disapproved of his marriage to another of his father's widows. The title Tri, The Enthroned, which is applied to other Tibetan kings almost as part of their names, never seems to be applied to Mu Ne.

<sup>5</sup> The King, Father and Son. This may be a formal expression covering the King and his Nobles; but it may also refer to the custom mentioned by Dr. Petech in his 'Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh' (Calcutta, 1939), by which the heir apparent, on reaching the age of 13, was formally associated with the throne. It is noticeable that Tibetan histories frequently attribute the age of 13 or so to the kings on their accession. This is often against the probabilities and other evidence. There may therefore have been a custom of treating the heir apparent after his coming of age, as the Son King.

<sup>6</sup> 'The writing on the do-ring.' This probably refers to Tri Song De Tsen's inscription on the Sam-ye do-ring.

Precious Ones by my Father and Ancestors. And if people, looking to the casting of lots or to dreams or for whatever reason may be, say 'It is a sin' or 'It is not good', do not abandon it; do not destroy it. And those who say such things, whether great persons or small affirm them, let them not do so.

And the Kings, Grandsons and Sons, from the smallest children upwards and from the Rulers of the Land downwards, having appointed teachers of religion from among the Clergy, should learn religion as much as they can imbibe into their minds; and when all Tibet is learning religion they should not destroy the door to practising it. And for ever, from the nobles downwards, let men be appointed as teachers of religion, guiding the faithful to deliverance from destiny in order not to close the door of deliverance from destiny for the people of Tibet, and having established lastingly, through those of them who are most able, the ancient rule of Him Who Has Passed Away Victoriously, those who carry out the ancient rule of Him Who Has Passed Away Victoriously, adhering to the command that they should do whatever proceeds from the preaching of Religion, performing the duties and exercising the powers of the preaching of Religion. <sup>1</sup> And those who have become monks, continuing always according to the ordinance for religious services given by us, Father and Son, and setting up Images of the Three Precious Ones in the King's Palace, let them perform religious services, not letting the offerings of worship decrease and not <sup>2</sup>restricting them.

In short, in the King's Palace and in the Land of Tibet let nothing be done in any way whatsoever to destroy or abandon the Three Precious Ones. And in whatever time may be, of the Father, the Ancestors, and the Descendants, by the religious law of not lessening at all the <sup>2</sup>support of the Three Precious Ones, <sup>18</sup>let them in future act according to the writings of the Household of the Divine Race which have been since the beginning.<sup>4</sup>

And henceforth, in each generation, the Kings, Father and Son, shall pledge themselves in this way. <sup>5</sup> In order that such vows may not be unfulfilled and may not be changed, the gods that have passed from the world, the gods of the world, and all spirits, having been taken as witnesses, the King, Nobles and Ministers, all have undertaken and sworn the oath.<sup>5</sup>

The writing in detail of the solemn undertaking is set up in amplification of the letters of the undertaking written in the time of my Father.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is rather diffuse and difficult. Dechhen Chhökhor Rimpochhe thinks it implies a progressive advance in religious merit until the stage of fitness to be a religious teacher is reached; but it is difficult to fit this into the grammatical construction or to bring it out in translation. 'dge wai bshes nyen' is the equivalent of the modern dge bshes—Ge She. 'Chhos hkhör.' There is some difference of opinion among my helpers about the meaning of this phrase, some holding that it refers to places of pilgrimage. I am, however, told that the phrase is frequently applied to the preaching of the Lord Buddha—especially to his first sermon at Sarnath—and I have accepted that interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> 'bskar shing.' The meaning is not quite clear. In modern Tibetan bskar wa means 'to weigh', 'to criticize' or 'to separate'.

<sup>3</sup> 'rkyen bchad pa' means, I am told, offerings for the support of a religious institution. The phrase appears also in the Tshur Bu inscription.

<sup>4</sup> This passage is not clear. 'Lha ris', which appears also in the Tsur Bu inscription is said by some of my helpers to mean The Royal Family, and by others to mean Monastic Property. The former meaning seems more applicable here although the latter seems more appropriate in the Tshur Bu inscription. The reference here may be to the sacred books which are said to have fallen from heaven on to the roof of the palace of King Tho Tho Ri, to whom later histories assign a date about 120 years before Song Tsen Gam Po.

<sup>5</sup> This passage is almost identical with the wording of the Sam-ye inscription.

## INSCRIPTION AT SAM-YE

༄༅།

|ར་ས་དང་། བྲག་མར་གྱི་  
 བཅུ་ལག་ཁང་ལས་སྟོབས་  
 བར། དཀོན་མཆོག་། བསྐྱེས་  
 གྱི་དྲན་བཅུ་ལག་པ་དང་། སངས་  
 བྲུ་ཀྱི་ཆོས་། མཛད་པ་འདི།  
 ཅམ་དུ་ཡང་ཁྱི་བཀྱང་མའ་ཞིག་  
 བར་བགྱེད། ཡོ་བྱད་སྦྱར་ད།  
 བའ་ཡང་། དེ་ལས་ཁྱི་དབྱི་ཁྱི་  
 བསྐྱེད་བར་བགྱེད། དའ་ཕྱིན་  
 ཅད། བཀྱང་རབས་རེ་རེ་ཞིང་ཡང་  
 བཅོན་པོ་ཡབ་སྐུ་གྱིས་འདི།  
 བཞིན་ཡི་དམ་བཅོམ། དེ་ལས་  
 མཁའ་ཁ་དབྱུད་པ་དག་ཀྱང་།  
 ཁྱི་བགྱི་ཁྱི་བསྐྱར་བར། འཇིག་  
 དྲན་ལས། འདའས་པའ་དང་།  
 འཇིག་དྲན་གྱི་ལྷ་དང་ཁྱི་མ་ཡིན་  
 བའ། ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་དཔང་དུ།  
 བསོལ་ཏེ་བཅོན་པོ་ཡབ་སྐུ་དུ་  
 རྩེ་མོན་ཀྱན་གྱིས་དབྱུ་སྦྱང་དང་བོ།  
 བོར་རོ། བཞིགས་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཞིབ་  
 མོ་བཞིག་ནི་གད་ན་མཆོས་སོ།

## TRANSLATION OF THE SAM-YE INSCRIPTION

The Tsuk Lak Khangs of <sup>2</sup>Ra Sa and <sup>3</sup>Tra Mar and their appendages, where the Images of the Three Precious Ones have been placed and the religion of Buddha established, shall never be let go or allowed to be demolished. <sup>4</sup>The property <sup>5</sup>assigned to them shall also not be diminished or wasted by neglect.

Henceforth in every generation the Kings, Fathers and Sons, shall undertake this. In order that such vows shall not be unfulfilled <sup>6</sup>the gods that have passed away from the world, the gods of the world, and <sup>7</sup>all demons have been invoked to bear witness.<sup>8</sup> And the King, Father and Son, that is to say, the King, Ministers and all have undertaken and sworn the oath. <sup>9</sup>An agreement in detail exists separately.

<sup>1</sup> The pillar on which the inscription is stands in the courtyard of Sam-ye Gompa and is well preserved. It is said to be about seven feet high. I have not seen it myself but I imagine that it must contain examples of the reversed ki-ku, although these have not been reproduced in the copy taken by Sir Charles Bell. In his copies of other inscriptions he has converted the reversed ki-ku into the ordinary form.

<sup>2</sup> Ra Sa. See note on Kar-chung inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Tra Mar. The old name for the district in which Sam-ye is situated. The name Sam-ye, i.e. Beyond Thought, may have been given later; it appears in the Kar-chung inscription. Tibetan histories also describe the monastery as 'Mi lgyur lhun gyis grub pai gtsug lag khang'. The monastery has three stories in three different styles, one Tibetan, one Indian and one Chinese. It has suffered frequently from fire and has been much rebuilt and added to. It is said that there were formerly several do-rings in the neighbourhood which have now been buried in the sand which is constantly being piled up by the prevailing strong winds. Tri Song De Tsen was born in Tra Mar near the site of Sam-ye.

Tra-Mar apparently means 'Red Rock' as there are several reddish rocks in the neighbourhood; but the spelling is brag mar not brag dmar.

<sup>4</sup> Yo pyad (Yo-che) means both landed and moveable property.

<sup>5</sup> spyard. The final d is the 'da-drag'. The use is obsolete and is said to have been abolished by King Ral-pa-chen. 'Da-drag' means the strong or strengthening d; its use has been examined by Laufer in his 'Bird Divination in Tibet' and he concludes that although it was probably in the beginning a formative element of grammatical character by the ninth century it had become simply of euphonic use.

<sup>6</sup> 'Those who have passed away from the world' means such as Buddha, who have attained Nirvana.

<sup>7</sup> Mi ma yin. 'Not human beings'; here applied to demons, etc. There are also good Mi ma yin. See S. C. Das, *Tibetan Dictionary*, p. 595.

<sup>8</sup> 'To bear witness' dphang du in line 17 of the text is apparently a mistake of the copyist, or of the writer for dpang du. d is not used as a prefixed letter before ph. The correct form is given in the Kar-chung inscription; but it is possible that in early times there was less strictness in the use of pa and pha. In the inscription on the Sho do-ring the form pho for po appears, e.g. in chhen pho for chhen po.

<sup>9</sup> The agreement in detail said to exist separately, is quoted by Pao Tsuk Lak in his *Religious History*. His information appears to come from old records at Sam-ye. He quotes at length the archaic language of two vows which he says were taken by Tri Song De Tsen and were written in gold on fine paper. He also gives a list of the ministers who signed these deeds. The quotations contain injunctions never to abandon religion similar to those in the Kar-chung inscription, and also accounts of the religious acts of the King's predecessors, and mention of the suppression of Buddhism by his ministers when he was young. Pao Tsuk Lak states that the second oath, which he quotes, was written in short on the Sam ye do-ring.

## INSCRIPTION AT TSHUR-BU (A)

༄༅། | ཞང་ཚེས་པོང་ལྷ་ག་བཟང་ཉ་ལྷོས།  
 ལྷོད་ཀྱི་ལྷང་བྱར། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཙུགས་  
 པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། | རྟོ་རིངས་ལ་བྱི་བར། : | བཙན་  
 པོ་འེ་བཀའ་ས་གནང་ལྷོ་བྱིས་པའ། : |

༄༅། | བཙན་པོ་ལྷ་སྤྲུལ་ཡབ་སྤྲུལ་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་རིང་ལ།  
 དམ་པའི་ཚེས་བརྟེན་ནས། | གཏུང་རབས་  
 སྤྱ་དམ་པའི་ཚེས་སྤྱི་གཏང་ཞིང་མཛད་པར་  
 ཚེས་གཅིགས་དང་། བཀའ་ལྷང་སྤྲུལ་ད་པ་  
 ལས་འབྱུང་བ་བཞི། | ཞང་ཚེས་པོང་ཉ་ལྷོས།  
 དམ་པའི་ཚེས་ཉམས་སྤྱ་བྱངས། | བཙན་  
 པོ་ལྷ་སྤྲུལ། ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྷོ་བཙན་འབྲུལ་གྱི་  
 བཀའ་བྲིན། | ཞང་ཉ་ལྷོ་ལ་ཆེར་སྤྲུལ་ད་པས་  
 | བཀའ་བྲིན་ཆེན་པོ་བསལ་བ་པའི་ཕྱིར། |  
 བཙན་པོ་སྐྱེ་ཡོན་དུ་བསྐྱེས་ཏེ། | སྐྱོན་ལམ་  
 གྱུ་ཆེར་བདབ་ནས། | ལྷོད་ལྷངས་ཀྱི་ལྷང་བྱར་  
 | གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཙུགས་ལྷོ། | དཀོན་  
 མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་དྲིན་བཙུགས། | དག་  
 སྤྱོང་བཞི་གནས་པར་སྐྱར་ནས། | ཀྱིན་ཀྱི་  
 བཙན་དང་། ཞིང་འབྲོག་དང་། ལྷ་ཆ་དང་། རྟོ་རིངས་  
 དང་། ཀྱང་འབྲོས་ལས་སྤྲུལ་པ། ཚང་བར་  
 བཙན་དེ། | བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྷོ་བཙན་  
 གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཡོན་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་འཆད་པར་བྱེད་དོ། |



གུལ་ལག་ཁང་འདི་མཚན་ཡང་། །  
 བཙན་པོ་འི་བཀའ་ཞལ་གྱིས་བདག་སྟེ།  
 འོན་ཅང་དོ་འི་ཐུགས་དམ་གྱི་གུལ་ལག་  
 ཁང་ཆེན་པོ་འི་མུག་ལ་གདགས་ཤིང་།  
 ཆེས་ཀྱང་། །སྒྲ་ནས་མཛད་པར། །བཀའ་ས་  
 གནང་། །སྒྲ་རིས་ཀྱི་འབངས་དང་། དཀོར་  
 ལ། །ཁྲལ་གྱི་དབབ་པ་དང་། ཁྱ་དང་། ཆད་ཀ་  
 གྱི་བཞེས་པ་ལས་སྦྱོགས་པ་ཡང་། །སྒྲ་རིས་  
 ཆེན་པོ་འི་ཐང་དུ། །བཀའ་ས་གནང་དོ། །  
 གུལ་ལག་ཁང་འདི་འི་རྒྱུན་རིས་བསྡུ་ཞིང་  
 སྦྱད་པ་ཡང་། །ཞང་ཉ་སྟོས། རི་ལྷ་ར་བྱས་ཤིང་།  
 བསྡུས་པ་བཞིན་བཙན་བར། །བཀའ་ས་གནངོ།  
 །ནམ་ཞིག་ན། །ཞང་ཉ་སྟོ་ལ། བྱ་ཚ་གྱུད་ཡོང་།  
 བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་དུ་བྱུར་ན། །ཁོལ་ཡུལ་ལས་སྦྱོགས་  
 བ་དབང་ངོ་ཙམ། །སྒྲར་ཡང་གྱི་བཞེས།  
 བྱང་གྱི་སྦྱིན་བར། །གུལ་ལག་ཁང་འདི་རྒྱུན།  
 དུ་བསྒྲན་པར། །བཀའ་ས་གནང་དོ།  
 གུལ་ལག་ཁང་གི་རྒྱུན་བཙན་པའི་དཀར་  
 ཙག་དང་། བསྡུས་ཡིག་སྒྲ་དཔེ་ནི། །བཙམ་ལྷན་  
 འདའ་ས་རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་འདུན་སར་བཞག ། །  
 འོག་དཔེ་ནི། །འོན་ཅང་དོ་གུལ་ལག་ཁང་གི་  
 གནས་བདུན་དང་། མངན་ལ་སྦྱུལ་ད། །དཔེ་  
 དེ་དང་འདྲ་བ་གཙམ་ནི། །གུལ་ལག་ཁང་།  
 འདིར་གཞག་པར། །བཀའ་ས་གནང་དོ། །

## INSCRIPTION AT TSHUR-BU (B)

༄༅།

།ཞང་ཚེས་པོང་

གསལ་སྟོང་འི་བྱ་

ཚེ། །གཙུག་པོ་

གནང་བའི་སྒྲ་

དཔེ་ནི། །ཕྱིང་བ

འི་སྒྲ་མཁའ་

ན། །གཙུག་པོ་

ཚེ་པོ་གཞན་གྱི་

སྒྲ་ལ་བཞག ། །དེ་

དང་འབྲ་བ་ནས་

གཙུག་ནི། གཙུག་

པོ་གྱི་སྒྲ་ལ།

བཀའ་པོ་སང་བཞག་

།གཙུག་པོ་

འོག་དཔེ་འབྲ་

མེད་གྱི་སྒྲ་ལ་

ནི། གཙུག་པོ་

ཁང་འདིའི་མཚན་

དུ་གཞག་པར།

བཀའ་སྒྲ་གནང་

ངོ། །

## TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM TSHUR-BU GOMPA

## A.

A record of the founding of the Tsuk Lak Khang of Tö Chang Bu, written by <sup>1</sup>Shang Tshhe Pong Tak Zang Nya Tö according to the King's order that it should be inscribed on a do-ring.

According to the religious injunction that one should act without abandoning the Excellent Religion in each generation since the acceptance of the Excellent Religion in the time of the Kings, the Divine Son, the Father, and Ancestors, and according to the command bestowed upon him, Shang Tshhe Pong Nya Tö received the Excellent Religion in his mind.

In order to repay the great favour specially given to Shang Nya To, the favour of the Divine Prince, <sup>2</sup>Tri Tsuk De Tsen the Miraculous, <sup>3</sup>dedicating it as a royal offering, and after great prayer, he founded the Tsuk Lak Khang of <sup>4</sup>Tö Lung Chang Bu and established Images of the Three Precious Ones. And having arranged for <sup>5</sup>four Gelongs to live there, and having provided everything for its complete maintenance—bondsmen, forest and grazing, sacred objects and treasure, cattle and the like—he acted so that the offering for the King, Tri Tsuk De Tsen, should never be brought to nought.

And naming this Tsuk Lak Khang by the personal order of the King, he acted according to the command that, <sup>6</sup>although it was named after the

## A

Tshur-bu, the principal monastery of the Karmapa sect, is situated about 50 miles north-west of Lhasa in a side valley off the main To Lung valley. The pillar stood at one time in front of the Assembly Hall of the monastery but was moved within the last 50 years to the courtyard opposite the main entrance. It is about 8 feet high, excluding the pedestal and canopy, 1½ feet broad and 8 inches in thickness. The principal inscription is written on the south face and the lesser inscription on the east side.

<sup>1</sup> Shang Tshhe Pong Tak Zang Nya To. (Shang Tshhes Pong Stag Bzang Nyu Sto.) Shang is probably a clan name; Tshhe Pong a family or sub-clan name; Tak Zang is perhaps the personal name; and Nya To may be an official title. In the second inscription there is reference to Shang Se To (G-sas) which may imply a subsequent change in the title of the founder.

In later histories the name Tshhe Pong is spelt Tshhe spong.

<sup>2</sup> Tri Tsuk De Tsen. (Khri gtsug lde brtsan.) The formal name of Tri De Song Tsen's son and successor who is now generally known by his familiar name, Ralpa-chen, the Long Haired. He reigned from 816 to 836 A.D. as the last of the Religious Kings for, on his assassination, Buddhism was suppressed by his brother Lang Darma. The use of the title Lha Se (Lha sras) here in conjunction with Tsen-po (btsan po) seems to mean Son of Heaven rather than Prince. I have not seen elsewhere the form Thrul kyi (hphrul gyi) instead of the full title Thrul Kyi Lha Tsen Po.

<sup>3</sup> 'Dedicating it as a royal offering.' Dechhen (Chhökhor Rimpochhe says that sngö-wa implies doing something for another person and compares it with the verb rje-ra (rjo-wa) which is used for the offering of butter lamps for the dead.

<sup>4</sup> Tö-lung Chang-bu (stod lung chang bu). As stated above, the name Chang-bu cannot now be traced in the Tö-lung valley.

<sup>5</sup> Four Gelongs. The establishment of four only indicates a lack of enthusiasm when one looks at the present population of Tibetan monasteries. It is recorded that Tri Tsuk De Tsen gave all sorts of privileges to monks in order to popularize the profession. Nowadays only those who have reached the highest stage of religious training are called Gelong but it is not certain whether the various stages, now existing, were in force in the earliest days.

<sup>6</sup> There is some difference of opinion about this passage. Dechhen Chhökhor Rimpochhe thinks that it means 'establishing it as an appendage of the great Tsuk Lak Khang of Ön Chang Do'; but Tshatrul Rimpochhe considers that it means 'naming it after Ön Chang Do in point of time'. Although it is possible that Chang-bu was made a dependency of Ön Chang Do, I have accepted the simpler reading.

great Tsuk Lak Khang of the Act of Devotion, at On Chang Do, it should in future be treated as even more holy.

And he acted according to the order, <sup>1</sup>by the will of the Divine Race, that on the subjects and property of the Divine Race no taxes should be imposed, nor rents, nor penalties. And making the dedication of the means of support of this Tsuk Lak Khang he completed this matter also. So doing, Shang Nya To acted according to the order for effectual performance according to the dedication.

And he acted according to the order that if, at any time, the future descendants of Shang Nya To should become extinct, the servants, lands, and the like in their possession should not be resumed or given to any one else but should be added to the maintenance of this Tsuk Lak Khang. And he acted according to the order that the list of offerings for this Tsuk Lak Khang and the principal copy of the dedication should be placed in the Assembly Hall of the <sup>2</sup>Ancient Law of Him Who Has Passed Away Victoriously, and that a secondary copy should be given to the <sup>3</sup>Abbot of On Chang Do and to the <sup>4</sup>Mngan, and that a copy and reproduction should be deposited in this Tsuk Lak Khang.

## B.

The family of Shang Tshhe Pong <sup>5</sup>Se To placed the original copy of the deed in the Palace at <sup>6</sup>Ching Wa-i Kun Khar, treating it equally with

On Chang Do was Tri Tsuk De Tsen's greatest foundation. The site is some 20 miles down river from Lhasa and little now remains of the great building of nine stories which is described in the histories. A single-storied lhakhang, surrounded like Sang-gye Gumpa by large chho-tens, a large uninscribed do-ring outside the lhakhang, and a smaller do-ring decorated with Lucky Signs, are all that survive. The smaller do-ring which is in the courtyard of the lhakhang is said to be quite recent. Thugs dam means also 'meditation'; but in this context it appears to imply that the building of the Tsuk Lak Khang was an act of worship or devotion by the King.

There appears to have been a royal residence at On Chang Do—now called Hushang—before Tri Tsuk De Tsen made his Tsuk Lak Khang, as there is mention in one of the inscriptions from Sha Lhakhang of King Tri De Song Tsen lying at the Palace of On Chang Do.

<sup>1</sup> Lha ris. See note 18 on the Sang-gye Gumpa inscription. The meaning here might well be that the *monastic* property was not to be taxed. If that is so 'thang du' would mean 'for the sake of'. The weight of opinion is, however, in favour of translating lha ris as 'The Divine Race' or Royal Family.

<sup>2</sup> The Ancient Law of Him Who Has Passed Away Victoriously (bchom lden hdhs) means the Buddhist Religion.

<sup>3</sup> Gnas Brtan (Ne Ten). This is said to have been the title of the principal monk or Abbot and to be the equivalent of the modern mKhan-po.

<sup>4</sup> The Mngan appears to have been another monastic official, perhaps one concerned with magic, because Tibetan dictionaries treat 'mngan' as the equivalent of 'mthu' meaning 'inherent power' generally used with reference to magic. One of the signatories of the treaty between Tri Tsuk De Tsen and the Chinese Emperor Mu Tsung whose names are inscribed on the north side of the Lhasa Tsuk Lak Khang do-ring is described as 'Mngan Pon'.

## B

This inscription seems to be a later addition.

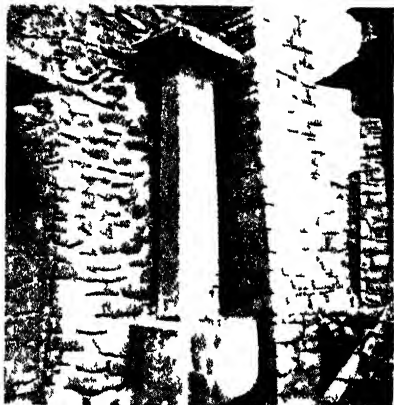
<sup>5</sup> I have noted above the change in the name or title of the founder.

<sup>6</sup> The Palace of Ching Wa-i Kun Khar. This is perhaps Sku mkhar hphyng nga stag rtse which is stated in the Gyalpo Kathang (rgyal po bkah thang) to have been built by Tong Ri Tong Tsen (Stong ri stong btsan) one of the legendary early kings of Tibet. It is attributed in the Gyerab Sel wa-i Me long (rgyal rabs gsal wa-i me long) to another legendary king-Chya Thri (bya Khri) Tsen po. The Gyerab Sel wa-i Melong also mentions Sku mkhar hphyng nga stag rtse in connection with much later history and states that it was in Yarlung. Possibly by the ninth century it had become the home of Shang Tshhe Pong's family.

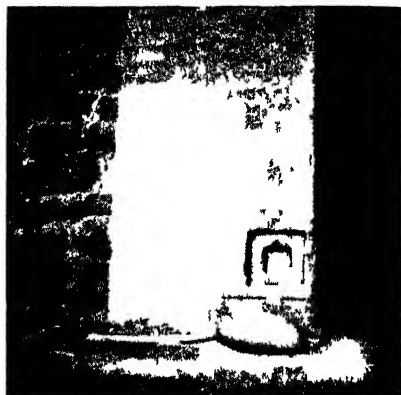
other great deeds. That and another complete copy, treated equally with other great deeds, they deposited in the places as ordered. And they acted according to the command that a secondary copy of the deed, known as <sup>1</sup>The Urn of Variegated Stone, should be placed in the Treasury of this Tsuk Lak Khang.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Men kyī trom bu ni' (men gyi sgrom bu ni). One might have expected 'men kyī trom bu na', 'in an urn of variegated stone'; but the reading 'ni' is clear. The document may have been given the name of the receptacle in which it was placed. There is frequent mention in Tibetan histories of royal orders and letters being contained in such urns or boxes.



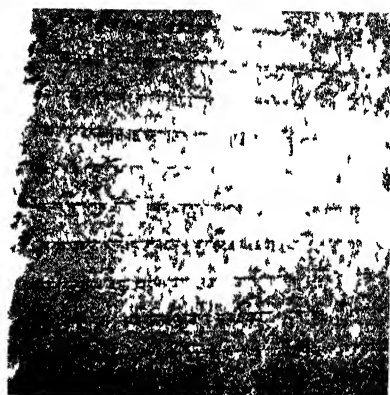
N do ring at Uru Shu Lha khang



Detail from do ring at Uru Shu Lha khang



Sung gye Gompa looking North do ring just visible to right of further Chhoten



Detail from do ring at Sung gye Gompa



Do ring at Sung gye Gompa (Kar-chung)



Tsa Potrang



## IDENTIFICATION OF SOME OLD SITES IN RĀJAGRĪHA

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.

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### INTRODUCTION

Recently, I had occasion to spend a month in Rājgir, the ancient Rājagriha, which figures so prominently in the early Buddhist literature as a favourite residence of Gautama Buddha. I took advantage of the enforced holiday to ramble over its ruins and examine at close quarters the various sites identified with the important localities mentioned in the Buddhist texts and the writings of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang. I naturally took as my guide the official reports of the Archaeological Department, specially that of Sir John Marshall.<sup>1</sup> At first I accepted without question all the identifications proposed by him, but doubts arose in my mind about their accuracy as I became more and more familiar with the grounds and subjected the detailed accounts of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang to a searching analysis on the very spots described by them. Gradually the conviction grew upon me that most of the identifications, now generally accepted, are possible, and at best probable, but by no means certain. As day after day, I moved around with the bearings and directions of Hiuen Tsang in my mind, new identifications suggested themselves to me. They cannot be regarded as certain, and the utmost that can be claimed is that they are not less likely or less probable than the theories which now hold the field. My object in writing the following notes is first of all to emphasize the tentative character of the current identifications, and secondly to draw the attention of the archaeologists to other possible sites. It may be confidently hoped that further excavations and explorations will be carried out in near future amid the ruins of this famous city. These notes may be of some use in directing these operations. Nothing can be a greater obstacle to the discovery of truth than a tacit acceptance of certain views as unquestionably right though they are not based on convincing evidence. In the following notes I have dealt with some such views, and drawn attention to new possibilities without being dogmatic one way or the other. Although I have naturally urged my own views with some emphasis, it should be distinctly understood that I merely regard them

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<sup>1</sup> The old Reports of Cunningham (*ASR*, I, III) and Beglar (*ASR*, VIII) are now mostly out of date and superseded by the Report of J. Marshall (*ASI*, 1905-6, pp. 86ff.). A further report was published by Mr. V. H. Jackson (*ASI*, 1913-14, pp. 265ff.), who differs on some points from Marshall, but makes no reference to, far less discusses, his view. Apart from casual references, notes on conservation work, and somewhat detailed discussion of the excavations at Maniyār Maṭh in the subsequent volumes of *ASI*, the only other important publications of the Archaeological Department are: (1) *A Guide to Rājgir* by M. H. Kuraishi, revised by A. Ghosh (Second Edition, 1944), and (2) 'List of Ancient Monuments, etc. in Bihar and Orissa' by M. H. Kuraishi (pp. 112-136). Some of the opinions expressed in the last two publications differ from those of Marshall, but it is difficult to decide whether they represent the independent views of the author or are merely modified views of the Department. In this article Marshall's Report will be simply referred to as *Report*, the map of Rājagriha contained therein (Pl. XXIX) as the map, and *A Guide to Rājgir* as *Guide*.



as possibilities. It is hardly necessary to add that the proposed identifications, being mainly based upon the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, only reflect the views current in their days, and may not always represent the actual historical truth. In other words, we can only try to find out the different sites and monuments which were shown to the Chinese pilgrims, but we cannot vouch for the accuracy of these traditions in regard to things or events more than thousand years old.

## I. THE PALACE CITY

Hiuen Tsang distinguishes two different parts of old Rājagriha which he calls by two different names rendered by Beal as 'Palace City' and 'Mountain City'. It is also quite clear from his statement that these two had separate enclosures, for he refers to the North Gate of the first as well as of the second. It is somewhat strange that this topographical feature has not been kept in view by modern writers on the subject, and no attempt hitherto made to locate the two different sites.<sup>1</sup> But there can be hardly any doubt that the North Gate of the Palace City was either identical with or situated close to what is now regarded as the South Gate<sup>2</sup> of the old city (marked *p* in the Map). For the bearings of Jivaka's mango-grove and Gridhrakūta with reference to the North Gate of the Palace City prove to be remarkably accurate only if we start from this point. 'The deep ditch mentioned by Hiuen Tsang 'where Śrigupta wished to destroy Buddha' is almost certainly to be identified with the deep moat beyond the Nakve Bund over which passes the small bridge on the way from South Gate of the inner enclosure to Chhatagiri.<sup>3</sup> The Palace City thus roughly occupied the southern part of the hill-girt area, bounded by the Bāṅgaṅgā Pass on the south, Sonagiri on the west and Udayagiri on the south-east. In the north it was probably demarcated from the Mountain City by the southern walls of the latter, the remains of which can clearly be traced. To its east lay the long narrow valley running north-east between two hill ranges, viz. the Chhatagiri and Sailagiri on the north and the Udayagiri on the south. It was protected in this direction by a crosswall connecting these two which runs almost north to south. This wall can clearly be traced right across the whole valley and has been noted in all the maps. But whereas it has been regarded as a part of the defensive arrangements for the old city, it should rather be regarded as the eastern enclosure of the Palace City.

The Palace City, as its name indicates, was evidently the citadel, containing the royal palace and the more aristocratic quarters. The taming of the elephant Nālāgiri which, at the instance of Devadatta, was sent to kill Buddha, is placed by Hiuen Tsang just outside the North Gate of the Palace City. This shows that the royal stables occupied its northern extremity. The Palace City was evidently entered through the valley in the east from Giriya side<sup>4</sup> or from the wide and open countryside in the south through the narrow pass between the Sonagiri and Udayagiri. Through this pass rushes the Bāṅgaṅgā torrent to join the Panchana whose winding course, less than a mile away, is clearly visible from the top of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. D. N. Sen hinted at such a possibility (*JBORS*, IV, 116) but did not go deeply into this question. Mr. Jackson's ideas on the subject (p. 271) are demonstrably wrong.

<sup>2</sup> This should be more properly called the East Gate as Mr. Jackson has done.

<sup>3</sup> This moat is described by Jackson (p. 268).

<sup>4</sup> Mr. D. N. Sen thinks that the Buddha, on his first visit to Rājagriha, entered through the Giriya valley (*JBORS*, IV, 118).

the stone walls, running over the two hills, which are in a remarkably good state of preservation at this point. The Palace City, narrow at its south end, gradually widened towards the north, and its extreme length was about a mile. Unfortunately, this area has not yet been sufficiently explored as the main attention of the archaeologists, since the days of Cunningham, has been confined to the so-called inner enclosure of the old city and the region to its north outside the hills. But there are clear traces within this area of the old road which still bears the marks of the cart-wheels on the stone pavement and contains several inscriptions in shell characters. These, as well as an old well, prove the antiquity of the locality which obviously deserves a more careful attention in the hands of modern explorers than it has yet received. Not far from the southern end there are two mounds by the roadside which look like remains of old *stūpas* and the site abounds in remains of old sites. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Archaeological Department should take up the exploration of this site which was obviously a more important area in old days.

Cunningham did not distinguish this 'Palace City' from the 'Mountain City' and took both of them to mean the walled city of old Rājagriha shown in the map by dotted line. As a result of this he had to place Jivaka's mango-grove at the foot of Vipulagiri and the Gridhrakūta, at a great distance from it on the Śailagiri. The Buddhist literature, however, clearly proves the proximity of the two, and there can be hardly any doubt about the identification of Gridhrakūta with the Chhathagiri, first proposed by Broadley and later supported with convincing arguments by Marshall.<sup>1</sup> Marshall's identification of Jivaka's mango-grove must be approximately correct. In view of all this it is somewhat strange that Marshall should not have clearly distinguished the 'Palace City' of Hiuen Tsang and discussed it at some length. As it is he has only made a passing reference to it in course of a casual remark that 'Nakve embankment possibly represents the limit of the "Palace City" towards the east'.

As we know definitely from Hiuen Tsang in the case of New Rājagriha, there was probably an inner city or citadel as well as an outer city in old Rājagriha. The location of the palace in this area would satisfactorily explain the journey of Bimbisāra to Gridhrakūta as described by Hiuen Tsang and explained in detail by Marshall (p. 91).

## 2. THE MOUNTAIN CITY

The 'Mountain City' of Hiuen Tsang evidently lay in the hill-girt valley to the north-west of the Palace City. It may be taken to correspond to the area enclosed by walls whose remains can be clearly traced and are shown on the map as inner walls as distinguished from the outer defensive walls running over the peaks of the surrounding hills. It has the shape of a boot with its toe, at the south-east, touching the Palace City mentioned above. Unlike the 'Palace City' it contained no old monuments or sacred spots associated with the Buddha; at least Hiuen Tsang does not mention any. All those which he describes in detail—and their number is large—were situated outside this enclosure. These may be broadly divided into

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 90. It is interesting to note that Kittoe, writing in 1847 about 25 years before Broadley, places in this area the 'Gidhona peak, so named from the vultures, which perch and build their nests there' (*JASB*, 1847, p. 959). It seems from this that the name Gridhrakūta and the account of its origin as handed down by Hiuen Tsang were living traditions even so late as the middle of the nineteenth century A.D.

two parts, viz.: (1) those lying to the south-east in the area between the south gate of the inner walls and the Gridhrakūṭa, and (2) others beyond the north gate of the Mountain City. The identification of Gridhrakūṭa and Jivaka's house in the former group seems to be well established. As for the rest, it is necessary to make a close examination on the spot in the light of what has been said above regarding the North Gate of the Palace City which was the starting point of Hiuen Tsang. As there is no place in the neighbourhood where one can make arrangements for a prolonged stay, I could not undertake the investigation and hence confine my observations to the latter group.

### 3. NORTH GATE

Hiuen Tsang notes the direction and distance of the monuments and sites in this area with reference to the North Gate of the Mountain City. It is therefore necessary to fix its position before proceeding to identify them. Cunningham placed this gate nearly a quarter of a mile south of the point where the two small streams meet just beyond the north-west corner of the walled city.<sup>1</sup> But Marshall rejected this identification and located it at a point (marked *b* on the Map) about 160 ft. to the south-east of the confluence of the two streams. He also held that 'outside this inner gate, again, and 250 ft. further north—right in the defile, that is to say, between Vaibhāra-giri and Vipula-giri—was another gate in the fortifications of the outer city . . . . It is this outer gate, most certainly, to which the Chinese pilgrims refer, in speaking of the North Gate of the City . . . ' (p. 94). It is difficult to accept the view so emphatically asserted by Marshall. For it does not tally with the very first statement made by Hiuen Tsang, viz. 'to the west of the North Gate of the mountain city is the mountain called Pi-pu-lo (Vipula-giri)'.<sup>2</sup> Marshall presumably takes this to be Vaibhāra-giri, but apart from the close resemblance of Pi-pu-lo with Vipula, this identification is further confirmed by the next statement of Hiuen Tsang that 'on the northern side of the south-western crags of this mountain there were formerly 500 warm springs; now there are only some ten or so'. Now this can only refer to the south-western end of the Vipula-giri, and cannot in any way be made to apply to Vaibhāra-giri. We must therefore look for the northern gate of Hiuen Tsang further east, somewhere in the middle of the northern wall of the old city. The most probable site is near the confluence of the streamlet running east-west between the northern wall and the foot of the Vipula-giri and another coming from the south-east and winding through the northern part of the walled city, both of which are shown in the map. There is a big gap in the northern wall at this point and boulders of concrete are found on both sides of the stream.<sup>3</sup> A gate at this point would really represent the North Gate of the city, whereas the inner as well as the outer North Gate of Marshall really corresponds to the north-west gate, being situated at the extreme north-west corner of the inner walls.<sup>4</sup> Besides, a person coming out of the North Gate suggested

<sup>1</sup> This is called by him Hastināpur Gate and marked *J* in his map of Rājagriha (*ASR*, III, Pl. xli).

<sup>2</sup> Beal, II, 155.

<sup>3</sup> I showed this site to Mr. S. Bose, a member of the Archaeological Department, who agreed with me that there was a gate here.

<sup>4</sup> In the Buddhist literature (*JBORS*, IV, 115) Rājgir is said to have possessed 32 large and 64 smaller gates. Whatever we might think of the actual figures there is no doubt that the wall on each side must have contained several gates. The gate in the centre of the north wall, rather than that at its western end, is therefore more likely to be called its North Gate.

by me, could with some propriety refer to the Vipula-giri on its west, as the extreme end of this mountain on his left, to which the road from the North Gate must inevitably lead, was really to his west. The clear traces of the concrete floor leave no doubt about the existence of a gate and a causeway at this point, and it is a matter of surprise that this characteristic topographical feature has remained unnoticed so long. This North Gate is one of the three landmarks noted by the Chinese pilgrim, about the position of which, asserted Marshall, 'there can practically be no doubt' (p. 93). The other two are the hot springs, whose position is of course fixed by nature, and the Pippala cave to which we now turn.

#### 4. THE PIPPALA CAVE

The Pippala cave was first identified by Cunningham, and his views have been accepted, without question, by all the succeeding writers on the subject; yet, strangely enough, no one has cared to see that it was based on a wrong presumption and, as such, scarcely deserves a serious consideration.

Cunningham had before him the following translation of a statement of Hiuen Tsang: 'To the west of the hot-springs stands the stone house of Pi-po-lo in which Buddha formerly lived. The deep cave which opens behind its wall was the palace of the Asuras.'<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, he identified the stone house with the 'massive foundation of a stone house, 85 ft. square, called *Jarasandh-ki-baithak*' (marked *a* on the Map) and the cave with a deep hollow immediately behind it, which, as he himself admits, 'was undoubtedly the quarry from whence the stones for the *Baithak* of Jarasandha were derived'. Apart from anything else, this stone platform can hardly be regarded as a house or even a foundation for one, and as Marshall has himself pointed out, it must have been originally intended as a watch-tower.<sup>2</sup> But the most vital objection arises from the wrong translation of Hiuen Tsang's statement on which the view was based. Watters has translated the passage as follows: 'To the west of the Hot-springs was the Pi-po-lo (Pippala) cave in which the Buddha often lodged. Through the rock at the back of this was a passage into the Asur's palace . . . .' (II, 154).

Thus what Hiuen Tsang saw was a cave with a passage at its back and not a stone house with a cave behind it. That Watters' translation is right follows from the statement of Fa-hien that it was a cave, and this is confirmed by various references to the Pippala cave in the Buddhist literature. The stone platform does not agree with the description of Hiuen Tsang, nor does the quarry hole behind conform to it. There is thus absolutely nothing to commend the identification proposed by Cunningham even though it has been unanimously accepted by scholars.<sup>3</sup>

Having thus made up my mind that the generally accepted identification of the Pippala cave is not correct, I began to look for it in the neighbourhood. Fa-hien definitely says that the Pippala cave was on his way to the Saptaparni cave. So I naturally walked from the hot springs towards the west, keeping close to the foot of Vaibhāra hill. After I had proceeded about 100 yards from the last of the hot springs known as the Gaṅgā-Yamunā, I saw an

<sup>1</sup> *ASR*, III, 141.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall refers to two examples on the Vaibhāra (p. 89) and there is a third on Vipula-giri which has been identified by him as the *Stūpa* of Ajātaśatru (p. 96).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. D. N. Sen was constrained to admit that the cave seen by Fa-hien was a different one, but held that 'Hiuen-Tsang's stone house was undoubtedly the *Baithak*' (*Rajgir and its Neighbourhood*, p. 6).

opening on the hillside. Coming nearer, I found that it was a cave of natural formation, but bore traces of artificial improvement. It was on the north face of the Vaibhāra hill at a height of about 20 or 30 ft. from the level of the ground below. The front portion of the roof has crumbled but the supporting rocks at the two sides of the entrance give a fair idea of its original size. It was about 7 or 8 ft. high, and the opening at the front was about 7 yards wide and 5 yards deep.<sup>1</sup> There are two openings inside the cave, one at the right-hand side, as one enters, and the other at the back. The last one looks like a narrow passage or tunnel into the interior, as its end is not visible from the outside. It thus exactly corresponds to the description of the Pippala cave as translated by Watters. There is no doubt in my mind that this has a far better claim to be regarded as the Pippala cave than the *Jarasandh-ki-baithak*. It may be noted that about 40 ft. to the east of the cave are two mounds with traces of masonry,<sup>2</sup> and not far from the cave, at the foot of the hill, is the dry bed of a very old tank. There is thus ample evidence that this locality was once the resort of pious hermits, as mentioned by Fa-hien. 'Along (the sides of) the hill', says he, 'there are also a very great many cells among the rocks, where the various Arhans sat and meditated.'<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact beyond this cave there are several other caves, higher up on the hill, some of which I personally visited.

#### 5. DEVADATTA CAVE

Hiuen Tsang states that 'to the left of the North Gate of the Mountain City, on the north of the south cliff there, going east 2 or 3 *li*, you come to the large cave in which Devadatta went into Samādhi'.<sup>4</sup> Here again it is clear that the North Gate of the pilgrim could not be the same as the North Gate of Marshall, for then 'going left' would mean going towards the west and not to the east, as the pilgrim specifically states.<sup>5</sup> What the pilgrim meant can be clearly explained if the North Gate occupied the position suggested by me. Immediately after passing out of the gate, he turned to his left till he reached the end of Vipula-giri, and then proceeded east for 2 or 3 *li* along the northern side of the hill till he came to the Devadatta cave. Here again, the same Chinese expression has been translated as 'cave' by Watters and stone-house by Beal. But as Fa-hien also calls it a rock-dwelling Watters' translation seems to be the right one. Marshall argues (p. 99) that as the same Chinese word is used for Pippala cave, which can be safely identified with *Jarasandh-ki-baithak*, it should be taken to mean a structural edifice. But his argument loses force in view of the new identification of Pippala cave proposed above. We shall thus be justified in regarding 'cave' as the proper meaning of the word which has been translated as 'stone-house' by Beal and others.

The Devadatta cave can be reasonably identified with the cave above Makhdum Kund (or *darga*) now overshadowed by a big tree. Hiuen Tsang refers to a flat stone, not far to the east of it, with coloured spots like blood, and tells a story to explain it.<sup>6</sup> Fa-hien tells the same story and places

<sup>1</sup> The measurements are only approximate as I had no measuring tape with me.

<sup>2</sup> Mr D. N. Sen states on the authority of Buddhist literature that there was a small *vihāra* in front of the Pippala cave (*Rajgir*, p. 5). The masonry might represent its remains.

<sup>3</sup> Legges' Tr., p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Watters, II, 155.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. D. N. Sen therefore thought that Hiuen Tsang was wrong; he went to the right and not left (*Rajgir*, pp. 26-7).

<sup>6</sup> Beal, II, 158.

the 'black rock' at a distance of fifty paces.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, even today, the visitors are shown a piece of stone, situated at about the same distance to the east of the cave, and reached by a flight of steps. It contains crimson marks which are explained as blood stains. This confirms the identification of the cave above Makhdum Kund with the Devadatta cave.

The *Guide to Rajgir*, published by the Archaeological Department, refers to this stone as the one 'mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as being not far to the east of Devadatta's stone-house' (p. 24). But still this latter is identified with the stone platform<sup>2</sup> near Surj Kund at the foot of the Vipula-giri on the ground that 'this site exactly corresponds to the indications given by Hiuen Tsang'. Now, even apart from the fact that the object in question was a cave and not a structural edifice, such as the stone platform near Surj Kund would indicate, the distance of 2 or 3 *li* from the North Gate mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, would lead us much further beyond it to the cave above Makhdum Kund with which I have identified it. But the most serious objection against the identifications proposed in the *Guide book* is the long distance between the proposed Devadatta cave and the black stone with crimson spots. Even the *Guide* identified the latter with the stone at Makhdum Kund. But Fa-hien clearly says that there was only a distance of fifty paces between the two. As pointed out above, this is really the distance between the cave above Makhdum Kund and the flat stone with crimson spot. So, as the *Guide* identifies this stone with the one at Makhdum Kund, the logical corollary would be to identify the Devadatta Samādhi cave with the cave above Makhdum Kund as proposed by me.<sup>3</sup> Thus in this case also we shall be justified in taking the Chinese word to mean a cave and not a stone house.

## 6. VEṆU-VANA

Hiuen Tsang next proceeds to describe the Karanda-Veṇu-vana or Bamboo Park, famous in Buddhist literature as the favourite residence of Buddha in Rājagṛīha. 'Going about 1 *li* from the North Gate of the Mountain City we come to Karanda-veṇu-vana where now the stone foundation and the brick walls of a *Vihāra* exist.'<sup>4</sup> It seems that Hiuen Tsang now turns from the foot of the Vipula-giri to the region lying between it and Vaibhāra-giri. For Fa-hien says that this park was on the west side of the highway about 300 paces from the north wall. The statements of the two pilgrims indicate that the Bamboo Park was quite close to Marshall's North Gate. Marshall located it in the 'open ground on the left of the road, where gardens still exist, well watered by the stream and the perennial springs from above' (pp. 94-5). He was of opinion that it was bounded on the north by the mound containing the Muhammadan tombs almost immediately to the north of the hot springs on the Vaibhār hill across the small streamlet formed by them. He was led to this view by

<sup>1</sup> Legge, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> This is the third watch-tower, referred to above in f.n. 2, p. 69, which Marshall identifies with the Ajātasatru *Stūpa* (p. 96).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. D. N. Sen also probably held the same view (*Rajgir*, pp. 26-7), though it is not quite clear whether he meant this or another cave. It is interesting to note that even today the Muslims point out to this cave as the place where Makhdum Sha (the Muslim saint after whom the Darga and Kund are named) sat in meditation and fast for 40 days and spent a number of years. For an account of the saint who is revered all over India, and the veneration with which the place is regarded both by Hindus and Musalmans, see *JASB*, 1872, pp. 243-44.

<sup>4</sup> Beal, II, 159-60.

its position in respect to a tank which lies to the north of it. For Hiuen Tsang refers to a tank called *Karaṇḍa-hrada* about 200 paces to the north of *Veṇu-vana-vihāra*. Marshall took the tank to the south of the Inspection Bungalow to be the *Karaṇḍa-hrada*, and hence identified the mound, which is approximately 200 paces to its south, with the *Veṇu-vana-vihāra*. Accordingly, this mound was excavated but yielded no satisfactory result. The tank in question, however, does not appear to be an old one, as already pointed out by Mr. D. N. Sen, and hence Marshall's identification is doubtful. Mr. Sen also rightly points out that Marshall has included *Tapodārāma* in the area assigned by him to *Veṇu-vana*.<sup>1</sup>

It would appear from the Buddhist literature and the Chinese accounts that there were no less than three parks in the neighbourhood of the northern gate of old *Rājagṛiha*. The first, *Tapodārāma*, as the name indicates (*Tapodā* = *Taptodā* or hot water), must have been in the immediate neighbourhood of the hot springs. The second, *Śitavana* (cold forest), has been located in the area covered by New *Rājagṛiha*, on the basis of a legend recorded by Hiuen Tsang. According to it, once when *Bimbisāra* banished himself to *Śitavana*, which contained the cemetery, the king of *Vaiśālī* made preparations to invade *Rājagṛiha*. Thereupon the Lords of *Marches*, 'built a town', and as the king was the first to inhabit it, it was called 'the royal city' (*Rājagṛiha*).<sup>2</sup> Of course, no historical importance attaches to this story as we know that the old capital city was called *Rājagṛiha*. But it has been inferred from it that the New *Rājagṛiha* covered the area of the old *Śitavana*. But this certainly does not follow from the statement of Hiuen Tsang. The king, who had been living in *Śitavana*, was, according to the story, the first to inhabit the newly built city. But this does not mean that the new city was built in *Śitavana*. On the other hand, references in *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (II. 57) to '*Sappaṇḍika Pabbhāra*' in *Śitavana* clearly shows that it must have included a hillside, for *Pabbhāra* (*Prāgbhāra*) means a slope or top of a mountain. Now there is no hill in New *Rājagṛiha*. Mr. D. N. Sen, who accepts the current view that the '*Śitavana* is now almost wholly occupied by the ruins of New *Rājagṛiha*', contradicts himself when he says in the very next sentence: 'As there is no hill or mountain in this area, the *Pabbhāra* must mean the slope of mount *Vipula*.'<sup>3</sup> The reason which probably led Marshall and others to identify the *Śitavana* with New *Rājagṛiha* is the existence of the Hindu *Burning-ghāt* not far from the walls of New *Rājagṛiha*. But it is forgotten that there is also a *Burning-ghāt* between the slopes of *Vipula* and *Vaiḥhāra* hills, a little to the north of Marshall's North Gate, which is even now used for this purpose. Mr. D. N. Sen observes: 'There was at least one good reason for avoiding the northern approach of the city, as, in the immediate vicinity of it, lay the *Śitavana* where the people of *Rājagṛiha* used to deposit their dead.'<sup>4</sup> Now this can only apply to the *Burning-ghāt* near the North Gate referred to above, for the other, near walls of New *Rājagṛiha*, would be too far from the North Gate.

Thus *Śitavana* and *Tapodārāma* were both just outside, at least not very far from, the North Gate of Marshall. The third, the *Veṇu-vana* may, therefore, be taken to occupy roughly the centre of the plain ground between Old and New *Rājagṛiha*, but its exact limits cannot be defined. If we accept this view we have to reject the identifications of *Veṇu-vana-vihāra* and *Karaṇḍa-tank* proposed by Marshall and suggest new ones. There is a remarkable high mound with foundations of stone blocks, with a few

<sup>1</sup> *Rajgir*, pp. 4, 32.

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, IV, 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Beal*, II, 165-66.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

later pillars fixed upon it, at a short distance to the south-east of the Inspection Bungalow, on the modern road, about half-way between the south-east corner of the ramparts of New Rājagriha and Marshall's North Gate. This seems to have a better claim to be regarded as the *Veṇu-vana-vihāra*.<sup>1</sup> At a short distance to the north-east of it is the dry bed of an old tank with clear traces of stone embankments round it. Unlike the tank referred to by Marshall, which is on a high ground and is only filled by rain-water, this tank was fed by the water of the hot springs on the *Vipulagiri*. The streamlet fed by these springs still runs close by the tank, its course being diverted from it for purposes of irrigating the neighbouring fields. Both these facts render the identification more probable. Hiuen Tsang places the *Aśoka Stūpa*, 60 ft. high, at a distance of 2 or 3 *li* to the north-west of the *Karaṇḍa-hrada*. On the basis of our identification of the *Karaṇḍa-hrada* this *stūpa* may be identified with the very high mound on which the Burmese temple has been constructed, or another, less high, a little to its south. Hiuen Tsang places the town of Rājagriha (i.e. New Rājagriha) not far to the north-east of this *stūpa*. He evidently refers to the city proper outside the citadel, for he remarks that whereas 'the outer walls of this city have been destroyed and there are no remnants left, the inner city walls, although in a ruined state, still have some elevation from the ground and are about 20 *li* in circuit'. The remains of these walls have been partially excavated, and lie almost immediately to the north and west of the Burmese Temple, whereas the walls of the city proper can still be traced to the north-east of the Burmese Temple.<sup>2</sup>

To the east of *Veṇu-vana* was the *stūpa* built by Ajātaśatru. This may be identified with the structure whose stone foundations, made of undressed blocks, in a neat rectangle of about 70' square, have been exposed within the compound of the Japanese temple lying immediately to the east of the stone foundations identified with *Veṇu-vana-vihāra*. These two buildings stood facing each other on two sides of the ancient main road running north-south from the New to the Old Rājagriha. By its side—and indeed all along near it on both sides of the road—are a large number of mounds which probably conceal the remains of other *stūpas* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. Having lived in the Japanese temple for about a month, I have closely examined the area surrounding it, and have come across numerous mounds, some of which are clear remains of small *stūpas*. Unfortunately, this area has not yet received the attention it deserves, and it is high time that the Archaeological Department should take up the excavation of the site.

<sup>1</sup> This has been identified in the *Guide* (p. 9) with the *stūpa* of Ajātaśatru to the east of *Veṇu-vana*. But see f.n. 2 on page 71 re. Marshall's identification of this *stūpa*.

<sup>2</sup> Even the 'inner city walls' of Hiuen Tsang extended beyond the citadel enclosed by the stone ramparts. For according to Hiuen Tsang they were about 20 *li* or more than 3 miles in circuit, whereas the stone ramparts of New Rājagriha have a circuit of about 1½ mile (see plan. *ASI*, 1905-6, Pl. XXXV, which also shows the walls of the city proper). It is thus difficult to locate the spot in New Rājagriha from which Hiuen Tsang took the direction and distance of the *Aśoka Stūpa*. It has been suggested that this is identical with the *stūpa* mentioned by Fa-hien as having been built by Ajātaśatru. But this is doubtful. Fa-hien places it '300 paces outside the West Gate' of New Rājagriha, whereas Hiuen Tsang places *Aśoka Stūpa* not far to its south-west. As in Old Rājagriha there was a 'Palace City' as well as a 'Mountain City', so here, too, there seem to have been two cities, viz. the citadel (i.e. the area enclosed by stone ramparts whose remains can still be seen) and the city proper, whose walls disappeared even in Hiuen Tsang's time. So long as it is not clear which of these is referred to by the Chinese pilgrims we cannot rely much on the identifications based on the distance and direction from New Rājagriha.



Another possible identification of Venu-vana must also be kept in view. It is the extensive semicircular area along the foot of the Vaibhāra facing the inner walls of the city immediately to the south-west of Marshall's North Gate. It is enclosed between the crescent-like bend of the Vaibhāra hills and the streamlet running along, but outside, the western wall of the inner city. Another streamlet coming from the top of the Vaibhāra hill runs directly through this area. Although it is almost dried up now, its bed, filled with pebbles, still shows that it was much larger in old days. The straight end of the Park, running north to south, would thus lie just beyond the Western Wall of the inner city, and run parallel to it for a considerable distance, across the small streamlet that flows between the two along the foot of the Vaibhāra hill. This region is even today filled with dense bamboo forest, to which undoubtedly the Venu-vana owes its name. Within this area, and about midway between the Sonbhāndār cave and Marshall's North Gate, there are extensive remains of a stone foundation<sup>1</sup> which may be that of Venu-vana-vihāra. This position remarkably agrees with the following statement of Fa-hien: 'North of Venu-vana-vihāra, 2 or 3 *li*, was the *śmaśāna* (cremation ground). As they kept along the mountain on the south and went west for 300 paces they found a dwelling among the rocks named Pippala cave. Going on still to the west for 5 to 6 *li*, on the north of the hill, in the shade, they found the cavern called Śrataparna.' Marshall held that the reference to the *śmaśāna* was a casual one<sup>2</sup> and was not on the route actually followed by Fa-hien in going from Venu-vana-vihāra to the Saptaparnī cave, for such a continuous journey did not agree with his identifications. But we can clearly follow the route in its normal sense if we locate Venu-vana-vihāra in the position indicated above, and take the *śmaśāna* (Burning-*ghāt*) to be the one near the North Gate.<sup>3</sup> Thus going towards the north, about 2 *li* (about a third of a mile), Fa-hien would reach a spot at the end of the Vaibhāra hill, which is even now used as a cremation ground. He then turned the corner of the Vaibhāra hill towards the left, and 'kept along the mountain on the south and went west for 300 paces', till he passed beyond the hot springs and reached the cave, identified above with the Pippala cave. 'Going on still to the west for 5 or 6 *li* he found on the north of the hill the cavern called Śrataparna.'

<sup>1</sup> Possibly this is referred to in the *Guide* (p. 24) as 'the foundations of a stone building 118' square including the walls which are 5' thick'. But it appeared to me that it would be nearly 200' long.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall writes as follows:—

'The cemetery, alluded to by Fa-Hien, must then be located not far from the south-west corner of New Rājagriha, in the waste ground to the west of the modern Dāk Bungalow. This is where the Burning-*ghāt* of modern Rājgir still exists, and where, therefore, in view of eastern conservatism, we should, in any case, be inclined to look for the old *śmaśāna*. In connection with this cemetery, it may be noticed, by the way, that Fa Hien speaks of it parenthetically. He does not say that he went from the Bamboo Garden to the Pippala stone house by way of the *śmaśāna*. He entered the Bamboo Garden on the south, visited the ruins of the old *vihāra*, and then went westward among the rocks up to the Pippala stone house. That he should have visited the cemetery, half a mile away, between these two places, is obviously unlikely' (p. 96).

But, as noted above, there is no need to identify the cemetery alluded to by Fa-hien with the modern Burning-*ghāt* which is half a mile away. We have another not far from the North Gate of Marshall which lies exactly where we would expect it from Fa-hien's account.

<sup>3</sup> According to Marshall's own arguments, quoted in the preceding note, this Burning-*ghāt* which I myself have seen being used even today may be presumed to have existed even in Fa-hien's time. Besides, the existence of the cremation ground at this place in old times is also supported by Buddhist literature as noted above (p. 72).

As the cave, which is now almost universally regarded as Saptaparnī, lies about a mile to the west of the Pippala cave, the description of Fa-hien remarkably agrees with the proposed identifications and confirm them.

Hsien Tsang places the Saptaparnī cave to the south-west of Venu-vana, about 5 or 6 *li*, on the north side of the southern mountain. This would tally with the proposed identification if we suppose that Hsien Tsang climbed the Vaibhāra from the south side directly from Venu-vana, following more or less the road which is even now in use and follows a south-western direction from the proposed site of Venu-vana. If this identification be accepted we have to identify the Karanda-*hrada* with the tank at the foot of the Vaibhāra hill, a little to the south-east of the modern bridge over the streamlet Saraswati near the hot springs. The sides of this tank are faced with stone and this indicates its antiquity and importance. The old tank near the Pippala cave, mentioned above, might also be taken as the Karanda-*hrada*, if we take the direction and distance in a straight line over the mountain.

Reference may be made in this connection to a statement of Broadley which seems to have escaped the notice of all subsequent explorers, including Marshall. Referring to the Karanda-*hrada* he observes: 'The remains of the tank can still be seen facing the southern wall of the new town, and a figure I found there bore the words "A religious gift to the Karandahrada tank"'.<sup>1</sup> By 'new town' Broadley refers to the city of New Rājagriha, but unfortunately he does not give enough particulars of the tank to enable us to identify it. I had not his article with me and so could not verify his statement on the spot, but to the best of my recollection there are no clear traces of a tank immediately outside the southern ramparts of New Rājagriha, unless we take the low patches of cultivated ground between the Inspection Bungalow and these ramparts to be the remains of such a tank.<sup>2</sup> But in any case, if the tank were quite close to the ramparts, the Venu-vana-vihāra must be looked for about 200 or 250 yards to the south of it. This would agree more with the site near Inspection Bungalow suggested by me than with the mound, with Muslim tombs on it, proposed by Marshall.

But there are two difficulties in accepting this identification based on Broadley's statement. The inscription to which he refers has not yet come to light, and in view of many other instances of this kind, one cannot be quite sure that the name Karanda-*hrada* was read quite correctly either by him or by the scholar to whom he referred the record. It may be pointed out, for example, that in the same article Broadley quotes the reading and translation of another record (of Nālandā) by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in which the words *Nālandāyām* and *suvarṇa-vrīhi-śaktā* were misread as *na-tadbhūyām* and *suwallabhi-deśastha*, with the result that Vāgiśvarī, i.e. the Goddess Sarasvatī, on whose image the record was engraved, was made the wife of Gopāla (Pāla Emperor) and a resident of the country of Suvallavī, while the all-important reference to Nālandā was entirely missed. In view of this it is difficult to conclude from Broadley's reading of the record that there was really a reference to Karanda-*hrada* in it.

Secondly, even assuming that the record was correctly read, one must be sure that the figure originally belonged to that tank and was not thrown into it at a later date, before any conclusion can be drawn. If the figure

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1872, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> There is a tank immediately to the north of the southern ramparts of New Rājagriha. This is shown in the plan of New Rājagriha (*ASI*, 1905-6, Pl. XXXV). If Broadley had this tank in view it can hardly be identified with the Karanda-*hrada*—for the tank is inside New Rājagriha, whereas the Karanda lake was outside it.

were a very heavy one, the presumption would of course be in favour of the first view, but of this we have no record. Broadley's reference to the inscribed figure is certainly very important for the purpose of identifying the site of *Karaṇḍa-hrada*, and an earnest search should be made for it. But until it is found, and the inscription on it carefully read by experts, it is not safe to draw any conclusion.

To sum up, if we accept Fa-hien's statement in its normal sense—and there is no reason why we should not—we must locate *Veṇu-vana* at the foot of the *Vaibhāra* hill facing the western inner wall of the old city of *Rājagriha* in the region between Marshall's North Gate and the *Sonbhandar* cave. Otherwise, we may look for it in the wide plain, about half a mile long, that lies between New *Rājagriha* and the hills surrounding the old town of that name. But in this case it is more reasonable to place the *Veṇu-vana-vihāra* nearer the former than the latter. Marshall's view which places it close to the hot springs seems to be the least likely one, though it cannot certainly be dismissed as altogether improbable.

#### 7. SĀPTAPARṆA(ṆI) CAVE

Opinions differ widely on the location of the site where the followers of Buddha met shortly after his death in order to collect his teachings. Almost the unanimous tradition of the Buddhists mentions the *Saptaparni* (or *Saptaparna*) cave in *Rājagriha* as the place of this meeting. Some Buddhist texts simply locate it in the *Vaibhāra* hill, but more definite information about its position is furnished only by the Chinese Buddhists. The statements of Fa-hien and Hsien Tsang regarding the relative position and distance of *Veṇu-vana-vihāra* to this cave have been quoted above. On the basis of these statements Cunningham identified it with the *Sonbhandar* cave. This view was soon challenged by others, including his assistant Beglar, and though supported by Broadley, is now unanimously rejected. It must be pointed out, however, that of all the caves in *Rājagriha*, so far known to us, the *Sonbhandar* cave alone possesses all the features necessary for being the venue of a big assembly of 500 monks. But the most vital objection against its identification with the *Saptaparni* cave is the express statement of both the Chinese pilgrims that the latter was situated on the north side of the hill. The ingenious attempts of Cunningham to interpret this passage so as to suit his proposed identification must be regarded a failure. If the Chinese passage has been correctly translated, we must give up the identification, or in any case hold that the *Sonbhandar* cave could not possibly have been shown to the Chinese pilgrims as the place of the religious assembly.

The statement of Fa-hien enabled Beglar,<sup>1</sup> and later Stein,<sup>2</sup> to locate the cave on the north side of the *Vaibhāra* hill, a little below the Jaina temple dedicated to *Ādinātha*.<sup>3</sup> This view has been challenged by Marshall<sup>4</sup> who has suggested a new identification. His whole theory hangs on one question—was the place of meeting a cave or a structural building? As in the case of *Pippala* cave and *Devadatta* cave, so also here, Marshall relies on Beal's translation of Hsien Tsang's statement according to which it was a stone house. But Watters' translation of the word as 'cave' is supported by the numerous references to *Saptaparni cave* in the Buddhist texts. Marshall argues, in support of his interpretation, that 'the same words are used of the *Pippala* Stone House, which

<sup>1</sup> *ASB*, VIII, 92-99.

<sup>3</sup> This is marked 'Cave' on the map.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, 1901, pp. 57-60.

<sup>4</sup> *Report*, 97-100.

fortunately can be identified with certainty and which we know to be a structural building' (p. 99). But as noted above, this was also a cave, and Marshall's argument, therefore, falls to the ground. Thus in all the three cases—Pippala cave, Devadatta cave and Saptaparni cave—Watters' translation of Hiuen Tsang's statement must be preferred to that of Beal who renders the word (or words) as Stone house.

The real objection against the generally accepted identification<sup>1</sup> of Saptaparni cave is the topography of the locality. This has been forcefully pointed out by Marshall in the following passage:—

'The caves are, as may be gathered from a perusal of Dr. Stein's own description of them, nothing but low and narrow caverns, naturally formed in the rock, while the terrace in front of them is nothing but a narrow ledge, averaging some 7 yards in width, with a retaining wall at its outer edge, and below it, the steep and precipitous sides of the cliff, up which no approach exists or is ever likely to have existed. That the great Sattaparni Hall, capable of holding 500 people, could have been built on this narrow little terrace, or that this could have been pointed out to the Chinese pilgrims as the traditional site of such a Hall is incredible; nor, indeed, is it easy to believe that, if any structure at all had been built against the face of the rock at this point, all traces of it would have been so effectually obliterated' (p. 99).

I have personally visited the cave twice with all these arguments in my mind, and must admit that they are worth serious consideration and cannot be lightly dismissed. Nevertheless, they cannot be regarded as conclusive against the proposed identification for the following grounds, among others. In the first place, the objections raised by Marshall apply with equal or perhaps greater force against any other cave in or near Rājagriha, with the single exception of Sonbhandar cave. As the identification of Saptaparni with this cave is out of question for reasons already stated, the proposed identification must be regarded as the best at the present state of our knowledge.

Secondly, it appears from actual measurements of the space which might have been covered by the terrace in front that it is not impossible to accommodate 500 men there. It is true that the construction of such a terrace against the steep and precipitous side of the cliff must have been a task of enormous difficulty, and it is not easy to understand why anybody should have undergone all these troubles and expenses when it should not have been at all difficult to provide for a meeting place elsewhere, either on the top of the same hill which has large stretches of level ground at different places, or in the plain below at the foot of this or any other hill. But as against this commonsense view we must remember that there are *actual traces* of a terrace built artificially in front of the cave, with a retaining wall to support it. There could have been only one object in doing this, viz. to provide for the accommodation of a larger number than was otherwise possible. Once we assume this, we must hold that the occasion for doing this might be the convocation of the Buddhist monks as well as anything else, preferably the former, as kings and people in ancient India have always shown greater zeal and enthusiasm, and opened their purse strings more widely, for religious rather than secular purposes.

Marshall was certainly exaggerating things when he ridiculed the idea of building a hall to accommodate 500 men on this narrow little terrace.

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that the Guide Book published by the Archaeological Department upholds this identification as against that of Marshall.

There is no warrant for the assumption that a magnificent edifice of stone or brick was built here to hold the meeting. What was most probably done was to build on the terrace a temporary pavilion<sup>1</sup> fixed on wooden posts where 500 persons could sit and deliberate. As stated above, the available space on the terrace cannot be regarded as altogether insufficient for the purpose. It is also not unlikely that the actual number of monks was much less than 500, and the terrace built in front of the cave was really smaller and the building operations much less arduous than we imagine. It may be argued, as Marshall has done, that whatever might be the actual size of the original terrace, the Chinese pilgrims must have seen a site which was capable of accommodating 500 men. The actual position is even worse than Marshall thought, for Hiuen Tsang records that the number of monks was 1,000. But this argument is fallacious. For at the time of the pilgrim's visit the Hall, and possibly also a part of the terrace, had crumbled, and only the foundations remained, leaving full play to the imagination to increase its capacity almost to any extent. And from what we know of the Chinese pilgrims, we may be quite sure that any rational doubts about the possibility of building a hall of any desired size in that place would not disturb their pious sentiments evoked by the memory of the Great Assembly, or shake their belief in traditions handed down from old times.

Marshall has done scant justice in his Report to Beglar and the Saptaparnī cave originally discovered by him. Thus he remarks: 'No one since his (Beglar's) day has been able to trace the recesses in the rock described by him, and we ourselves searched the side of the hill time after time with as little success as those who had gone before us.' In a footnote to this passage he even goes so far as to observe that 'Mr. Beglar's identification seems altogether too imaginative to be taken seriously'. All this really sounds very strange, for there can be no doubt that the cave, described in great detail by Beglar with diagrams, is the one which was subsequently visited by Stein and identified with Saptaparnī cave. Why Marshall and others before him failed to recognize the cave it is difficult to say, for I and my companions had no difficulty in recognizing the caves even from the plain below. Marshall dismisses as imaginary 'the recesses in the rock described by Beglar'. But the latter in his Report (p. 96) calls it a cave and correctly describes it as consisting of a series of six chambers separated by natural walls of rock. Of course, one might describe it equally well as six different caves in close juxtaposition. But the main point is that there are really six caves as Beglar says, and not merely two as stated by Stein and repeated by Marshall. It is clear from Stein's description that the place was covered by a thick jungle when he visited it, and that is probably the reason why the four smaller caves escaped his notice. But Marshall's mistake is less excusable. How, in face of the detailed description of Beglar, illustrated by diagrams, he could speak of only two caves and ignore the rest passes my comprehension; and still more mysterious is his doubt about the very existence of these caves. The most charitable view that we can take is to suppose that Marshall never visited the actual site and, having depended entirely on Stein's Report, failed to see that Stein was actually describing two of the six caves noted by Beglar. This is, of course, a great lapse on his part, for Stein's account should have

<sup>1</sup> This is also clearly indicated by the word *Mahāmaṇḍapa* (great pavilion) used in the Buddhist texts to denote the structure built at the entrance of the Sattaparnī cave (*Sattaparnīgūhā-davāre*) for the purpose of holding the First Assembly of Buddhist monks (*JBRs*, IV, 126-7).

left no doubt that he was describing the caves already referred to by Beglar. Stein observes<sup>1</sup> that 'a perusal of Mr. Beglar's description of this remarkable spot conveys the impression that his visit had been of the most hurried character'. This remark, while giving less than due credit to Beglar for the discovery, is certainly unjust to him. For, to judge by the result, Stein's visit seems to have been more hurried than Beglar's. For while the latter correctly put the number of caves at six, Stein saw only two. I have personally visited the spot more than once and am convinced that Beglar's description is quite correct in spite of the taunting remarks of Marshall and Stein. In view of the statement made by a man of Marshall's status, it is desirable that the photos of the Saptaparnī cave or caves should be published by the Archaeological Department.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the objections of Marshall against the proposed identification of Saptaparnī cave are based on the ground that it is only accessible from the top of the hill and cannot be reached from the plains below. This may be the case today, but might not have been true even of the time when the Chinese pilgrims visited it, not to speak of earlier periods. For, one day, five or six of us made a successful attempt to climb the Vaibhār hill direct from the plain below. It was a difficult job no doubt, and we had to suffer a great deal, particularly from thorny plants, but we found, as we went up, that there are clear traces of old paths here and there, and wherever we could pick them up, we had little difficulty in ascending the hill. Besides, we saw clear traces of masonry at many points on the way. No doubt was left in our minds that with an ordinary clearing of the jungle we could easily climb up the hill. We did not, of course, reach the Saptaparnī hill direct from below, for we began the ascent from a point a little too far to the east of the cave, and hence got to the top of the hill before we reached it. But our experience encourages the belief that it is not impossible to climb up to the Saptaparnī cave from the plain below, after clearing the thick jungle that now covers the face of the rock, and that it would be wrong to assume that there never existed such a path. In view of the great importance of this question I would earnestly request the Archaeological Department to explore this region by clearing up the jungle.

I need not discuss in detail the identification of the Saptaparnī Hall proposed by Marshall. If it is established at any time, beyond any reasonable doubt, that the convocation was held in a structural building, and had nothing to do with any cave, Marshall's identification should certainly be regarded as a reasonable one. But this is not the case at present, and we need not therefore attach much importance to it.

To sum up. There is hardly any reasonable doubt that Saptaparnī was the name of a cave and not a stone hall. Cunningham's view that it was the Sonbhandar cave must be definitely rejected so long as the statement of the Chinese pilgrims that it was on the northern side of the hill is not otherwise interpreted or positively proved to be wrong. The identification, originally proposed by Beglar, and later made independently by Stein, though not altogether satisfactory or free from difficulties, must be

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, 1801, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> It is gratifying to note that some amends have been made by the Archaeological Department for the great wrong that Marshall and others did to Beglar by the frank recognition in the *Guide* that there are really six caves and that they were first discovered by Beglar (pp. 10-11 and f.n. 1). Unfortunately the *Guide* has not as wide a circulation as the Report of Marshall and so even now there is a general impression that 'the fissures' noted by Beglar do not really exist or at least have not been seen by anybody else. Even a week ago I found this statement made by several candidates at the M.A. Examination of an Indian University.

regarded as the most reasonable at the present state of our knowledge. Marshall's criticism against it can only be partially upheld, but is mostly untenable and based on wrong assumptions and imperfect knowledge. His own theory is hardly tenable.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

‘MEWAD KI KAHAVATEN.’ By Rao Sahab Pt. Lakshmilal Joshi, M.A., LL.B. (Udaipur), Part I, pages 16+199+4. Price Rs.2. Publishers: Hindi Vidyāpith, Udaipur (Mewad).

Each part of a country has its own proverbial sayings, and they are often used by its people in their talks. Proverbs are the best source of becoming conversant with the thoughts, habits, ideals and modes of living, etc. of the people of that part where they are used.

Though the proverbs or maxims are composed in simple language and concise sentences, like ‘Sutras’ written by our old sages, yet they carry a vast meaning behind them. In Sanskrit literature ‘Sutras’ are described as under:—

खल्योद्धरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद् विन्वतो मुखम् ।

अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

As their mode of expression is figurative, they leave deeper and longer effect on the mind of the person than an ordinary sentence.

Pandit Joshi has done a great service to Hindi literature by collecting about one thousand proverbs of Mewad and giving their meanings and explanations in Hindi. He has also added, at the end, a vocabulary of local and difficult words occurring in these proverbs with their meanings.

In this volume the proverbs have been divided under seven different heads:—

(1) Ethics and guidance, (2) human nature, (3) expressing something else than what is said (अन्योक्ति), (4) relating to caste, (5) historical, (6) relating to seasons, and (7) miscellaneous. The compiler, on his part, has taken great care to put the proverbs under proper heads, yet as they are capable of more than one application, it is not possible to make hard and fast rules for their division. Further as many of them are also common in other parts of the country with slight lingual changes here and there, it is therefore difficult to trace the place of their origin as well.

At few places the explanation given by the author may not be acceptable to others (as on Nos. 27, 34, 219, 233, 238, 244 in the Ethics section). But the book is very useful and it is hoped that its author will receive due encouragement from the scholars of Hindi in general and those of the Rajasthani in particular, so that its second part may also be soon published.

Further, if there is a chance of the second edition of this part literal meanings of some of the proverbs left out in this edition (as on Nos. 6, 25, 55, 58, 204, 227 in the 1st section), may also be added.

BISHESHWARNATH REU.



**'RAJASTHAN MEN HINDI KĒ HASTA LIKHIT GRANTHON KI KHŌJA', Part II.**  
By Sjt. Agarchand Nahta, pages 15+171. Price Rs.4. Publishers:  
Vidyāpith, Udaipur (Mewad).

Its first part was published in 1942 A.D., which contained the systematic catalogue of 175 Hindī manuscripts, while this part deals with 183 Hindī manuscripts, related to the subjects:—

- (1) Dictionary, (2) Poems, (3) Medicine, (4) Examination of Jewels,  
(5) Music, (6) Drama, (7) History, (8) Story, (9) Knowledge  
of omens, (10) Palmistry, etc.

and written by 102 different poets, from about 17th to 19th century A.D. They have been systematically catalogued from different manuscript collections.

Sjt. Nahta is to be congratulated for this sort of useful work, which he is doing since last many years.

Thanks are also due to the Government of Mewad for the grant of Rs.1,000 for this report and the Vidyāpith, Udaipur, deserves as well the thanks of Hindī scholars for publishing such valuable works.

BISHESHWARNATH REU.

## INDIAN AND WESTERN MUSIC

By ALAIN DANIELOU

(Received February 2, 1949)

*Preliminaries.*—Your General Secretary has very kindly asked me to speak to you about Indian and Western music. This subject is not a very easy one. Musical systems differ more deeply than people usually realize and to explain their differences it will be necessary for us to make a general survey of musical history as well as to enter into the rather complex theory of music. I shall try to do this as briefly and clearly as I can, and hope to be forgiven if I may not be able to avoid completely the technical terminology of music.

But first, I think that the very title given to this talk is wrong. Music is not Eastern or Western. It may happen that at a given time a particular musical system is given preference to in a particular country, but this is usually a temporary phenomenon. It would be more accurate for us to speak of music as modal and harmonic. This would put our enquiry on a sounder basis, and we may well discover that there are numerous musical elements found in Western countries which, in fact, belong to the modal or so called Indian system. Further a certain use of polyphony is not at all unknown to Indian musical theory and was extensively used in India at a time when it was still unheard of in Europe.

*Different languages.*—Before we can compare two systems of music, or two languages we first have to find out what common ground they may have. In the case of languages, we find that certain types of speech differ only in their vocabulary, their sound, but make use of a similar grammatical system. Such is, for example, the case of the Indo-European group of languages. But if we want to compare languages belonging to different families, such as Chinese and Italian, we find far less common points. It is only after we have determined the different forms through which an idea may be expressed, that we can attempt to translate, or, if the differences are too great, to transpose the ideas from one language into another.

*Music a form of language.*—Music does not differ from language in its principle. In fact the ancient Sanskrit theorists always considered music as a form of language. Music is but a means of expressing emotions or ideas through sounds and relations of sounds, which is also the characteristic of language.

*Different types of language.*—Just as there are different kinds of language, there are also different kinds of music. There are several types of grammar which cannot be used at the same time in one language. Similarly the different types of music may be incompatible. Languages are not usually at the same time agglutinative and inflexional, so also music may not be both harmonic and modal.

*Towards a common language.*—A question which has always faced mankind since the time of the tower of Babel is whether it would not be better to have one common language for all, one common music for all.

*Qualities of different languages.*—But whatever the advantages of a common means of understanding, there are qualities inherent to each type of language, and a great part of the treasure of human thought and culture

would disappear if some of the great languages were to vanish, because the modes of expression, the ideas inherent to those languages, can never be exactly translated into another tongue. There are for example many subtle ways of expression in Bengali that can never be rendered in Hindi or English.

*Music is not an international language.*—Contrarily to a common belief *music is not a word-less language* which can be understood by all beings. No bird seems to enjoy the song of another kind of bird. The perception we have of musical sounds is, of necessity, based on acoustic phenomena which must be common for all beings endowed with a similar system of hearing. Yet these common acoustic properties are used in each system in a particular and exclusive manner, and it requires a special training to recognize them. This training, necessary to understand a particular musical system, is not less long and tedious than is the study of a foreign language.

The hope that the gentle sounds of music may soften all hearts and create understanding between men and nations is unfortunately not founded. Even if the members of the United Nations were to sing to one another instead of making speeches they would not understand one another better for that. On the contrary they would be likely to irritate one another even more deeply.

*Four types of musical systems.*—In the world today we know of four completely different types of musical systems which make use of distinct properties of sound. These systems can be called the cyclic system, the modal system, the harmonic system and the melodic system. Chinese music is of the cyclic type, classical Indian music is modal, modern Western music is harmonic, and most of the popular music of all countries comes within the melodic system.

*Cyclic system.*—The cyclic system is in a way the fundamental one, if not the original one. It makes use of no interval in which may figure a prime number higher than 3 or a power of 3. Its basic interval is what we call a fifth, that is the interval from Sa to Pa, or C to G, which corresponds to the ratio  $3/2$ . Cyclic music utilizes the peculiar properties of successions of fifths as the basis of its musical language. Its main outward characteristic is the pentatonic (or 5 notes) scale. This pentatonic scale known in India as rāga Bhūpālī is the only mode or rāga used in cyclic music, where the basic means of expression depend on changes of tonic and variations in pitch.

*The Modal system.*—Next comes the modal system, of which the most elaborate example is classical Indian music. Its most characteristic feature is the permanence of a fixed sound called the tonic. The musical or expressive value of all the other sounds are here envisaged exclusively as depending on their relation with the tonic. All kinds of intervals can thus be formed which are further assembled in what we may call an oblique structure so as to create an *indefinite variety* of modes or rāgas.

*The Harmonic system.*—Third comes the harmonic system which, in many of its features, is a comparatively recent development. In this system, the different sounds are played together in groups which are called chords and which are so arranged as to form given intervals in relation with a lower sound called the *fundamental* of the chord. The characteristic of this system is that a given pitch of sound can convey a different expression according to the position it occupies in relation to the fundamental notes of different chords.

*Melodic Music.*—These three systems represent the main learned ways of music at present in use. There is, however, a further type of system which is very common and may be termed the melodic system. It is out-

wardly akin to modal music, but in this case the memory functions differently in what we may term a horizontal rather than a vertical way. Further the tonic plays in it a less important rôle; each note taking its expression from its relation to the previous and the following notes.

*Melodic and modal form.*—Maybe I should make this clearer. In a melodic form of music the shape of the song is fixed, that is, you can learn the melody of a song and sing it perfectly, without knowing which note is a Sa or a Ga, the tonic or the third. The memory functions horizontally from one note to another. In modal music on the other hand the group of notes on which the melody will move is fixed and memorized vertically as one unit. Now, when singing a mode or a rāga, the musician concentrates on the scale. The melody cannot be fixed. The musician cannot know exactly through which melodic contours he moves around this fixed backbone that is the scale. If he concentrates on the melody, he will loose the rāga. He just acts like the artist, who, while making a drawing, concentrates on the profile which will come out of the page. He cannot follow every circumvolution of the pencil. He does not know what movements his pencil does. Such is the case for the melody of the modal musician.

Melodic music has a far less important place than modal music so far as musical theory is concerned because it can never produce a very highly evolved music. The mistake underlying most of Western interpretations of Indian, Arab or Greek music has been that they confused modal music and melodic music and could therefore understand nothing of the theory nor the practice of music in those countries where music happened to be of the modal type.

#### INDIAN HISTORY

*The older system is modal.*—While the harmonic system appears to be a comparatively recent development, both cyclic and modal music had a very advanced theory and practice in quite ancient times. Probably the older type of advanced music was modal although the existence of a cyclic music seems not to have been unknown to early modal theorists of which the works have survived.

*Greece and India.*—A few centuries before Christ the music of India and of the known parts of Europe was of the modal type. In fact most of Greek theory and instruments came originally from India through the Middle East. There is a certain amount of musical evidence to show that a civilization, which at one time seems to have extended from India to Egypt and the island of Crete before the Aryan invasions, had already a very advanced art of music and elaborate musical instruments. At a later period the Śaiva cults, which gave a very great importance to outdoor dancing and singing, were again imported into Greece and Egypt. Megasthenes who came to India in 302 B.C. reports that the Indians were great experts in music and dancing and that they counted 6,000 years from the time when Dionysos (that is Śiva) taught them music, till the time of Alexander. These dates exactly tally with those given in the old Śaiva Purāṇas. Meanwhile, the Aryan diatonic scale and the system of music expounded in the Gāndhārva Veda had also found their way into Greece. The conflict between the old Dravidian and the Vedic-Aryan music is apparent in Greek musical theory as it is in the Sanskrit musical works of the early period. And the basic scales of these two main schools or Matas of Indian music, the Dravidian and the Aryan, became known to Greek theorists as the chromatic and the diatonic. The enharmonic division, or scale of the Śrutis, which was the common theoretical basis of both systems, is practically identical in Greek and in Indian theory.

*History of Indian Music.*—The musical history of India is linked with the whole history of civilization. Through the study of musical development in India, as well as through the development of other arts and sciences, we may be able to reach conclusions which will be an asset to define with more precision those parts of political and literary history which have remained so far ill determined. We have here to be aware that musical tradition is extraordinarily permanent. People can change their country, their language, their dress, their food, and still come back to the same musical forms which are more suited to the peculiarities of their ears and temperament. Musical forms are seen to survive, often unnoticed, through a different theory, in the midst of a different system, to reappear again unchanged after centuries.

A recent and most brilliant example is that of Tagore songs, which represent a melodic form under the garb of a modal one. They are purely in the ancient tradition of Bengali music and are not rāgas although they appear to use the scale of some usually mixed rāgas. They are not either influenced by Western music, as some people believe, although they make use of some adapted Western tunes. Modal theory cannot account for their expression. This is what the common man feels when he says that they have a 'peculiar', undefinable charm.

*The four Mata-s.*—The medieval and later books on music speak of four Mata-s, or systems of music, each referring to a basically different school. This can be interpreted in two ways. Either these Mata-s represent different ways of classification while the art itself would be practically the same, or they may refer to actually different musical systems.

In practice even today, and in spite of mutual influences, we find in India four very distinct types of music which we may call from their most representative elements: the Dravidian modal school with its basic chromatic, the Aryan modal school with its basic diatonic, the Melodic school predominant in Bengal and among many ancient peoples of Central India and the Himalayas and also a school of cyclic pentatonic music, of Mongolian origin, found in Nepal, Assam and a few other regions. These represent fundamentally different systems. The fact that they could remain distinct, in spite of the efforts made by theorists for centuries to link them into a common theory, well shows the remarkable tenacity of popular culture in its will to resist the assertions of insufficiently learned theorists, a phenomenon which can be observed in every country and at every period.

*The confusion of the four Mata-s.*—From medieval times the tendency of Indian theorists has been to confuse the different Mata-s. With the consolidation of the predominance of Sanskrit culture, the writings of all the ancient Ācāryas were pooled together, and patient attempts were made with the help of linguistic artifice to show that there was no contradiction between them. This definitely obscured musical theory. The larger and more typical work of this period is the celebrated Saṅgīta Ratnākara of Śārṅgadeva, a book written in the thirteenth century as a sort of general treatise on musical science. It is a work of marvellous learning and ingenuity from which Indian music has not yet recovered.

*The original Indian systems.*—If we want to have a clear view of the theory of the original systems we have to fall back upon earlier works. Unfortunately many of these are now lost. Yet, with patient labour, it is possible to reconstruct part of their theory from the extensive quotations available in later books.

*Early books on music.*—The Indian books on music can be divided into three periods.

The first or ancient period which we may call pre-Buddhistic includes the theory of music as it can be traced in the Vedas and the Upavedas, as well as the music referred to in the earlier Purāṇas, parts of the Epics, and generally all authors who appear to be anterior to Pāṇini who was approximately a contemporary of Gautama Buddha.

It may be noted here that the cautious modern scholarly method which consists in dating works as late as possible may be very misleading. There is no doubt that practically no ancient work survives which has not been re-shaped in some way or other in the later centuries. But to consider these works, in their bulk, to be as late as their last reshaping, simply because some late additions are found in them, gives a wrong historical perspective. We are equally falsifying history when we consider the later parts of these works as being early or their early parts as being late. I do not quite understand why it seems to be deemed as a sort of virtue for a historian to take great risks in dating ancient works much too late while it is considered a fearful sin to take slight risks in dating parts of a work too early. So far as music is concerned we can take present historical conventions rather light-heartedly since we have means of deciding the age of a given document which are different and safer than linguistic considerations. Such are, for example, the basic scales, the instruments mentioned, the authors quoted, the appearing or disappearing of particular technical terms and their use.

*The Buddhist age.*—After the early period comes what we may term the Buddhist age extending approximately from 500 B.C. to the fifth century A.D. which represents the literature on music contemporary to Kauṭilya, Kālidāsa, Amara Siṃha, Patañjali.

Then comes the medieval age with the commentators of Bharatā, that is Udbhaṭa in the eighth century, Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka in the ninth, then in the tenth century the monumental work of Abhinava Gupta, and that of Nānya-deva in the eleventh, and of Śārṅga-deva in the thirteenth century, not forgetting the contemporary commentary on the Saṅgita Ratnākara by Siṃha Bhūpāla, the very protector of Śārṅga-deva.

The later Sanskrit literature on music from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century is quite rich, but is generally of lesser theoretical interest. The works of this later age endlessly quote the definitions of earlier works and try to explain away the theoretical difficulties which were born of earlier confusion.

*Veṅkaṭa-Makhin.*—In this connection a special mention should be made of Veṅkaṭa-Makhin who, in the seventeenth century, reformed South Indian music. We are often told that South Indian music is more conservative and represents Indian music in its purest and more ancient form. This is probably very far from true. The present system of South Indian music is a mixture of melodic and modal forms, and its theory was profoundly altered by several theorists but particularly by Veṅkaṭa-Makhin, who systematized the reforms started by his father Govinda Dikṣita, a protege of Mahārāja Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.

In an endeavour to restore the ancient theory and explain away the contradictions of earlier authors, Veṅkaṭa-Makhin made a beautiful and clever blend of the conflicting systems and deeply altered the theory of South Indian music.

*Purer music in the north.*—The case is quite different in the north where, in spite of foreign invasions and alleged influences, the music, partly thanks possibly to the loss of its theory in days of insufficient learning, remained, through mere technical tradition, remarkably faithful to the old definitions.

*No cyclic or melodic literature.*—Among the earlier works on music we find, as could be expected, no literature regarding the Mongolian pentatonic which had always its centre outside India. It should be remembered that this Mongolian cyclic pentatonic has nothing to do with the pentatonic forms of the basic rāgas in the Śaiva system. Further the melodic system has left to my knowledge no important theoretical literature. A scrutiny of Tāntric documents might, however, reveal some valuable elements.

*Dravidian and Aryan texts.*—As regards the Dravidian and Aryan modal systems we possess many documents of the greatest value and antiquity. Generally speaking, we can observe that the earlier theory of Dravidian music, as found in Sanskrit texts, is represented by the Śaivā school whose main expounder is, after Śiva himself, Nandikeśvara. Besides these, other important names are those of Śārdūla, Pārvaṭi, Jamadagni, Bhrīgī, Vighneśa, Kīrtidhara, Rāvaṇa, etc., and probably the musical theory found in the earlier Purāṇas, the Vāyu Purāṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, as well as such works as the Gītālaṃkāra which is attributed to Bharata but is the work of a Bharata distinct from the presumed author of the Nāṭya Śāstra. The Nāṭya Śāstra itself is a compilation probably dating from the beginning of the Christian era and expounding mainly the theory derived from the Gāndharva Veda. The Gītālaṃkāra, on the other hand, is a purely Śaiva work and all its classifications are of a different and very original kind.

It is very difficult to date the earlier Śaiva texts on music. It is also difficult to ascertain their original language. But the musical theory they expound and especially the use of certain technical terms or instruments can help us to be quite affirmative about their antiquity independently of all linguistic considerations.

*Tamil and Greek sources.*—The Tamil epic, the Śilappadikāram, which belongs to the second century, has important passages referring to the theory of music and musical instruments, and is thus a precious help in dating contemporary works.

*Vedic music.*—I have no authority nor sufficient knowledge to enter into the question of the origin of the so-called Aryan civilization. So far as music is concerned, we find from the earliest Vedic period a constant use of music and instruments. The Rg Veda mentions some wind and string instruments as well as drums. The Sāma Veda was chanted, and there were theoretical treatises and Śikṣās explaining all the technical peculiarities of this chant. Later, under the name of Gāndharva Veda, appeared a vast literature on music, its philosophy and its technique. The number of early theorists of Aryan music of which we know the names is considerable, but very few works have survived although a certain amount of quotations from these in later works are sufficient to determine with certainty the nature of the system.

Among the names of the early writers of music some are quite celebrated—Agastya, Kāśyapa, Aṅgīrasa, Vasiṣṭha, Yājñavalkya, Yaśṭika, Añjaneya and many others.

*Nārada.*—A strange figure creates a sort of link between the two schools Dravidian and Aryan, or Śaivā and Vedic, and that is Nārada. There are fragments of his work belonging to either school. It is true that all the available works attributed to Nārada are of different periods. But there must have been an original Nārada and he is claimed by both sides.

*Bharata.*—Similarly Bharata appears as an indefinite entity. But this is a different case. The word 'Bharata' simply meant a performing artist and the treatises referring to dance and music naturally came to be known by that word. We know of at least four Bharatas who are called Ādi

Bharata or Bharata Muni, author of the original Nāṭya Śāstra. But there is also Nandi Bharata, Arjuna Bharata, Mataṅga Bharata and others. The existing Nāṭya Śāstra is probably a compilation of extracts from several of these original sources made during the Buddhist age.

*Sanskrit literature on music.*—The vast Sanskrit literature on the theory the philosophy and the technique of music, which lies so sadly neglected and unpublished in the libraries of India, represents a system which has no rival in the world so far, and from which modern Western theory would have much to learn. It is not easy, however, to know how far this rich Sanskrit literature is indebted to earlier literatures. There is little doubt that in the process of the Aryanization of India much of earlier literature was translated or adapted in Sanskrit while the originals were lost. This is certainly true of parts of Purāṇic literature. And this explains why we often find very ancient books written in late Sanskrit, a fact which led unaware scholars to discard them without due consideration.

*Nandikeśvara's surviving works.*—A careful research would, however, allow us to identify and recover many ancient works. For example, I was fortunate enough to be able to identify a valuable fragment of Nandikeśvara's work which lay anonymously in Bikaner library. This short fragment explains the theory of music on the basis of the Maheśvara sūtrā in terms very similar to the explanation of the theory of language by Nandikeśvara on the same basis in a work known as Nandikeśvara Kāśikā which is sometimes incorporated in the Mahābhāṣya.

#### WESTERN HISTORY

But let us turn now towards the West.

*Origin of Western music.*—The early musical history of Europe appears so far, rather cloudy. This may be due to the lack of understandable documents, but also to the fact that most of Western research on history was done in a time when historians were genuinely unaware of the importance and antiquity of Indian civilization. This led them usually to interpret as a spontaneous and natural growth cultural developments which in fact were built with remains of older elements which had their roots in the East.

*Western modal music.*—Seen in the light of what we know now of the early cultures in Europe and India we are bound to come to very parallel developments first a musical culture spreading to Egypt, Crete, Italy and probably further north. Then a succession of invasions by more barbarous people which gradually adopted the ways, manners and instruments of the conquered countries. This assimilation was, however, less complete in Europe than it was in India and therefore it is again from the East that periodically came new influences and developments which shaped the culture of ancient Europe. Whatever we know of the musical system and instruments of the Greeks leaves little doubt in this respect and so is the case for the instruments still found in those countries where druidical culture lasted longer. The survival of the binioù of Brittany and the bagpipe of Scotland is particularly interesting since the presence of the drone pipe proves, without any doubt, that the music of these people was at one time and still is basically of modal form, although these instruments are now often played on melodic lines where the drone serves no essential purpose. It could surely not have been evolved out of a melodic form of music. Harmonically it is monstrous.

The stability of the mode absolutely requires a drone, a permanent sounding of the tonic. This is not essential nor desirable in any other system.



*Survival of ancient systems in Europe.*—In England, today, there are very few people, even among music students, who are aware that Scotch bagpipe music belongs to a system entirely different from Western harmony. It is a system akin to Arab and Indian music quite unsuited for the Western orchestra and instruments. Similar is the case of Hungarian and some branches of Norwegian popular music. Further, there are definite traces of pentatonic music of the Chinese family all along the Atlantic coast from Spain to the north of Scotland. But what is really amusing is that Scotch or Hungarian music lovers may well get infuriated if told that their music is still different from that now in fashion in Europe, and in fact belongs to an Eastern system.

I remember a celebrated Hungarian violinist, to whom I had spoken of the great interest I took in modal forms surviving in Hungarian folk music, who, with undisguised anger, answered me sharply that 'there is nothing in Hungarian music which does not belong to the Western diatonic system'.

*Greek theory.*—In Europe the earliest writings on the theory of music which came to us are those of the Greeks. These refer basically to a modal system of the Indian family. But certain elements of cyclic music had found their way into musical theory, probably through Turco-Mongol channels giving rise to the Pythagorean scale which so strangely perverted and confused the writings of the Greek authors.

*Medieval music.*—After the Greeks we know very little about the state of music in the West except a little Church music, the modes of which were imported from Byzantium in the sixth century by the pope Gregory. The picture of Europe at the end of the Middle Ages shows us a mixture of modal and melodic systems. Arab music exerted a profound influence on the southern countries, influence which is still predominant in Spain and south-eastern Europe. On the other hand, the earlier modal systems remained well preserved in northern countries and the travelling Minstrels used instruments which show that modal music was at a rather high level of technical development.

*Beginnings of Polyphony.*—It is in this context that polyphonic music began to develop. How it first started is not quite certain, but it probably owes its origin to some Mongolian influence through eastern Christendom, for the superposition of voices is a natural development in cyclic music, not so in modal music.

At first polyphony was limited to adding to the main melody a second voice, making slight variations. This had a rather interesting effect and, although it weakens the modal expression, it became quite popular as a novelty in congregation singing.

Gradually this new fashion developed, and a more complex counterpoint was evolved. First with two voices and drone, then with 3 and 4 voices.

Now, the modal expression, the Rāga, can no longer exist if there are several voices at different pitches. The mutual relation between these different notes, which form themselves in chords, create new expressions which annihilate the concentrated expression of the modal note. To the modal musician, polyphony is extremely distressing, something like several people speaking together so that you cannot follow any one. In fact the new polyphonic system must have been at first a fashion, a game of amateurs against which all the classical musicians fought desperately. But musicians were poor and of low standing. They could do nothing against the whims of society people. Meanwhile the new fashion took great favour among the aristocracy. It was easy, new, amusing and finally it completely defeated the old music. Thus Europe found itself in the fifteenth century

with a new musical toy still primitive and undeveloped, while the old musical culture was quickly dying out.

*Parallel with modern India.*—We can easily understand what happened by comparison with Indian music today. Through the craze of fashion we see the development of an orchestral form of music which corresponds to no musical necessity whatever, which is ruinous for the music of the land and utterly distressing to all sensitive ears. But this is a unique opportunity for unmusical and ignorant youngsters to declare themselves the geniuses of a new art, and take the bread out of the mouth of India's great *ustāds*. It is merely a fashion. It has, we may hope, no future. But it may well ruin entirely the music of India leaving this country with but a vulgar copy of Western cheapest music, such as we can find in Egypt, Malaya, the Philippines, etc., today.

In Europe the tragedy was great. But it was final, and out of the ruin of medieval music a new art had to develop.

*Development of Harmonic music.*—Due to their ingenuity and patience the musicians finally managed to produce out of the harmonic system very remarkable works of art. It should, however, be remembered that, from the point of view of the theory of music, the possibilities of harmonic music are considerably smaller than those of other systems—that is, the range of emotions and ideas that harmonic music can express is far less great than what modal music can account for. The Westerners, however, supplemented the limited possibilities of the music itself through endless research in the field of instrumental colouring, and also through contrasts and oddities of sound relations. It led to the creation of the modern orchestra which is a marvellous achievement of exquisite workmanship and infinite labour where the total quality of wonderfully built instruments is perfectly balanced in a most melodious whole. Yet we find this great sound producing machine strangely inadequate to express certain kinds of emotions.

Western music is essentially sensuous. It aims at creating a pleasurable atmosphere where vague visions and sentiments gently blend into one another. There it profoundly differs from modal music which on the contrary tends at creating a one-pointed concentration where the tonal value of voices and instruments becomes insignificant since the mind is entirely taken away into an abstract world of ideas and visions.

The particular tendencies of both systems are well shown by the fact that the themes of Western music are mostly themes of passion, while Indian music, though it depicts all types of emotions, always ultimately leads to some form of contemplation.

I have no intention of belittling the great works of Western music. The man of genius can express himself through any medium, and each medium has its own possibilities. The advantage of writing music further enables us to preserve the inspired moments of great musicians. But we should keep in mind that an Indian *ustād* on his single instrument can carry us into a diversity of visions, into a depth of emotion which is very much subtler than that which the thunder or murmur of the orchestra with its elaborate instruments can produce.

*Statistical possibilities.*—This is not a question of talent, I do not mean to say that the Indian musician is necessarily more subtle than the Western. It is a pure question of statistical possibilities. Contrarily to common belief, the variety of sound relations possible in modal music is very much greater than those possible in harmonic music. Perceptible sound-relations in a system where the tonic changes are far less numerous than in a system where the tonic is fixed. And differences of intervals which are not appropi-

able in a harmonic system become wonderfully intense in an oblique movement by relation to a fixed tonic.

*Relative number of chords and rāgas.*—The poverty of possible combinations in the harmonic form of music has finally led Western music to a sort of dead-end, and to a decline from which it may not easily come out unless it deeply alters its basis. This is because the whole of Western music is built around 12 or 15 different chords which have been now used and re-used in every conceivable way.

On the other hand, although each rāga corresponds to a definitely distinct mood, the number of theoretically possible rāgas is immense. Should a man try to play each of the possible rāgas once only for five minutes, even if he remained playing without rest or food for a hundred years, he could not see the end of his attempt.

*Decay in Indian music.*—There is no doubt that there has come a certain amount of paralysis in Indian music. It cannot be said that it has degenerated because the great *ustāds* of today are still at a remarkable level of technique and expression. But the progress has been stopped through the loss of theoretical knowledge since the musicians have ceased to know Sanskrit in which all the theoretical works were written.

*Remedy.*—The revival and development of Indian music will depend on a return to classical forms and a study of musical classical literature whether directly in Sanskrit or through adequate modern translations.

It is in this field that irresponsible improvisations should be discouraged if we want to avoid in India the musical tragedy which overtook modern Egypt, Malaya and the South Sea islands. It is to be hoped that learned societies may find a way to take an interest in encouraging a sane study of the country's priceless heritage and may afford protection to true learning to protect the nation's cultural assets against the attacks made by irresponsible reformers and unqualified amateurs always ready to start risky experiments without due regard for classical values.

## TECHNIQUE

*Musical translation.*—We have seen that music, like language, is a means of expressing ideas and emotions through the medium of co-ordinated sounds. Just as different families of languages offer different possibilities of expression and rarely have exact equivalents so also the different systems of music offer different possibilities and cover different fields of expression.

When comparing the two musical systems now prevailing in India and Europe we will discover that practically no one of their features can be transferred from one into the other. It would seem easy enough to take a simple Indian song, a Tagore song for example, note it down and harmonize it as if it were a Western melody. This is a simple process. But we find that this melody, although it may sound quite lovely, will not convey to the Western hearer any feeling which resembles that conveyed by the Bengali song. In the context of a new system *the melody has completely changed its meaning.*

*Equivalent sounds may convey distinct ideas.*—I once saw a cartoon representing an American soldier looking sentimentally at a French girl and saying 'May we' and she answers 'Mais oui'. The only difference is that, in French, 'Mais oui' means 'of course yes'. The very same sounds by changing language have acquired a completely different meaning. If we want to convey the same idea in different musical systems we shall be faced with a very similar phenomenon. We cannot make use of common

features. We have to translate, that is, first analyze the meaning clearly, then try to express it through another medium. To harmonize Indian songs according to Western harmonic rules will usually not make good Western songs and will convey to the Western hearers no idea whatever of what the songs meant to Indian ears. This does not mean that it is not possible to write certain Indian melodies in Western notation. It is further possible to write accompaniments for modal music which can be played on Western instruments. But for this one has to follow the rules of modal polyphony which is something very different from harmony. Even then the song so arranged will convey only part of its expression to the Western hearer. He will require some training before he can create a habit of hearing this new form of music, which has been only slightly adapted so as not to shock his outward conception of what music should look like. We should not forget that, according to the perfect definition of Sanskrit grammarians, ideas are conveyed through sounds by a process of 'recognition' (प्रत्यभिज्ञान), not by a direct perception, and we cannot understand a language or a word which we do not already know.

*Difference in way of hearing.*—As we have seen the main difference between modal and harmonic music lies in the way of hearing. We believe that we hear music with our ears and that we instinctively find the sounds pleasant or unpleasant. But it is not so. We do not hear music *with* our ears although we hear it *through* our ears. We hear music with our memory. When we hear a sentence we have to remember all its successive sounds so that the last sound may reveal to us the idea. This is a commonplace saying of Sanskrit grammar.

*Training of memory.*—In music a similar rule applies, and we may not be surprised to find that by training our memory to record a particular succession of sounds rather than another we may come to hear, that is to get from the music, a meaning, an expression, completely different. We shall thus see that modal and harmonic music are in fact based on two different ways of hearing and this is why to understand both one has to be musically bilingual.

*Musical bi-lingualism.*—We can easily see that if an Indian hearer listens to Western music with his mental habit he will follow the shape of the melody as if it were a horizontal development independent from chords, and he is sure to find it meaningless, disorderly and discordant.

On the other hand, when the Western hearer listens to Indian music, he is unable to grasp its continuity, and he finds it bodiless and insignificant.

*The mixing up of systems.*—It is not particularly difficult to train oneself to hear both systems, but one must study both forms of music quite independently. Rāga and harmony are quite incompatible and cannot co-exist. Those who pretend to mix both systems are, from the point of view of music, irresponsible illiterates. Although one may have one's own preferences, it would be wrong to believe that both these musical systems do not offer great possibilities of expression. One may choose either. But there is no compromise, no appeasement possible between them. Harmony has entirely ruined the modal music of ancient Europe and will destroy any modal music on which it is superimposed. The official and other encouragements which are given nowadays to modern Indian orchestras amount to nothing but an attempt at a cultural suicide. There is no valuable contribution to world music which India could make by trying to blend her music with Western music. The possibilities of harmonic music are comparatively limited and have been exploited to their utmost possibility so much so that Western musicians are now desperately looking for new musical forms to revitalize their music.

*Possibilities of Modal Music.*—We have seen that modal music, on the other hand, offers almost indefinite possibilities of which only a small fragment is utilized in present-day Indian music. It is to be hoped that the effort of Indian performers and technicians may be turned towards research in this field, in which they already have realized such magnificent achievements rather than waste their energies in the no-man's-land of hybrid music.

*Music and National Spirit.*—A question comes naturally to our mind. The development of Indian music is linked to a particular conception of life, to a particular culture and civilization. The Indian listener comes to hear music with a mind different from that of the Western hearer. The idea of an underlying Divinity pervades all the activities of Indian life and all the arts are conceived as processes of identification with some higher state of being. Religion, philosophy, music are all here based on common principles and cannot be separated from one another.

The Western hearer is very different. His attitude is that of a moralist. He does right actions and is then entitled to a place in paradise. He stands on his right. Knowledge to him has little to do with religion. He delights in man's mastery over nature, and music is to him his mastery over sounds. And he wonders at his own genius. Western music expresses that attitude and the harmonic system, developed in the West, is quite suited to that purpose.

The question is: will the Indians of the future have the same outlook as the Westerners of today. I cannot think so. Therefore the Western system will ever remain unsuited to express the Indian genius. All the efforts made to impose on India a musical system, inadequate to bring out the finer emotions and deeper inclinations of the people, cannot lead to any great achievements in the field of music.

Each country must develop its own genius or it ceases to exist as a country. It is only when a nation's culture is flourishing and powerful that it can borrow from other lands and assimilate what it gets. To borrow in time of poverty brings oneself into the clutches of the money-lender from which one shall not come out intact. Indian music at the present moment is in a difficult period and it is only by bringing together all efforts to restore its classical greatness that it may be safely protected for future developments.

## EXAMPLES

*Example—Bhairavi.*—Now to illustrate the working of the means of expression in both Modal and Harmonic music we may take an example. Although it is not the proper time for it, let us choose the well-known Rāga Bhairavi.

This rāga is characterized by the peculiar combination of a major and a minor second (a śuddha Ṛṣabha and a komala Ṛṣabha). The minor second (the komala Ṛṣabhā) being on its higher śruti which expresses love—and not sadness.

Then comes the minor third (the komala Gāndhāra) also on its high śruti which is loving and tender.

The fourth and the fifth are natural. The sixth and seventh (Dhaivata and Niṣāda) are minor, but high, similar in expression to the second and third (the Ṛṣabha and Gāndhāra).

The predominant notes (the Vādi and Saṃvādi) are the tonic and the fourth, Ṣaḍja and Madhyama.

The combination of these elements should create an atmosphere of lovely and tender emotion; the predominant mood is peace, calm, balance,

as shown by the Vādi and Samvādi which are the tonic and the perfect 4th, Madhyama. The four flattened notes are on their high śruti, which is tender and charming, but not sad. There is an accidental appearance of manly power brought in by the major 2nd, which is called Ṛṣabha, the bull, and is thus pictured as the vehicle of Bhairava. The glitter of colours appears with the 5th Pañcama, which always represents the sun. Yet, this sunshine remains dominated by the cool, calm 4th (Madhyama). It will not therefore bring out the burning sun of Sāraṅga or Śrī, but a lovely, cool morning light.

This mood is well depicted in the description which Nārada gives of Bhairavī.

स्फटिक-रचित-पीठे रम्य-कैलास-पटङ्गे

विकच-कमलपत्रैरर्चयन्ती महेशम् ।

करद्वत-चनवाद्या पीतवर्णायताक्षी

सुकविभिरियमुक्ता भैरवी भैरवस्त्री ॥

Which we may translate 'She, whom poets in their vision see as great-eyed Bhairavī, golden consort of Bhairava, throned on carven crystal on the peak of Kailāsa, with cymbals in her hands, worships Him with the leaves and flowers of the lotus'.

Any one conversant with Indian music will agree that the poem wonderfully depicts the mood of Bhairavī. Let us first hear its scale, then its main theme.

### 1. The theme



We may now ask ourselves how we can represent the subtle and delicate mood of Bhairavī in harmonic music.

Suppose we make a classical harmonization utilizing the notes of the scale. The result would be completely unlike Bhairavi. It would give something like this.

## 2. Classical harmony



In fact this conveys to us nothing of the expression of the rāga. We have changed tonic several times and our mental habit will always tend to restore the A flat (Dha komala) as tonic because the basic mode of Western music is the major mode.

Whatever the manner in which we may manipulate this scale in the classical harmonic way, it will never convey to us the expression of Bhairavi.

Should we therefore say that this kind of expression is impossible in harmonic music. Not necessarily. But the means of rendering the expression will be different. We are therefore to translate the meaning rather than the notes.

The very picture of the rāga seems an almost ideal theme for a symphonic poem. The tender and lovely goddess, the flowers, the sunshine, the presence of Śiva, at times, in the background; the calm and devoted prayer on the crystal throne of the Pleasure Mountain. We think of Ravel's *Fairyland*, of Debussy's preludes, of List's pilgrimages, even of some of Wagner's more romantic passages.

## 3. The scale and theme

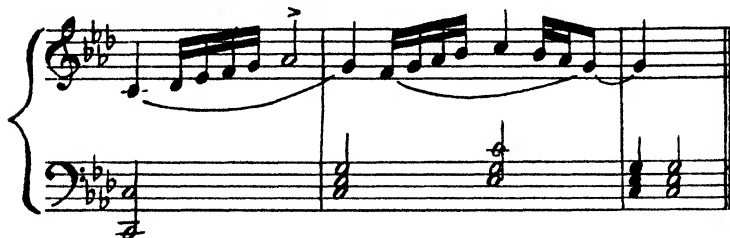


What are the means at the disposal of the musician who wishes to express this particular theme? Let us see what the Indian scale offers us and whether anything can be managed harmonically out of it. We, of course, shall have strongly to maintain the Indian tonic which is here the C, though according to Western convention we are in Ab.

First let us hear the theme again. (See p. 96 for the scale and theme.)

The first chord which offers itself to us is already deceptive. It is the minor chord based on the tonic, which is too melancholy.

#### 4. The minor 3rd



But, on the other hand, the dissonant chord of 4th and 5th keeps the character of the rāgā and so does the chord of 4th and 6th.

#### 5. Fourth and 5th; 4th and 6th.



But if we are to bring a feeling of sunshine this cannot be conveyed harmonically by a 5th accompanied with a minor third. To bring an idea of sunshine we already need a note which is outside the scale of the rāgā, that is a major 3rd to form a major chord.

#### 6. The major 3rd



Yet we cannot use this major chord together with a 5th in the melody because that would mean an overwhelming activity very contrary to the feeling we want to express. Therefore when the 5th appears in the melody we must break its effect through the dissonance of the more tender 4th.



### 7. Major 3rd softened by 4th and 5th



The prayer element may be brought out by an apparent modulation to the 4th. But a touch of the major 3rd will have from time to time to balance the melancholy

### 8. Modulation to the 4th



These very few chords have already shown us most of the harmonic material at our disposal in this scale. We see that it is rather poor. Therefore it is through another means, that is the variety of sound-patterns, that we have to supplement it.

First a peaceful swing of the basic sounds may bring an idea of calm activity.

### 9. Calm activity



A pattern of alternate octaves brings out a more passionate element.

### 10. Passion



But now, to bring out the idea of Śiva's presence, a mere introduction of the 2nd in a chord is too vague. We need a powerful bass melody.

### 11. The virile presence



The idea of flowers and of the delicate ritual gestures cannot be brought out through heavy chords but one may attempt to represent them through a delicate lace-work of flying notes.

### 12. The flowers and gestures



If we now try to build up a short composition out of these elements we find that the modal chords we use hardly deserve the name, real modulation is entirely absent, yet we can with the help of sound-patterns realize a sort of picture which may be accessible to both Eastern and Western ears.

These sound patterns are our only common ground; they do not belong to any particular system. Through them we can make some of the ideas of the rāga perceptible to a harmonic listener. This will give us a sort of variation on the theme of Bhairavi with modal chords and descriptive sound patterns.

Certain theoretical possibilities for polyphonic development which exist in modal music can be shown by further examples. It should, however, be remembered that this type of phantasy, although it may serve some purpose for stage music or entertainment, in fact completely distracts the mind from concentration on the rāga, and can only lead to an inferior type of music. I think it was Wagner who said once that 'it is from the use of silence that you can tell great music'. This is much more true still for modal than for harmonic music. The intensity of each note of the rāga, once the mind has been tuned to it, can be so immense that no addition can serve any useful purpose. Any outside element is, of necessity, detrimental to the meaning. The more we add to it, the poorer it becomes. And there is no doubt that the music nearest to silence, the music where every sound is most meaningful, that music is the greatest.

Let us hope that the coming generation will learn to respect and study more deeply the unrivalled science that is classical Indian music and will protect with love the purity of an art which, in spite of the hardships it had to bear and the prejudices born of foreign influence remains the most profound, most moving and most elaborate system of music in existence today.\*

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\* Paper read at the Society on 2nd February, 1949.

## TWO TORTOISE-SHELL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE DACCA MUSEUM

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.

(Received May 14, 1949)

Two pieces of inscribed tortoise-shells were found by Mr. Girindranath Basu, B.A., in reclaiming a tank at Basupārā in the village of Vajrayoginī in Vikrampur within the jurisdiction of the Munshiganj Police Station of the Dacca District, East Bengal. They were presented by Mr. Basu to the Dacca Museum and were published with facsimiles by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattachali, Curator of the Museum, in the *Annual Report of the Dacca Museum* for 1939-40, pp. 7-8.

The first of the two pieces of shells is blackish in colour and measures  $5\frac{1}{4}" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$ , while the second is a greyish piece measuring  $6\frac{1}{2}" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$ . Both the pieces are broken, the first into two and the second into four fragments. There are two lines of writing on the first shell and six (actually, five) lines on the second. The characters belong to that class of the northern alphabet which is commonly styled the proto-Bengali. The inscriptions may palaeographically be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. The single or double *danḍa* indicating stop is always preceded by a *visarga*-like sign in the second record. The language of the records is Sanskrit, although it is influenced by the local Prakrit.

The text of the inscription on the first shell was deciphered by Dr. Bhattachali as follows:—

1. [Siddham] svasti śreyasāya | Sujino janānām ||
2. [Siddham] na

Dr. Bhattachali's translation of the text is as follows: 'Peace. For the welfare of the good Buddhists.'

Dr. Bhattachali's reading of the text of the inscription on the second shell runs as follows:—

1. [Siddham] Śrī.
2. [Siddham] namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya | namo Buddhāya ||
3. svasti nīśreyasāya | sujino janānām | Śrī
4. ma namo bhagavate
5. Manarasarmma kārāvadhamma || Śrī
6. namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya

Dr. Bhattachali did not translate this record but appended a note in which his views as regards its interpretation are made perfectly clear. He says, 'Leaving out an individual *siddhir* = *astu* (i.e. *Siddham*) figure and the *Śrī* following, the inscription has five lines, the last three of which appear to be incomplete. The fourth line appears to pray for the death or incarceration of one Manarasaśarman (Manorathaśarman?) and helps us to understand the trend and nature of these curious inscriptions. They pray for the welfare of the good followers of Buddhism and invoke death or jail of Manarasaśarman, showing thereby that they are *mantras* or charms for *Abhicāra* or *Māraṇa* (i.e. killing or injuring one's foes), and the unclean nature of the material, on which the inscriptions are incised, also bespeaks a sinister design. It would appear from these curious tablets that, sometime between 1000 and

1100 A.D., the Buddhists were in a bad way in Vikrampur where these tablets were found, and the hands of one Manaraśarman lay specially heavily on them. This helps us to understand to some extent the religious history of the period following the fall of the Buddhist Candras of Vikrampur, who were supplanted by the Brahmanical Varmans, when Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, minister of Harivarmadeva, is boastfully described as the Agastya of the Jaina and the Buddhist seas in his Bhubaneswar inscription'. The name of the village, Vajrayoginī, may have lent colour to Dr. Bhattasali's views, as it shows that there was originally a temple of the Buddhist goddess Vajrayoginī at the village. Vajrayoginī, sometimes said to be the consort of Heruka, was adopted by the Brahmanical Tantriks as Chinnamastā; cf. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 155-56.

These far-reaching conclusions in regard to the religious history of ancient Bengal arrived at by Dr. Bhattasali on the basis of the two inscriptions under discussion are, however, entirely unwarranted as his reading and interpretation of the records are both full of mistakes.

Dr. Bhattasali's reading of the first inscription (line 1) contains no less than three mistakes. The word read as *śreyasāya* is actually *nīśreyasāya*, *nī* being written above the line. The engraver at first omitted *nī*, but corrected himself, when he noticed the mistake, by incising it above the line. This is of course a common practice followed even today. The fact is that while *nīśreyasa* is a familiar Sanskrit word meaning the same thing as *mokṣa*, the word *śreyasa* is not recognized by Sanskrit lexicons. It should be pointed out that the second inscription (line 3) uses the same word *nīśreyasa* in the same context. After *nīśreyasāya*, Dr. Bhattasali finds a *daṇḍa* which is, however, undoubtedly a medial *ā* sign. Nowhere in these two records is a *daṇḍa*, double or single, joined above with the top *mātrā* of the preceding *akṣara*; cf. the five cases of the use of the *daṇḍa* in the first inscription, line 1, and the second inscription, lines 2, 3 and 5. There is absolutely no doubt that the reading is *nīśreyasāyā* and not *nīśreyasāya* | as deciphered by Dr. Bhattasali. The next *akṣara* is read as *su*; but any one who would care to compare the *akṣara su* in the expression *Vāsudevāya* in the second inscription, lines 2 and 6, would certainly be convinced that this *akṣara* is anything but *su*. Medial *u* in *Vāsudevāya* as well as in *Buddhāya* in the second inscription, line 2, is a slanting stroke joined below a consonant; but in the *akṣara* after *nīśreyasāyā*, the upper part of which is represented by *s*, there is besides the *u* sign a clear subscript which is either *n* or *t*; but that it is a subscript *t* becomes absolutely certain when one compares this *akṣara* with the subscript *t* in the word *svasti* in both the inscriptions; cf. the first line of the first and the third (actually, second) line of the second inscription. The reading of the passage is therefore *svasti nīśreyasāy = āstu jīno janānām* and certainly not *svasti-śreyasāya | sujīno janānām* as Dr. Bhattasali deciphered it. In the second line, the engraver began to incise *namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*, but gave up writing after engraving only the first *akṣara*.

Dr. Bhattasali's translation of the above passage is also equally unfortunate. The interpretation of *svasti* as 'peace' and *śreyasāya* as 'for the welfare' can hardly be regarded as ideal; but the climax is reached when *sujīno janānām* is translated as 'of the good Buddhists'. Of course Jina was a name of the Buddha; but how can *sujīna* mean 'a good Buddhist'? And even if *sujīna* can be taken in the sense of a good Buddhist, how can one account for the *visarga* changed into *o* after that word? Even if therefore we ignore the mistakes in Dr. Bhattasali's reading and accept his reading of the passage as genuine, it has to be admitted that his translation is altogether absurd. There is absolutely no reference to good Buddhists in

the first inscription. It simply says, 'Let the Jina (Buddha) be for the prosperity and salvation of men.'

In the first line of the second inscription, what Dr. Bhattasali reads as the *siddham* symbol may actually be a figure for 1 indicating that the *akṣara śrī* that follows was omitted in line 1 and has to be inserted there. The use of *śrī* before *namo bhagavate* in two other cases below in this record may suggest that the engraver wanted to insert *śrī* before *namo bhagavate* also in line 2 which may actually be regarded as line 1 of the inscription. Otherwise Dr. Bhattasali deciphered this line quite correctly. Line 3 (actually, line 2), however, reads: *svasti-niṣreyasāy=āstu Jino janānām || śrī°*. The main passage is exactly the same as we find in the first inscription. As already pointed out in connection with the first inscription, it is impossible to read it as *svasti-niṣreyasāya | sujino janānām* after Dr. Bhattasali. Line 4 (actually, line 3) is also correctly deciphered by Dr. Bhattasali. The first *akṣara ma* is redundant. Whether the engraver was thinking of the second *akṣara* of *namo* or the first letter of the name at the beginning of the next line cannot be determined. Line 5 (actually, line 4) is read by Dr. Bhattasali as *Manarasarmma kāravadhamma || śrī°*. But there appear to be some inaccuracies. In the first place, there is a clear sign of *anusvāra* above between *na* and *ra* of *Manarasarmma*. It is also possible that we have to read *nu* instead of *na*. But even correcting *sarmma* into *śarmma*, we have a rather peculiar name *Manamraśarman* or *Manumraśarman*. Secondly, the third *akṣara* of what has been read as *kāraṇa* is certainly *ta* and not *va*, while the preceding *akṣara* looks more like *rī* than *rā*. The reading thus appears to me to be *kārīta* (for Sanskrit *kārīta*). The next word *dhamma* no doubt stands for Sanskrit *dharma*. The last *akṣara* reads *śi*, the intended reading being no doubt *śrī*. There is no mistake in Dr. Bhattasali's reading of the last line.

Now we come to Dr. Bhattasali's interpretation of the second inscription. Dr. Bhattasali thinks that these lines 'pray for the welfare of the good followers of Buddhism and invoke death or jail for Manaraśarman, showing thereby that they are *mantras* or charms for *Abhicāra* or *Mūraṇa*'. But it has already been shown that the passage *svasti-niṣreyasāy=āstu Jino janānām*, which he wrongly deciphered, has absolutely nothing to do with a prayer typically 'for the welfare of the good followers of Buddhism'. Attention of scholars may be drawn to another fact in this connection. One of the causes of abandoning the first shell seems to be that the engraver was not inclined to incise *namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* after *svasti-niṣreyasāy=āstu Jino janānām*. This is suggested by the second inscription in which the arrangement is altered. Another fact is that Vāsudeva has been called a *Bhagavat* which epithet has not been used with the Buddha's name. The text of the second inscription clearly shows that Vāsudeva is given more prominence than the Buddha or Jina; at least the former is not subordinated to the latter. We know that attempts of the Buddhists to incorporate Brahmanical deities in their own pantheon can be traced in works like the *Sādhana-mālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī Tantra* (cf. *Ariana Antiqua*, 1947, pp. 36-39). The latter work describes twenty-seven magic circles of the Buddhist deities and mentions a host of Brahmanical gods and goddesses as companions of those deities. But orthodox Buddhists always placed Brahmanical deities in a position subordinate to that of the Buddhist gods and goddesses often as *vāhanas*. Their attitude is truly represented in the conception, e.g., of Vidyujjvālā Karālī, a form of Ekajātā (an emanation of Akṣobhya), who is said to have originated from the Buddha's sweat, as having Indra, Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva together as her *vāhana* (Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 81). The *vāhana* of Vajrahūṅkāra is Śiva (*ib.*,

p. 143), that of Vajrajvālānālārka is Viṣṇu and his wife (*ib.*, p. 145) and that of Trailokyavijaya is Śiva and Gaurī (*ib.*, p. 146). Mahācakra Vajrapāṇi treads on Brahma and Śiva (Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 53). It is therefore highly improbable to expect that an orthodox Buddhist would have placed Vāsudeva in a superior or equal position with the Buddha. This fact shows that the inscriptions under discussion have nothing exceptionally and typically Buddhist in them. But they no doubt point to a rapprochement between the worship of Vāsudeva and that of the Buddha, which is also indicated by the fact that Buddha was regarded as an Avatāra before Ksemendra (eleventh century) and Jayadeva (twelfth century). This further suggests that a number of Buddhists were gradually absorbed in the fold of the Vaiṣṇavas. And this is probably supported by the present records which point to the joint adoration of both Vāsudeva and the Buddha. The reference to the Buddha shows beyond doubt that the person responsible for the inscriptions was a Buddhist. Had he been a Vaiṣṇava, there is no meaning of the adoration to the Jina or Buddha. The fact that Buddha was regarded as Viṣṇu's Avatāra is not material as no other incarnation is adored at the same time. But the same man also adored Vāsudeva and could hardly have been an orthodox Buddhist. There is thus little possibility of these two being communal Buddhist records as believed by Dr. Bhattasali.

It is impossible to understand how, even if one accepts Dr. Bhattasali's reading *Manarasarmma-kārā-vadha-mma*, the passage can signify that a person's incarceration or death was prayed for. *Kārā-vadha-mma* of course contains *kārā* and *vadha*; but the expression is no doubt as meaningless as *sujino-janāmām*.<sup>1</sup> The actual reading of the passage is, as shown above, *Manamrasarmma-kārīta-Dhamma*, i.e. *Manamrasarma-kārīta-Dharmaḥ*. It appears to mean that a person named Manamrasarmman caused a *Dharma* to be made in his behalf. Now the word *Dharma* may indicate anything, the making of which is related to the maker's religious merit. The word *kīrti*, 'fame', is known likewise to be used in the sense of any construction (e.g. a temple for a deity) leading to the fame of the person responsible for it. But the material on which the inscriptions are incised appears to preclude the possibility of the above interpretation. What pious construction was possible by means of tortoise-shells? It thus seems possible to suggest that the tortoise-shells (or earthen images of tortoise covered by these shells) were worshipped as Dharma Thākura whose worship in the shape of a tortoise is prevalent in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions of West Bengal even at the present time. *Vide* 'Dharma worship' by K. P. Chattopadhyay in *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 99-135.<sup>2</sup> As regards the tortoise form of the deity, Dr. Sukumar Sen in a paper entitled 'Is the cult of Dharma a living relic of Buddhism in Bengal?' published in the *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, says, 'The emblem of Dharma—rather his *pāda-piṭha* on which was placed or engraved the *pādūkā* (boots or sandals)

<sup>1</sup> Bhattasali's interpretation reminds us of a Kannada story in which a person, who had been asked to purchase *menasu* (pepper) and *jirige* (cumin seed), bought *mēna* (wax) and *sūji* (needle) and explained that *rige* was unknown in the market. The hopeless position of *mma* in Bhattasali's transcript resembles that of *rige* in the story.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the images examined by Chattopadhyay in the Districts of Birbhum, Midnapur and 24-Parganas were shaped like tortoises measuring about 6" × 4" (12" × 12" in one case). 'In one case it had a tortoise back only.' Cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 104-05. Coomaraswamy refers (*The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 185) to an Allahabad 'jade tortoise' in the British Museum, 17" long, as an ancient work. This appears to point to the prevalence of the worship of the tortoise-shaped deity outside Bengal in ancient times.

of Dharma—is a tortoise. In most cases, it is a natural bit of stone shaped like a tortoise; in other cases, it is a chiselled stone image of the same.' In the introduction (p. xi) to the *Rūparāmer Dharma-maṅgala*, edited by Dr. Sen jointly with Mr. Panchanan Mandal, the following two verses, one in Sanskrit and the other in Bengali, have been quoted from the ritualistic literature of the Dharma cult:

*ulūka-vāhana Dharma deva tejomay-ātmaka,  
Idānīm kūrma-prṣṭhe tu divya-rūpa namo=stu te.  
Hāt pātiyā Dharma sṛjilen sṛṣṭi,  
Pādukā śhāpiba lae kūrmer prṣṭi.*

Sen and Mandal further point out (*op. cit.*, p. i) that, although the worship of Dharma Thākur is now prevalent only about the Burdwan Division, it was in former times also current in other parts of Bengal. They trace it in the present day ceremony of Del or worship of Pāt Thākur in East and North Bengal and point to the existence of 'Dharma Thākur's *Gādi*' not far from the chief town of the Bogra District. They further connect the Dharma cult with the Chaṭ Parav or Ṣaṣṭhī-parva prevalent in Bihar. The present records coming from the Dacca district undoubtedly support the above contention. Cf. also the ancient jade tortoise from Allahabad referred to above.

Another important fact suggested by these records of a Vaiṣṇavite Buddhist is that they associate the Dharma cult with Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 135; *J.A.S.B.* 1894, pp. 55-61; 65-68) pointed out that Dharma Thākur's *dhyaṇa* represents the deity as *śūnya-mūrti* and *nirañjana*, which connect the Dharma cult with the theory of the Void, so popular with the later Buddhists, and show the latter's influence on the former. Chattopadhyay speaks of 'the wheel of Dharma' in connection with the Dharma Thākur cult; cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 112, 115; figs. 2, 3. But Sastri's theory that the present-day Dharma cult of Bengal is a relic of Buddhism seems to be unwarranted in spite of the fact that the present records point to its popularity with the Buddhists. Pandit Sastri confused the tortoise shape of Dharma with the form of a Buddhist Caitya and ignored the fact that Buddhist literature does not represent Dharma (one of the celebrated Buddhist *Tri-ratna* or 'three jewels', viz. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) in the shape of a tortoise. It may be pointed out that the Kailan inscription of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta (seventh century) and the Sundarban inscription of Dommanapāla (twelfth century) use the expression *Ratna-traya* to indicate a Buddhist establishment. This is probably because the images of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha came to be worshipped in later Buddhist monasteries. But the three *Ratnas* of the Buddhists are known to have been represented in human form. When represented in art, the four-armed Dharma usually shows the *añjali* against the breast by one pair of hands and carries the rosary and double-lotus in the other (cf. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, Plate III). We know that the Mahāyānists placed Dharma instead of Buddha in the first place amongst the *Ratnas* (*ib.* p. xv). It is also known that the Dhyāni-Buddha is the first *kāya* or body of the Buddhist trinity called *Trikāya* and that he is the *Dharma-kāya* or the inner intelligence of the body of the Buddha. This *Dharma-kāya* is identified by some Buddhist sects with Dharma of the Buddhist *Tri-ratna* (A. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 28). Buddhist scriptures represent Ādi-Dharma as a goddess who revealed herself from the centre of a triangle and produced Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha from its three sides. The Dharma that was produced from its second side is the wife of the Buddha,



produced from the first side, and is the mother of the other Buddhas (*ib.*, p. 197). But these conceptions had apparently little to do with the tortoise form of Dharma Thākūr whose name, however, connects him with the Buddhist *Ratna*. In Brahmanical mythology, Dharma is sometimes a separate deity (justice or virtue personified as a bull, dog or dove and identified with Viṣṇu or Prajāpati) and sometimes another name of Yama and of Yudhiṣṭhira.<sup>1</sup> No representation of the independent deity called Dharma is known. The figure of Yama (or Yudhiṣṭhira) as conceived by Brahmanical literature and represented in art has likewise nothing to do with a tortoise. The conception of the tortoise and other non-human incarnations of Viṣṇu<sup>2</sup> was no doubt based partly on the ancient worship of the tortoise and other animals amongst totemistic inhabitants of India and partly on local adoration of mysterious animals such as that of Dakṣinarāya, the tiger divinity of the Sundarbans, at the present time in Bengal. I have heard tales about the helpfulness of mysterious fish (usually of the class known as *Ṣol* and *Gajir* in Central Bengal) living in the waters of particular *Bils* (lakes). The story is always the same. People used to get whatever they wanted from the strange inhabitant of the waters; but its favour was discontinued as a result of the dishonesty exhibited by one of the recipients of favours. It seems that an old tortoise worship in ancient Bengal was later influenced by both Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. Its association with Vaiṣṇavism can easily be traced through the conception of the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu. But its origin in Buddhism is rather difficult to trace excepting its association with one of the Buddhist *Tri-ratna* by name. Both Sen and Chattopadhyay think that the Buddhist conception of the Void 'may indicate the influence of the Dharma cult on Tantric Buddhism' and this view seems to be supported by the importance of the Void in the religious and philosophical beliefs of the Austric-speaking people of Polynesia. But even admitting the influence of Buddhism on the Dharma cult, there is no reason to believe that the worship of Dharma in the shape of a tortoise originated with the Buddhists.<sup>3</sup> The name Dharma applied to the deity, is regarded by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji as derived from some Austric word meaning 'tortoise' and sounding like *daram* (cf. Sen and Mandal, *op. cit.*, p. xv).

Dharma Thākūr is usually identified with Viṣṇu, but in many cases also with Śiva (cf. Sen and Mandal, *op. cit.*, p. xiv). It is interesting to note that the form of Pāt Thākūr, worshipped in the Faridpur region of Central Bengal as identical with Śiva, has actually both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava characteristics. It is made of Nimba or Bilva wood roughly in the shape of an alligator and has the emblems of the bull and the trident, associated with Śiva, as well as the conch, discus, club and lotus symbols of Viṣṇu.

<sup>1</sup> Yudhiṣṭhira is worshipped in the Madras Presidency as Dharmarāja. This Dharmarāja cult of South India seems to be related to the Dharma Thākūr worship of Bengal; but it does not explain the tortoise form of Dharma. For the Dharmarāja cult of South India, see Chattopadhyay, *loc. cit.*, pp. 129-30.

<sup>2</sup> The tortoise incarnation was originally ascribed to Prajāpati (cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 5, 1, 5-6), but was later attributed to Viṣṇu.

<sup>3</sup> Some writers have associated the Dharma-kām ceremony, prevalent among the Chākmās who are a Buddhist tribal people of the Chittagong region of East Bengal, with the cult of Dharma Thākūr. Cf. Mādhav Chandra Chākmā Master, *Chākmā Jātir Itihāsa*, p. 54; Satis Chandra Ghosh, *Chākmā Jāti*, p. 200. But Dharma-kām of the Chākmā Buddhists is actually nothing but a ceremonial worship of the Buddha, the name of Dharma being conspicuous by its absence from the *mantras* employed in the ceremony. The expression *dharma-kām* is a corruption of Sanskrit *dharma-karman* meaning a religious rite. The Chākmā ceremony is so called because it is the religious rite *par excellence* amongst the Chākmā Buddhists.

A text of a work on the procedure of Pāt Thākur's worship, copied by me, also supports this. Cf. the section called *Pāṭa-sṛṣṭi* which runs:

*Āchambite jāta nārilen Paśupati,  
Bija paṇiyā Bel-vṛkṣa Nimer utpatti.  
Goṛā kāṭiyā āgā kāṭiyā madhye dīlen cheo,  
Mājkhkhāne bānāilen Pāt-bāṇ bhāo.  
Viśvakarmā dīlen Pāt nirmāṇ kariyā,  
Saṅkha cakra gadā padma cāri mudrā diyā.  
Gārilen trisūla goṭā kāṭā tin sārī,  
Sukla-vastra diyā morā Pāt-vāṇ ghiri.  
Kahen o to satya-guru Maheśeri var,  
Pāt-vāṇ śuddha karilen prabhu Bholā-Maheśvar.*

Sen and Mandal (*op. cit.*, p. xiii ff.) suggest that the cult of the Vedic and Iranian Sun-god, Vedic Varuṇa, the war-god of such peoples as the Doms and Chandaḷs, and several other deities, mostly non-Aryan, contributed to the growth and development of the Dharma Thākur cult. As to the solar origin of Dharma Thākur, Dr. Sen observes, 'Dharma is the Sun-god. The tortoise (*Kūrma*, *Kaśyapa*) as the symbol or emblem of the (rising?) sun is probably a non-Aryan concept. But the identity of the tortoise with the sun appears early in Indo-Aryan religion, at least as early as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 5, 15). As an Aryan god, the sun moves in a chariot. So does Dharma. As a matter of fact, the ceremony of Rathayātrā was originally concerned with Dharma. Like the Sun-god, Dharma cures incurable diseases like leucoderma. The Sun-god has a bird as his *vāhana* and the god of death (Yama) as his son. Dharma's direct creation *Ulūka* (owl) combines the two personalities. The monkey cult was originally associated with sun worship. In the cult of Dharma, Hanumān is his factotum.' Chattopadhyay lays greater stress on Dharma's relation with Vedic Varuṇa and the latter's association with the sun. He also points to Dharma Pennu, the creator god of the Khonds, and to Dharma regarded as a great god by the Santals. In Brahmanical mythology, Dharma is the name of a son (Yama) and an attendant of the Sun-god.

The antiquity of the cult of Dharma Thākur in Bengal is definitely established by the present inscriptions. The tortoise-shaped deity was no doubt called Dharma as early as the tenth or eleventh century. But when precisely this Sanskrit name came to be applied to the tortoise deity for the first time cannot be determined.

There is thus absolutely no reason to believe that the present inscriptions are *mantras* or charms for *Abhicāra* or *Māraṇa*, as suggested by Dr. Bhattasali. Had they been so, it may further be pointed out, they would have certainly contained certain mystic *bijākṣaras*, such as *hrīm*, etc., which abound in such *mantras* noticed in Tantric works both Brahmanical and Buddhist.

I give below my reading and translation of the inscriptions discussed above.

#### No. 1

#### Text

1. [Siddham || ]<sup>1</sup> svasti-ni<sup>2</sup>śreyasāy=āstu Jino janānām<sup>3</sup> ||
2. [Siddham || ]<sup>4</sup> na<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>2</sup> The *akṣara ni* is engraved above the line.

<sup>3</sup> Read *janānām*.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the engraver was beginning *namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*. One of the causes of his giving up engraving on this shell has been suggested above. Another cause may be that he became conscious of the omission of the word *Śrī* before *namo*.

*Translation*

[Let there be success.] May the Jina be for the prosperity and salvation of the people.

[Let there be success.] (Incomplete.)

No. 2

1. [Siddham]<sup>1</sup> śrī<sup>2</sup> namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya | namo Buddhāya ||
2. svasti-nisreyasāy=āstu Jino janānām<sup>3</sup> || śrī
3. ma<sup>4</sup> namo bhagavate<sup>5</sup>
4. Manamrasarmma<sup>6</sup> -kārīta<sup>7</sup> -Dhamma<sup>8</sup> || śī<sup>9</sup>
5. namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya<sup>10</sup>

*Translation*

[Let there be success.] Śrī. Adoration to the most worshipful Vāsudeva. Adoration to the Buddha. May the Jina (Buddha) be for the prosperity and salvation of the people. Śrī. Adoration to the most worshipful one. [This is an image of] Dharma caused to be made by Manamrasarman. Śrī. Adoration to the most worshipful Vāsudeva.

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>2</sup> The *akṣara śrī* is incised above the line with the indication 1 probably pointing to the necessity of its insertion in line 1. It seems that *śrī* here stands as a substitute for the *Pranava*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *janānām*.

<sup>4</sup> This *akṣara* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to determine why the engraver did not complete the line by the addition of the word *Vāsudevāya*. It is not impossible to conjecture that his intention was to engrave in this line the matter of the next line. It should, however, be admitted that the epithet *Bhagavat* is often used in inscriptions to signify Viṣṇu without specifying any of the god's names. But the absence of *daṇḍas* may point to the incomplete nature of the line, although the expected *daṇḍas* are absent also at the end of the following line where, however, the record ends. Under the circumstances one may suggest *bhagavate* || or *bhagavate Vāsudevāya* ||

<sup>6</sup> Read *śarmma*<sup>o</sup>. The reading of the name may be *Manumra*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Read *kārīta*.

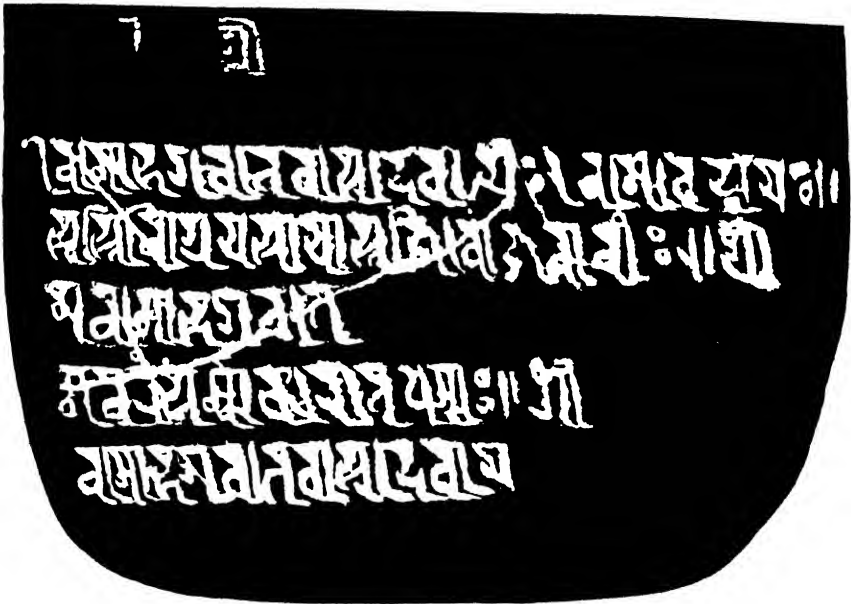
<sup>8</sup> Read *Dharmmah*. The *visarga*-like sign after the word seems to be a part of the stop as it is found after °*devāya* and *Buddhāya* in line 1 and *janānām* in line 2. Note that it is absent after °*devāya* in line 5 which does not end with the sign for stop.

<sup>9</sup> Read *śrī*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Read °*devāya* ||.



No. 1.



No. 2.

Tortoise-shell Inscriptions in the Dacca Museum.



DATE OF THE PARAŚURĀMEŚVARA TEMPLE AT  
BHUBANEŚVARA

By KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

(Communicated by Dr. D. C. Sircar)

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R. D. Banerji was first to draw the attention of scholars to the names of the planets inscribed above each of them on the door of the sanctum of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. M. M. Ganguli did not notice them, but on the consideration of some resemblance which this temple bears with the temples of Durgā and Huchchimalligudi at Aihole in the district of Bijapur, Bombay Province, he has assigned the Paraśurāmeśvara to the fifth or sixth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The date fixed by him is based upon an inscription of Pulakesin II in the Saka year 556 corresponding to 634 A.D. on the temple of Meguti at Aihole, which has been taken later than both the Durga and Huchchimalligudi because of its advanced architectural features. It has been further supposed by Ganguli that the Orissan art of temple building was transplanted in the Deccan as early as the fifth century A.D. at the latest, which produced the predecessors of the Meguti at Aihole. The whole train of his arguments is, however, based on the hypothesis that Orissa was conquered by Samudragupta and the Orissan architecture was influenced by the northern style during the Gupta period. This hypothesis together with the fact that the definite and stereotyped system of techniques followed in the Orissan architecture presupposes a long evolution, led him to conclude that 'the Orissan style of temple building was much developed in the beginning of the Christian era or even before that'.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion has been taken to be totally wrong by R. D. Banerji who points out that according to the palaeography of the inscriptions on its door, the Paraśurāmeśvara, 'the oldest temple in Orissa' cannot be earlier than the eighth century A.D. and that there is no temple in Northern, Central or Southern Orissa which can be earlier than the Paraśurāmeśvara in date. According to him there is thus a gap of at least eight hundred years between the latest Jain caves of the earlier group at Udayagiri or Khandagiri, which do not provide any semblance of temple architecture, and the earliest known temple in Orissa, namely the Parasurāmeśvara.<sup>3</sup>

Now, it is worth while quoting a few lines from R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa* which contain his remarks about the palaeography of these inscriptions, which has provided the basis of the date given to the Paraśurāmeśvara, a date which has since then been accepted and followed by the scholars even in the latest works.<sup>4</sup> Criticising M. M. Ganguli, he says 'Unfortunately for Mr. Ganguli there is a class of evidence which no amount of artistic argument can shake. The Navagraha slab over the *antarāla* in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple is inscribed with the names of the planets and in these inscriptions a class of palatal Śa has been used which has not been

<sup>1</sup> M. M. Ganguli, *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 270 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 118-9.

found anywhere in Northern and Southern India before the eighth century A.D. This form of palatal Śa is used for the first time in the Pāla inscriptions of the ninth century A.D. In this form, the hook or arc, which forms the proper left limb of the letter, is not joined to the proper right limb, which is a straight line. It is, therefore, impossible to assign the building of the Paraśurāmeśvara to any date before the eighth century and that in the later decades of that century.' <sup>1</sup> Evidently Banerji had not taken the impressions of these inscriptions nor examined them closely before he passed his remarks on their palaeography which has formed the sole basis of the chronology of all the earlier temples at Bhubaneśvar. The facsimiles of the inscriptions reproduced, will show that the hooks or arcs which form the proper left limbs of the two palatal Śas in them are certainly joined to their proper right limbs which are straight lines. His mistake in this respect seems to have arisen from the fact that in the dark corner of the Jagamohana, he took the dental Sa of the word Saṇiścchara to be a palatal Śa and attributed to it the peculiarities of a Pāla palatal Śa. It is, however, a mistake of the scribe. There is more than one mistake in these few names, viz. Ādyatya for Āditya, Brihaspati for Brhaspati and Saṇiścchara for Saṇiśchara. That Banerji did not examine the inscriptions properly is also evident from the fact that he calls the slab containing the planets to be the Navagraha slab, although the number of the inscribed names is only eight, and among the planets there is no image of Ketu which is also conspicuous by its absence in all the early temples of Bhubaneśvara, containing similar planet slabs.

We shall now try to prove the real age of these inscriptions. The reproductions will show that the letters in their totality can neither belong to the sixth century nor to the eighth or ninth century. They straight way point to the main development of the Eastern Alphabet in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., of which the copperplate inscription of Mādhavarāja II of Kaṅgoda (Ganjam district), the vassal of the King Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, provides us with the typical specimens.<sup>2</sup> On a reference to the latest palaeographical chart prepared by Mr. C. Śivarāmamūrti, Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, it will be seen that the form of palatal Śa on which R. D. Banerji lays so much stress, cannot in any way tally with the same letter of the Pāla Period, although it can go back to the sixth or even the fifth century. But the form of Ka with a loop forming its proper left limb that we find in these inscriptions, cannot possibly go back to the sixth century when it was formed of two lines, of which the upper one in the horizontal position had become curve. The letters ṇa, sa and ra can in no way belong to the Pāla Period, although they can go back to the sixth century. To avoid all possibility of an early dating, it will, therefore, be best to assign them to the time of the copperplate inscription of Mādhavarāja II, which is dated in 300 years of the Gupta Era corresponding to 620 A.D., and this should be taken to be the date of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple.

There is another temple at Bhubaneśvara which bears similar inscriptions on a planet slab, that support the date given by us to the Paraśurāmeśvara. It is one of the three ruined temples standing in a row in close vicinity of the Rāmeśvara temple, half-way between the railway station and the Liṅgarāja temple. This ruined temple standing on the northern extremity of the row, has been given the name of Śatrughneśvara in Percy Brown's *Indian Architecture*,<sup>3</sup> a name which we adopt here for the sake of

<sup>1</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 338-39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46.

<sup>3</sup> p. 119.

convenience. The temple of Śatrughneśvara is now only a mass of rubbles with no sculptures and not even the lintel of its door frame left, but still it preserves some evidence which enables us to give it an approximate date. All writers on the Bhubaneśvara monuments have failed to notice the inscriptions similar to those on the Paraśurāmeśvara, on the eave of its southern niche containing the images of eight planets. The planet slab is now half buried in debris and a jungle has grown round it. Of the eight inscribed names, only those of Soma, Buddha, Bṛhaspati and Śukra have been fully preserved and the remaining ones have broken off. It would have been possible to fully compare these inscriptions with those of the Paraśurāmeśvara, had they all survived. Nevertheless, the palaeographical indications are that they are a little earlier than those of the Paraśurāmeśvara. *Va* shows a triangular shape and *ma*, *śa* and *ha* have more archaic forms. But that they are not far removed from the Paraśurāmeśvara inscriptions is proved by the occurrence of the same form of *ka* which has a loop as its proper left limb. The temple of Śatrughneśvara should, therefore, be assigned to the beginning of the seventh or the closing of the sixth century.

Various dates have been given by the scholars to the group of three temples of which Śatrughneśvara is one. Percy Brown puts them at the end of the temples assigned by him to c. 750 to 900, thus suggesting that they belonged to the ninth century.<sup>1</sup> M. M. Ganguli takes them to be the temples constructed by Harivarmadeva of Bengal belonging to the first quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> On consideration of their architectural peculiarities, R. D. Banerji assigns them to the ninth century. The view of the last-named scholar deserves more than a passing notice, because he takes the absence of the porch or *mukhaśālā* in these three temples and some other temples of Bhubaneśvara, Baudh and Khiching in Mayurbhanj, to be a definite feature and groups them under a separate class on the ground of such a feature. He has assigned this class of temples grouped on this supposed peculiarity to the ninth century, because there is an art sequence between the Liṅgaraja temple and the great temple at Khiching as shown by R. P. Chanda and the former possessing a *mukhaśālā* or porch is generally placed at the end of the tenth century. The whole train of arguments adduced by Banerji is neither clear nor based on actual observations.<sup>3</sup> In the first place, the three temples at Khiching share the peculiarity of not possessing a porch with all the temples of the south-west Bengal as he himself points out, and as such it should be taken as a local architectural feature not extending to a class of temples in Orissa as a whole. In the second place, in the three temples at Baudh, as Banerji puts it, the place of the Jagamohana is taken by a very small *Antarāla* or porch supported by two pillars in front and two pilasters. Such a type of porch should, therefore, be taken to be the local architectural feature of the Baudh temples, which is not found to have extended to the temples either at Khiching or Bhubaneśvara. In the third place, there is not a class of temples at Bhubaneśvara, assignable to a particular period, which are marked by the peculiarity of not possessing a porch. Of the temples almost contemporary, some are found to have possessed porches and others have none. In the fourth place, so far as these three ruined temples are concerned, it is definite that the Śatrughneśvara which bears the inscriptions under discussion, did possess a porch or Jagamohana, the rectangular plinth of which is still visible.

It may be added here that, although Banerji discusses the date of the three temples at Baudh and assigns them to the ninth century,<sup>4</sup> his

<sup>1</sup> p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 353-356.

<sup>3</sup> *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 391-92.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



posthumous work, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, contains a photograph of one of these temples between pp. 192-93, which has a label 'One of the Chaturvyūha Śiva Temples (Tantrik) fourth century at Baudh'. Evidently, fourth century is a misprint for ninth century, but it still creates an impression that there existed in the Orissa of the fourth century, a temple with a full-fledged *śikhara* which has come down to us almost quite intact, an impression which is not compatible with the evolution of temple architecture in India nor with the durability of a temple structure. The word Tantrik inserted within the brackets indicates that Banerji intended to make the date ninth century, but not fourth century, for, a scholar of his erudition could not have made the mistake of tracing a Tantrik temple back to the fourth century A.D.

There is still another source which supports the dates given to the temples of Śatrughneśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara. It is a tradition recorded in four Sanskrit works, viz. *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, *Svarṇnādrī Mahodaya*, *Ekāmra Chandrikā* and *Kapila-Saṁhitā*, which profess to deal with the origin of the temples, rituals, festivals and the allied matters connected with the Śaiva shrine at Bhubaneśvara. The first of these works, *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, is the oldest and most comprehensive. It has been quoted both by M. M. Ganguli<sup>1</sup> and R. D. Banerji, but they seem to have been very imperfectly acquainted with its contents, or else they would not have missed certain definite references so important for the history of Bhubaneśvara. *Kapila Saṁhitā* has also been quoted by M. M. Ganguli from a MS. copy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> Some twenty years ago, Pandit Ratnakara Gargabatu of Bhubaneśvara, who still lives as an octogenarian, first published them in Oriya from the palm-leaf manuscripts. The date of these works cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century, because, all of them mention the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva<sup>3</sup> which was built in Saka 1200 (1278 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> The tradition recorded in all these works credits Śaśāṅka with the building of the first temple in the shrine now represented by the great temple of Liṅgarāja. Śaśāṅka, as is well known, lived and ruled in the first part of the seventh century to which we have assigned the temples of Śatrughneśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara on palaeographical grounds. As in all Purāṇas, the tradition has been put in the form of a prophecy, but that it contains the germs of historical truth, admits of little doubt on close examination. Śaśāṅka has been referred to in these works sometimes as Chandra or Chandramā and sometimes by name as Śaśāṅka and in one case he has been represented as the lord of a portion of the earth extending up to Kalinga. The last-named reference leaves little room for doubt that Chandra, Chandramā or Śaśāṅka of the tradition can be any other person than Śaśāṅka, the King of Gauḍa, who was the overlord of Kaṅgoda, a part of Kalinga, as is evidenced by the copper-plate grant of Madhāvarāja II of the Śailodbhava Dynasty.<sup>5</sup> In view of their importance, I quote below the translations of the texts containing the tradition, the Sanskrit originals of which with their contexts have been given in the Appendix.

The Chapter 13 of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* gives a conversation between Śiva and Brahmā in the Satya Age, in which the latter expresses his desire to

<sup>1</sup> *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> It has subsequently been proved that Chandrā Devī, daughter of Anaṅgabhīma Deva, was the real builder of this temple and that her inscription, now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, was its original commemorative inscription (Above, Vol. XIII, New Series, p. 63 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 267.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46.

build a temple for the former, but Śiva chooses to remain in an open ground and says:—

‘With the coming of the Kali Age, Chandra will go to the earth and having become the lord of men (the King), he will worship the līṅgam.’

‘He, who is of good determination, will cause a beautiful, white and purifying stone temple to be erected and a great worship performed.’

‘He who is famous, well-known, and engaged in daily worship of Śiva, will establish this līṅgam of Tribhuvaneśvara in accordance with my command.’

‘O Brahman, you know me to be this stone līṅgam that can neither be seen nor touched.’

‘Śaśāṅka with his heart attached to Śiva, will be infinitely intelligent and will worship with diligence all the līṅgams that exist in the earth.’

‘O Vivudheśvara (Brahmā), (Śaśāṅka’s) work (kīrti) will endure (lit. remain unhurt) in this world. O Pitāmaha, it is difficult (for you) to do (i.e. to construct a temple for me); (so) your efforts are useless.’

In the Chapter 48 of the same work, Śiva in course of his conversation with the Bālakhilyās speaks as follows:—

‘When one quarter of the Kali Age has passed away, Chandramā will go to the earth.’

‘My devotee Śaśāṅka, the lord of the earth, with his mind fixed in none (except in me), will rule a portion of the earth extending up to Kaliṅga.’

‘According to my command, he will construct a massive and beautiful temple, hearing the voice of the gods. O the best of ascetics, you have (now) heard (this all) well.’

Again in the Chapter 50 of the same Ekāmra Purāṇa, we find a reference to Śaśāṅka. Rāma, son of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā, desirous of building a temple for Śiva, wanted to fix up a site in Ekāmra. Vāsiṣṭha to acquaint him with the situation speaks as follows:—

‘O king, the past tradition is that Śaśāṅka will cause it to be done.’

‘So, O the best of the kings, construct a temple elsewhere.’

‘When the high-souled Vāsiṣṭha was speaking this, an invisible voice descended from the sky (which spoke thus).’

‘O Rāma, the long-armed Rāma, the increaser of the pleasure of the gods and the expert in the knowledge of the worship of Śiva, please hear my best words. Chandramā dropped down from (my) crown will not soon go to the earth.’

In the Chapter 14 of the Svārṇnādrī Mahodaya, when Brahmā expresses his desire to build a temple for Śiva, the latter directs the former to build it at a site now represented by the Brahmeśvara temple but reserves his own site (the site of Tribhuvaneśvara) and speaks as follows:—

‘It will not be done by your hand; in the Kali Age Chandra will do it.’

In the chapter 9 of the Ekāmra Chandrikā, the same tradition is recorded as follows:—

‘Do not build the temple here; in the Kali Age Chandra will do it.’

In the Chapter 16 the Kapila Samhitā also, the lord Tribhuvaneśvara is found to have made the same refusal to Himavat, the king of the mountains:—

‘Why have you asked for a thing which was not available to the gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra, Yama and Varuṇa? The temple (of mine) is impossible to be constructed; in the Kali Age Chandra will do it.’

It will be seen from the quotations given above that the tradition about Śaśāṅka having built the first temple in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara is

persistent in all the four Sanskrit works dealing with the subjects connected with Bhubaneśvara. These are the only friendly references that we ever find to have been made to Śaśāṅka in any records so far discovered. His character has been painted black in all other records that have emanated from his political rivals, or their friends and supporters or from the sources of the Buddhists who regarded him as an enemy of their religion. If these traditions have any value, they show that stone temples existed at Bhubaneśvara during the age of Śaśāṅka. The evidences furnished by the palaeography of the inscriptions and the traditions thus support each other and as such the dates assigned to the temples of Śatrughneśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara, on the strength of both, should be taken as conclusive. It is not, however, concluded that either of these two temples was built by Śaśāṅka. All traditions credit him with the building of a temple in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara or Liṅgarāja. The present temple of Liṅgarāja and also the other temples in its compound are much later structures and it is impossible to assign any of them to the time of Śaśāṅka. On another occasion we shall try to trace out the plausible archaeological remains of Śaśāṅka's temple and shall discuss the part played by him in the great Śaiva shrine of Bhubaneśvara.

The text of the inscriptions on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple:—

1. Ādyatya. 2. Soma. 3. Aṃgāraka. 4. Budha. 5. Brihaspati.
6. Śukra. 7. Śaṇiśchhara. 8. Rāhu.

*Note.*—The mistakes in the inscriptions have already been pointed out. The word Śaṇiśchhara probably represents the phonetic peculiarity of the age of the inscriptions. The present Oriya pronunciation is śani but not śaṇi.

The text of the inscriptions on the Śatrughneśvara temple:

1. Soma. 2. Buddha. 3. Bṛhaspati. 4. Śukra.

## APPENDIX \*

### Quotation No. 1

From Chapter 13 of the Ekāmra Purāṇa, pp. 101-2

### श्रीशंकर उवाच

मद्वाक्यं परमं चेदं निशामय पितामह ।  
 अद्यत्तमिह मामेवं नान्यः पश्यति त्वदृते ॥  
 यद्येष्टं कोटिलिङ्गानि कुलध्याभिमनंतं तव ।  
 अहमेव पृथक् भूत्वा तिष्ठाम्यत्र जगत्पते ॥  
 आत्मज्ञायामिमां शास्ता<sup>1</sup>मस्माद्यौतिः प्रवर्द्धते ।  
 प्रसादात्सततं चात्र स्थितिरेषा गुणात्मिका ॥  
 कृतचेतायुगे जाते स्वयं शीर्षति पादपः ।  
 दापरे तु युगे प्राप्ते स्थितिरन्नात्मिका स्मृता ॥

\* Texts have been reproduced as they occur in the originals without any corrections in respect of obvious grammatical mistakes.

<sup>1</sup> Read शास्तास्माद्यौतिः

सूर्याचंक्रमसौ देवौ पश्यन्तौ सततं तदा ।  
 रेजाते तेजसा तस्माद्दर्शस्पर्शगुणान्वितौ ॥  
 वायुः शिवत्वमाप्नोति लिंगं स्पृष्ट्वा तदानघ ।  
 मदाक्षयातो वाग्दिश्या मेध्यान्मेध्यतरास्तु ते ॥  
 प्राप्ते कलियुगे ब्रह्मंश्चन्द्रो यास्यति मेदिनीम् ।  
 मुत्वा मनुजनाथोऽसावर्चयिष्यति लिंगकम् ॥  
 भक्तितः प्रवरां पूजां कारयिष्यति सुव्रत ।  
 प्रासादं वृष्टिरं शुभं शुद्धं शैलमयं तथा ॥  
 शिवयज्ञपरो निव्यं कौर्तिमान् सुबज्जुतः ।  
 प्रतिष्ठयिष्यतीदं स लिंगं त्रिभुवनेश्वरम् ॥  
 मदाक्षयानुरूपेण दर्शस्पर्शविवर्जितम् ।  
 लिंगः<sup>1</sup> शैलमयं ब्रह्मंस्ततो जानाति मामयम् ॥  
 शशाङ्कोऽनन्तमेधावी भविष्यति शिवात्मकः ।  
 पृथिव्यां यानि लिंगानि अर्चयिष्यत्यतन्द्रितः ॥  
 कौर्तिरख्याहता लोके स्थास्यते विबुधेश्वर ।  
 अलमध्यवसायस्ते दुष्करोऽयं पितामह ॥

*Quotation No. 2*

From Chapter 48 of the Ekāmra Purāṇa, pp. 364-5

प्रसन्नो ह्यभवं यस्मात्तस्माच्च ह्यपयायवा ।  
 कथितं पुण्ययोगाद्वा भवतां पुण्यजन्मनः ॥  
 एतद्देवेषु दुष्प्राप्यं देवतासु न लभ्यते ।  
 एतद्ज्ञानं दिजश्रेष्ठा भवसागरतारणम् ॥  
 अतःपरं परं श्रेयः किमन्यत् परिपृच्छथ ।  
 एवं देवपतेर्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा ते मुनिपुंगवाः ॥  
 इदमूचुः पुनर्भक्त्या भवितव्यं न वेति वा ।  
 भूय एव मुनिश्रेष्ठा ऊचुस्ते परमेश्वरम् ॥  
 कस्मिन् कस्मिन् युगे देव किंरूपेण व्यवस्थितः ।  
 तानुवाच ततो देवः ब्रह्मवंतु ऋषिसत्तमाः ॥  
 कृतज्ञेतायुगे तावन्न मां पश्यंति देवताः ।  
 ह्यपरे लिंगमाप्नोऽहं प्रासादगुणवर्जितः ॥  
 कलौ मम स्पृष्टं लिंगं प्रासादगुणवर्जितम् ।  
 कलावतीतपादे च महीं यास्यति चन्द्रमाः ॥  
 शासयेत् पृथिवीभागं मङ्गलतो नान्यमानसः ।  
 यावत् कलिंगपर्यन्तं शशाङ्कः पृथिवीपतिः ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read लिंगं

ममोपदेशकर्त्तासौ प्रासादं वरिचं पृथुम् ।  
 श्रुत्वा देवेरितं सम्यक् श्रुतास्ते मुनिपुंगवाः ॥  
 दर्शनं स्पर्शनं पूजां चक्रुरात्मनिवेदनम् ।  
 कृतकृत्वा हि ते सर्वे बालखिल्या दिवं गताः ॥  
 सपुरीं तु घनाध्यक्षो ययौ पुष्पकवाहनः ।

### ब्रह्मोवाच

एवं देवस्य माहात्म्यं श्रुतं मे गिरिकन्धके ।  
 सर्वपापघ्नमतुलं सर्वपुण्यविवर्द्धनम् ॥

### Quotation No. 3

From Chapter 50 of the Ekāmra Purāṇa, pp. 384-5

वशिष्ठं स्थविराचार्यं वामदेवं च काश्यपम् ।  
 पार्थिवान् घर्मप्रवणान् सृष्ट्वत्पूजितियाजकान् ॥  
 सर्वान् प्राह महीपालः पूर्वोन्दुसदृशाननः ।  
 इच्छेऽहमालयं कर्तुं लिंगस्यास्यानुरूपतः ॥  
 क्षिप्रं संवाहय कृत्स्नं पाषाणान्त्रयानि च ।  
 वाढमित्येव ते सर्वे चक्रुः कर्माण्यशेषतः ॥  
 प्रयच्छतः सुसंहृष्टो भरतो रामशासनात् ।  
 वशिष्ठस्तमुवाचेदं राघवं मुनिभिः सह ॥  
 ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च शक्राद्या देवदैत्योरगापुराः ।  
 यक्षविद्याधराः साध्या मुनयश्च दिवौकसः ॥  
 व्यवस्थिता महीपालाः पुरा राम अनेकशः ।  
 संहृष्टयुगपर्यन्तं सांप्रतं भवतोदितम् ॥  
 यदि प्रसन्नो भगवान् कुरुष्वभिमतं तदा ।  
 पुरा श्रुतिरियं राजन् शशांकः कारयिष्यति ॥  
 तस्मात्त्वमपि राजेद्र अन्यत्रायतनं कुरु ।  
 इत्येवं वदतस्तस्य वशिष्ठस्य महात्मनः ॥  
 ततश्चान्तर्हिता बाणौ गगनादवतारिता ।  
 राम राम महाबाहो देवानां प्रीतिवर्द्धन ॥  
 वद्राराधनतत्त्वञ्च व्रद्धुं मे परमं वचः ।  
 चंद्रमा मुकुटादभ्रतो महीं यास्यति नाचिरात् ॥

तदासौ कुरुतेऽस्माकं प्रासादं शिवसम्मतम् ।  
 विघ्नहान्यं महाबाहो प्रासादं वचिरद्युतिम् ॥  
 तत्राहं स्वयमेवोच्चैरपस्थास्ये पिरं सदा ।  
 पूजितः प्रीतिमतुलं ददाम्यभिमतं पलम् ॥  
 शुभ्रार्वातर्हितां वायौ रामो भ्रातृसहस्रखः ।  
 स भूयः प्राञ्जलिं बद्धा तं देवं प्रत्युवाच ह ॥  
 कस्मिन् देशे करिष्यामि आज्ञापय महेश्वर ।  
 तमुवाचाश्वरौरस्यो मधुरां लोकसाक्षिणीम् ॥  
 बिंदुसराददूरेण वायव्येन समाश्रिते ।  
 धेन्वंतरनवप्रभे सप्तत्युत्तरभूभृते ॥  
 कुरुध्यायतनं पुण्यं शिवस्थानमनुत्तमम् ।  
 एवं ते श्रान्मतौ कौर्त्तिर्लोके स्थास्यति सर्वदा ॥

*Quotation No. 4*

From Chapter 14 of the Svarnnādiri Mahodaya, pp. 66-7

चतुर्भिर्वेदकैरेव तुष्टाव परमेश्वरम् ।  
 स्तवाते भुवनेश्वस्तु प्रसन्नोऽभूद्विजोत्तमाः ॥  
 वरं वरय भद्रं ते यत्ते मनसि वर्त्तते ।  
 प्रसन्नोऽसि यदि खामिन्नाज्ञापय जगत्पते ॥  
 मंदिरं कर्त्तुमिच्छामि यशस्यं कौर्त्तिवर्द्धनम् ।  
 त्वदाज्ञया करिष्यामि सर्वावयवसुंदरम् ॥  
 त्वद्धत्ते नाभविष्यद्वै कलौ चंद्रः करिष्यति ।  
 लिंगस्यास्य त्वदूरेण ईषत्प्रचलिताम्बरे ॥  
 धेन्वंतरसहस्रैके विंशोत्तरप्रभतांतरे ।  
 पूर्वस्यास्य दिशो भागे चैशानौ दिशमाश्रिताम् ॥  
 ददर्श विपुलां भूमिं मेरोः शृङ्गमिवापराम् ।  
 कुरुध्यायतनं तत्र दिव्यमामोदितं मम ॥

*Quotation No. 5*

From Chapter 9 of the Ekāmra Chandrikā, p. 71

पुरा भौमं प्रसन्नः सन्नप्रवौत्पार्वतीपतिः ।  
 नात्र प्रासादकर्त्तासि कलौ चंद्रः करिष्यति ॥  
 यमेश्वराददूरेण नैऋत्येन समाश्रिते ।  
 धेन्वंतरसहस्रैके कुरु देवालयं शुभम् ॥

## Quotation No. 6

From Chapter 16 of the Kapila Samhitā, p. 78

किमिच्छसि गिरिश्रेष्ठ ब्रूहि कामं यद्येषितम् ।  
 संतुष्टो वरदोऽहं च क्षोभेयानेन चानघ ॥  
 इति श्रुत्वा वचस्तस्य धूर्जटेर्हिमवांस्तदा ।  
 बद्धाञ्जलिं करपुटे वाचमूचे प्रियंवदम् ॥  
 अस्मिन् क्षोभे जगन्नाथ त्वदीयं लिंगमुत्तमम् ।  
 दिदृक्षुरस्मि तच्चाहं प्रासादं करवाणि च ॥  
 यतो मद्वेद्म संतुल्य ह्यागतस्त्वं सहोमया ।  
 अतो दिदृक्षुस्तं साध्वीमागतोऽहं तवालयम् ॥  
 तस्यां च महती प्रीति बिदुषुषः स्थितोऽपि मे ।  
 तद्वत्सला त्वयि हृतममुरागं हि वर्द्धते ॥  
 अधुना बभूवौ रत्नैः प्रासादं करवाणि ते ।  
 आज्ञापय महेश्वरान यद्यस्ति कस्या मयि ॥  
 गिरौद्रमथ देवेशो वाक्यमेतदुवाच ह ।  
 दुर्लभं देवताभिश्च किं त्वया प्रार्थितं गिरे ॥  
 ब्रह्मणा विष्णुनेन्द्रेण यमेन वरयोगेन च ।  
 प्रासादस्तु ह्यसाध्योऽयं कलौ चन्द्रः करिष्यति ॥  
 इदानीं मत्समं लिंगं केदारेश्वरसंज्ञकम् ।  
 सिद्धेश्वरसमीपे च प्रासादं कुरु सुप्रत ॥



No. 1



No. 2.





No. 3



No. 4.



No 5



No 6.



No. 7.



No. 8.



No. 9



No. 10



N 11



N 12

# THE *DEŚĀVALIVIVṚTI* AND THE *DIGVIJAYAPRAKĀŚA*

By DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

(Received June 4, 1949)

Dr. H. P. Śāstri worked hard and long on the manuscript (No. 3582 of the India Government collection), containing a large fragment of the Sanskrit Gazetteer *Deśāvalivivṛti* and smaller fragments of *Pāṇḍavadigvijaya* and *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*. It took him (and his assistants) 'nearly a month' to describe (*J.A.S.B.*, Feb. 1914, p. xxii) and the long descriptive note was published in 1923 (*Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 36-62). Though he was fully aware that 'there are bigger fragments' of these works in the MS. collection of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta (*ibid.*, Introd., p. iii), he evidently regarded the works to be of such great importance that he worked with alacrity even on the smaller and more modern copy of the Society. Recently the *Deśāvalivivṛti* has been more thoroughly and critically analyzed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Sāhitya-Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. 55, pp. 1-20) on the basis of the Society's copy and he learnt on enquiry from a former Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, that no copy of the work can be traced in the MS. collection of the College!! As a matter of fact there were at least four large fragments of this book in that collection, as described in the Des. Cat. of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College (Vol. VI, pp. 43-48 and 56—Kāvya MSS. Nos. 69-71 and 78), the total number of folios being well over 1,000. After a long and tedious search we succeeded in tracing and examining two fragments of the work in the Sanskrit College Library.<sup>1</sup> As we are specially interested in the history of Tippera, the following extracts are published from MS. No. 87; this portion is not found in the Society's copy.

अथ त्रिपुरादेशविवरणम्

उत्तरांशे च श्रीहट्टं दत्ते कार्यपुलौ तथा ।

हुमुरांतं च प्राच्या वै नदी वड्रा च पश्चिमे ॥

“अग्रतोला” राजधानौ ख्याता सर्वजनैरपि ।

“उमामाणिक्य”-भूपेन स्थापिता सा प्रयत्नतः ॥

तत्पुत्रेन्द्रमाणिक्येन राज्यं तत्रा(प्य)कारि ह ।

प्रजाणां पालनं चैव कृतं धर्मेण बुद्धिना ॥

धर्ममाणिक्यपुत्रश्च बडभोगं चकार ह ।

पुत्रवत् पालनं चैव लोकानां धर्मबुद्धिना ॥

तदन्वयो “राजधरः” बडयुद्धं चकार ह ।

मगैः साकं विजित्वा च तेन राज्यं कृतं स्थिरम् ॥

<sup>1</sup> Of the four fragments of the *Deśāvalivivṛti*, very imperfectly described in the Des. Cat., hardly one-third is now traceable in the Library. The rest must have been stolen by unscrupulous men under a false sense about the value of the work.

प्रतिष्ठां प्राप्तवान् बाह्ये जातोप्येवो महान् सुवि ।

त्रिपुरायां स राजा च सुक्ता रत्ना दिवं गतः ॥

\* \* \* \*

ततो द्वियोजनाभ्यां च पश्चिमे “सप्तमारकः” ।

ग्रामो हि वर्तते ख्यातः तत्रत्यैः सर्वजातिभिः ॥

तत्र मन्दिरमध्ये तु महाकालीति विद्यते ।

\* \* \* \*

प्रतीक्षां राजविजयादहोश्रव्यतिक्रमे ।

श्रीराजधरगङ्गं च हतं राजधरेण वै ॥

\* \* \* \*

राजधान्याः पश्चिमे तु योजनद्वयव्यत्यये ।

पुरी “वामन”-संज्ञा च वेष्टिता ब्राह्मणैः सदा ॥

उत्तरे चायतोलायाः योजनद्वयव्यत्यये ।

नगरं कालिकाकच्छं तत्र काली विराजते ॥

\* \* \* \*

इति विक्रमसागरोद्धतदेशावलीविद्यतो त्रिपुरादेशविवरणं सम्पूर्णां ।

The account of Tippera is found in three folios (70-2, also marked 11-3), the last part of the colophon continuing in the first line of the next folio (73a = 14a). We refer to this account as a typical instance of the most unreliable character of the book. ‘Agratolā’, the capital of the kingdom of Tripurā, is the Sanskritized form of the modern Āgartalā. The older part (‘Purātana Hāveli’) of the small township was first founded by Rājā Kṛṣṇamāṇikya (1760-83 A.D.) exactly in the year 1170 T.E. (i.e. 1760 A.D.). So in the original Rājamālā (unpublished Press Copy, p. 334):—

एगाग्रश सत्तु सन ह्येउ यथन,

आगरतला राजधानी करिल राजन ।

(Compare Śrī-Rājamālā, ed. by Kāliprasanna Sena, Vol. I, p. 238.) The place became ‘famous’ much later. Umāmāṇikya, the supposed founder of the new town, is absolutely unknown in the royal family of Tripurā. Indramāṇikya was not a son of this mythical king, nor did he ever reside in Āgartalā. A son of Dharmamāṇikya named Udayamāṇikya (the author of the book could not evidently recover his name) usurped the throne only for a few months in 1739 A.D. (Rājamālā, pp. 318-9). Rājadhara was not a descendant of Dharmamāṇikya, but was the grandson of his brother Mukundamāṇikya. Rājadhara had no fight with the Maghs, but only with a distant cousin (*ibid.*, pp. 349-50). Rājadhara’s death has been noted by the author; it occurred exactly ‘on the night of 1st Maug 1210, corresponding to 13th January, 1804 A.D.’ (Collector of Tippera’s letter, dated 7-4-1804). Here is a clear evidence pointing to the date of composition of the ugly forgery, which successfully duped scholars like Dr. H. P. Śāstri—it was never written before 1810 A.D. The temple of Kālī, famous in that region, was not situated at ‘Saptamāraka’ (i.e. modern Sātmorā), but at Śrīkālī

nearby. The town of 'Bāman' (i.e. evidently the Subdivisional place Brahmanbaria) and 'the town of Kālikākaccha' are not 'two yojanas' distant from Āgartalā, whatever measure the term yojana might mean. All the same, residents of these two places will, we doubt not, feel flattered by the mention of these towns in a Sanskrit book preserved in MSS. This is really the secret behind the authority achieved so long by these modern forgeries. Almost all local historians of Bengal have attempted to enrich their books, without the least suspicion, with quotations from these unpublished Sanskrit books preserved in MSS. in institutions like the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the R.A.S.B. In the colophon here as elsewhere the clever author has not forgotten to state that his book is 'extracted from the *Vikramasāgara*'. We should mention here that a fragment of a part (named Bhūgolanirṇaya) of the original *Vikramasāgara* was preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College—the name of the author was one Rāmakṛṣṇa Yajvan who wrote it at the request of 'Vikramārka' (i.e. the father of Vaijala, the patron of Jaganmohana). We do not know if the book is still preserved in that college library (*vide* Des. Cat., Purāṇa part, p. 69, MS. No. 108, foll. 13). The unreliable character of the book can be easily proved if any other part is subjected to a critical analysis. For instance, in the chapter on Bāklā-Candradvīpa, which was undoubtedly written after 1801 A.D. as the mention of Barisal (with a fantastic derivation of its Sanskrit form Varasālā) proves, it is stated that Rāmacandra was chief in 1400 Śaka and reigned 60 years, his son was chief for 50 years and Udaya went to the forest after 50 years' rule. These round figures of date are all fantastic nonsense; not a single period of rule of these chiefs has yet been accurately ascertained. There is hardly a single statement in this large book which can be accepted as correct without verification from reliable sources.

### *Digvijayaprakāśa.*

A similar and equally unreliable book is the *Digvijayaprakāśa*, otherwise known as the *Pāṇḍavavijaya* or the *Pāṇḍavadigvijaya*. It is cited as an example along with the *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* in the *Śabdakalpadrūma* under the word 'digvijaya'. Long extracts from it are cited in the *Viśvaṛṇa* (e.g. under the word Kalikātā in Vol. III) and the editor regarded it as a work of the early seventeenth century A.D. (under Kavirāma, Vol. III, p. 349). This book was also preserved in huge MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, the total number of folios being well over 3,000 (MS. Nos. 72-77, 80 and 114 in the Kāvya part of the Des. Cat.). Some of these copies, which are very inadequately described, are now missing from the Library. The following two extracts, which we discovered after a tedious search, will indicate its professed authorship and date.

रामभूपोनिदेशेन पौलस्त्यग्रेखरं प्रति ।

किरातदेशशासनार्थमुक्तवान् विनयान्वितः ॥ ११०२

शिवभट्टः शासनं च कृत्वा देशं किरातकम् ।

निवेदिता देशरौतिः पौलस्त्यभूमिपं प्रति ॥ ११०३

कुबदिग्विजयग्रन्थे विदितौ च नियोजितः ।

“कविरामो” हि तेनेदमुक्तवान् भूमिपात्रया ॥ ११०४

\* \* \* \*

इति कुबदिग्विजयग्रन्थे सप्तजाङ्गलविवरणम् ।



(Foll. 77-78 of a MS. numbered as 80-84: it now contains two separate books, Vidyāpati's *Bhūparikramaṇa* and the *Pāṇḍavarījaya*. The numbering seems to show that two or three large fragments of the latter book, separately described in the catalogue, were lost, leaving this small multi-numbered bundle as the relic of an outrage.)

उत्तरभविष्यदालोक्य आलोक्य नीतिशास्त्रकां ।  
 इतीहासं समालोक्य श्रुत्वा दृढोपदेशतः ॥  
 महाराजाधिराजस्य पौलस्त्यस्य निदेशतः ।  
 पाण्डवानां दिग्विजयदेशानां विवृतिः कृता ॥  
 चतुःखंडावशिष्टातिदेशानां रचनानि च ।  
 आर्जुने मिश्रखंडे च व्यक्तीभावोति भूपते ॥  
 “रंध्राब्जिनेत्रचन्द्रै”-श्च गणिते वत्सरे गते ।  
 कार्णाटभुराजनगरे यय्यः सांगं समागतः ॥

(Fol. 728b of MS. No. 79 at the end of Nakuladigvijaya.) The date of completion of the work has been cleverly worded; if referred to the Śaka era the date becomes 1249 Ś. (i.e. 1327 A.D.), ascribing a hoary antiquity to the book, which was really completed according to our surmise in 1249 Fasli (i.e. about 1840 A.D.), a little over a century ago. That it is such a modern work will be clearly proved by the following extracts taken again from its chapter on Tripurā:—

इदानीं त्रिपुरादेशविवृतिं शृणु पार्थिव ।  
 त्रिपुरा द्विविधा प्रोक्ता कमिह्लादिप्रभेदतः ॥  
 कमिह्लापूर्वभागे च द्वियोजनविपर्यये ।  
 त्रिपुरासुन्दरी महाविद्या महापीठे च वर्त्तते ॥ ४३  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 तितासासरितस्तीरे नूराख्यनगरं महत् ।  
 यदन्तरे महान्तश्च ग्रामाः क्षुद्राश्च सन्ति हि ॥ ४६  
 तेषु ग्रामाः पञ्च मुख्यास्तेषां नामानि वै शृणु ।  
 विट्घरो विद्याकूटश्च शिवपूराख्य एव च ॥ ४७  
 कबवाग्रामो राजघरगङ्गश्च नानाजातिनिवासभूः ।  
 विटानां लंपटानां च गृहं यत्र च भूयसि ॥ ४८

(Foll. 175-78 of MS. Nos. 80-84.) The five villages of the Pargana Nurnagar mentioned in this extract all came into prominence early in the nineteenth century A.D. The village Rājadharaḡaṇja was founded by Rājadhara-māṇikya (1785-1804 A.D.) of Tripurā. The accounts that follow of these villages are all fantastic fabrications of Paurāṇik legends, specially the account of the small village Śivapura, whose inclusion in this list is really surprising. Such legends couched in the Sanskrit language still create a false sense of sanctity among ill-informed people of the localities. This

book contains such fabricated and legendary accounts of thousands of villages mostly of Bengal mentioned in Sanskritized forms with fanciful derivations in many cases. It is surprising that these fantastic accounts still carry weight with many of us. The account of 'Kilakilā' (i.e. Calcutta) has been approvingly cited in the *Viśvaśa*, containing stuff like:—

ततः किलकिलादेशे खड्गदयाममध्यतः ।

हाडापिपिडितगेहे नित्यानन्दो भविष्यति ॥ ६६७

Neither Hārāpi (?) Paṇḍita nor his son Nityānanda was born at Khardaha. Besides the two works *Deśāvalivivṛti* and *Pāṇḍavavijaya* the Sanskrit College MSS. referred to above contain extracts from several other works like the *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and the *Mahākālpadrumantra*, both containing geographical matter.

It should be mentioned here that there are many duplicate copies of parts of these two works in the Sanskrit College, which seems to have been the place from which they were published. The Society's manuscript is an exact copy in a later hand of the Sanskrit College original. We are not aware that any other copies of these two books exist anywhere else. A copy of the *Digvijayaprakāśa* was in the library of late N. N. Vasu; it was sold subsequently to the Varendra Research Museum where it is still preserved. We have no doubt that this copy also originally belonged to the Sanskrit College, from which many parts of the two books are missing. It is, therefore, our surmise that the real authors of these two books lived and wrote at Calcutta and were somehow connected with the library of the Sanskrit College, where they placed their forgeries in huge bundles and successfully duped scholars for over a century.

The only silver line that we could discover in the two books is the fact that they refer to persons and localities which were famous early in the nineteenth century A.D. and many of which are now lost in oblivion partly by the devastating progress of civilization and partly by the ravages of malaria turning extensive tracts into lifeless forests. Such references however garbled and fantastic revive sweet memories of the forgotten past and may not be regarded as absolutely valueless on that account.



**'VEDIC INDIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST' AND THE DATE  
OF ŚĪSUNĀGA.**

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.

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I have read with interest Mr. H. K. Deb's paper entitled 'Vedic India and the Middle East', published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 121-43. Of course I am hardly convinced with the author's arguments in favour of his identifications: Arbuda-Kādraveya=Śeṣanāga=Śīsunāga, Asita-Dhānva=Esrhaddon, Matsya-sārmada=Mesemordakos and Tārksya=Tearkon, as they do not appear to me more substantial than the superficial similarity between the names of Lañkā and Lancashire or of Rāma Dāsarathi and the kings called Ramses in early Egyptian history. But I am not going to comment on them in details. What I intend to do in these lines is to draw the attention of scholars to the highly improbable nature of the date, 'the seventh century B.C.', to which king Śīsunāga of Magadha, the ninth *Maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* have been ascribed by Mr. Deb. It is, however, not my intention to discuss here in details the problems relating to the dates of the *Rgveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. But it is necessary to point out that the composition of the *Rgveda* is placed, even according to the most moderate estimate, in circa 1200-800 B.C. (cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 112-13, 697). The ninth *Maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda*, supposed by Mr. Deb to have come into existence under the auspices of Śīsunāga and assigned to the first half of the seventh century B.C., has thus been ascribed to a date which is more than a century later than that of the latest sections of the work according to the most moderate estimate. If this has to be accepted, the admittedly later sections of the first and tenth *Maṇḍalas* would have to be assigned to a still later date. This seems to be improbable in view of the fact that even the latest sections of the *Rgveda* are considered several centuries older than the age of the Buddha (sixth-fifth century B.C.). Again, according to the same moderate estimate the *Brāhmaṇas* were composed in circa 800-600 B.C. The *Śatapatha*, which is one of the earlier *Brāhmaṇas*, can hardly be assigned to a date later than 700 B.C., although, if Mr. Deb's theories are accepted, this work, mentioning some Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian and Indian kings 'who flourished early in the seventh century B.C.', has to be ascribed to a date not much earlier than 650 B.C. Mr. Deb possibly does not suggest that the author of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* travelled as far as Egypt in the west; but the fact that no other ancient Indian work has been proved to mention so many kings of distant countries would certainly go against his conjectures.

While it is highly improbable to believe that the entire ninth *Maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* were composed after 700 B.C., as suggested by Mr. Deb, it is practically impossible to agree with the view that king Śīsunāga of Magadha flourished in the first half of the seventh century B.C.

There are two conflicting traditions regarding the date of Śīsunāga in relation to that of the Magadhan king Bimbisāra who was an older contemporary of the Buddha. According to one of the Puranic statements (cf. Pargiter, *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 20-21), Bimbisāra was the fifth king of the dynasty founded by Śīsunāga, while, according to the Ceylonese chronicles (cf. Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, translation, p. xli), Śīsunāga succeeded a Magadhan king who was sixth in descent from Bimbisāra. Roughly speaking, therefore, the above Puranic statement would place Śīsunāga about a century *before* Bimbisāra, while the Ceylonese chronicles place him about a century *after* the same Magadhan king. That however the Puranic tradition about Śīsunāga being the fifth ancestor of Bimbisāra is wrong and that the Ceylonese tradition making the former a contemporary of the sixth descendant of the latter is right are suggested by other traditions recorded by the Purāṇas themselves.

In the first place, the Purāṇas (cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-21) represent Śīsunāga as having ruled after the five kings of the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti, who together reigned for 138 years. He seems to be made a contemporary of the latest Pradyota king. Now the Pradyota dynasty was founded by king Candā-Pradyota-Mahāsena who was a contemporary of king Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru as well as of the Buddha. According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* (III, 7), Ajātaśatru once fortified Rājagṛha because of his fear of an invasion of his capital by Pradyota. Thus this Puranic tradition would place Śīsunāga about a century after Pradyota and therefore also after the latter's contemporaries Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha. This also suits the story of the expansion of Magadha under these rulers. Bimbisāra conquered Āṅga; Ajātaśatru conquered North Bihar and humbled the power of the Kosala king; Śīsunāga extended his power towards the west by humbling the power of the Pradyota house of Avanti. There is another Puranic tradition (cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 21) that Śīsunāga placed his son at Vārānaśī and made Girivraja his own abode. This seems to suggest that, at the time of Śīsunāga's accession to the Magadhan throne, Vārānaśī formed a part of the kingdom of Magadha and that Śīsunāga was, prior to his accession to the throne, the Magadhan governor of Vārānaśī. This state of things was possible only sometime after, and not before, the age of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, during which the district round Vārānaśī, an independent kingdom in earlier times, formed a part of the kingdom of Kosala, and a Kāśīgṛāma, indicating a village or a group of villages in that district, was given by the Kosala king to the Magadhan queen as her bath money (cf. Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1938, p. 170). Ajātaśatru partially humbled the king of Kosala, who had confiscated the Kāśīgṛāma after Bimbisāra's death, by compelling him to give back the village. But the annexation of the district round Vārānaśī to Magadha seems to be due to one of Ajātaśatru's successors. Since therefore Śīsunāga appears to have flourished in an age when Vārānaśī formed a part of Magadha, he apparently flourished considerably after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

The Ceylonese tradition as to Śīsunāga flourishing about a century after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru is supported also by other evidences. According to a Burmese tradition which probably comes from Ceylon (cf. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xliii; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E., XI, p. xvi), Śīsunāga's son transferred his capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. Now Rājagṛha was a new city built by Bimbisāra in the suburbs of Girivraja, the old capital of Magadha. If therefore Śīsunāga's son was at first living at Rājagṛha, he and also his father must have flourished sometime after the foundation of the new city by Bimbisāra. Then again the city of

Pāṭaliputra was founded, according to the Purāṇas, by Ajātaśatru's son and successor Udayin in his fourth regnal year (cf. Pargiter, *loc. cit.*). The Jain *Parīṣiṭṭaparvan* (cf. Geiger, *loc. cit.*) also says that Udayin transferred his residence from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. This city was built on a village called Pāṭaligrāma where, according to the *Mahāvagga* (cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 171), Ajātaśatru's ministers Sunidha and Vassakāra are known to have built a fort in order to repel an attack of the Vṛjis of North Bihar. Now, if Śīśunāga's son ruled at Pāṭaliputra, he must have flourished sometime after the foundation of that city by a successor of Ajātaśatru.

According to a statement in the *Mālālaṅkāravatthu* (cf. S.B.E., XI, p. xvi), Śīśunāga made Vaiśālī his capital and from that time Rājagṛha 'lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered'. Thus Vaiśālī formed a part of the Magadhan kingdom during Śīśunāga's rule. But we know that, in the days of Bimbisāra, Vaiśālī was the capital of the independent Vṛji confederacy and that it was Ajātaśatru who humbled the power of that confederacy and annexed parts or the whole of North Bihar to Magadha. The Magadhan king who made Vaiśālī his abode must have flourished *after* the Magadhan monarch who annexed Vaiśālī to Magadha. This shows therefore that Śīśunāga flourished considerably after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. The Buddhist tradition that the second Buddhist council was held at Vaiśālī during the reign of Śīśunāga's son also supports the evidence of the *Mālālaṅkāravatthu*. Moreover, the statement that Rājagṛha lost for ever its position as a royal city during Śīśunāga's rule apparently points to a date considerably later than the age of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, when it was the capital of Magadha. It is clear that Udayin, son of Ajātaśatru, removed the capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra newly built by him; then Śīśunāga once again made Girivraja (old city near Rājagṛha) his abode, although he later transferred his capital to Vaiśālī; next Śīśunāga's son, who had probably been staying at Rājagṛha as *yuvārāja*, removed his headquarters to Pāṭaliputra after his father's death.

The above discussions will show that the Puranic statement as to Śīśunāga flourishing about a century before Bimbisāra is not only contradicted by various Buddhist traditions but also by other statements of the Purāṇas themselves. On the other hand, the Ceylonese tradition placing Śīśunāga about a century after Bimbisāra is supported amongst others by certain traditions recorded in the Purāṇas. It is also interesting to note that the chronology of the houses of Bimbisāra, Śīśunāga, Nanda and Candragupta, as given in the *Mahāvamśa* agrees with several known facts of Indian history. According to the *Mahāvamśa* (cf. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xli), Bimbisāra ruled for 52 years; his son Ajātaśatru for 32 years; his son Udayin for 16 years, his son Anuruddha and grandson Muṇḍa for 8 years; Muṇḍa's son Nāgādāsaka for 24 years; his *amātya* Śīśunāga for 24 years; his son Kālāsoka for 28 years; his ten sons for 22 years; the nine Nandas for 22 years; Candragupta for 24 years; his son Bindusāra for 28 years; his son Aśoka for 37 years. The same work also records three important traditions: that the Buddha died in the 8th regnal year of Ajātaśatru (II, 32); that at the end of the 10th regnal year of Śīśunāga's son a century had gone by since the Buddha's death (IV, 8); and that 218 years had passed from the Buddha's death unto Aśoka's coronation. Now the most reliable tradition about the date of Buddha's death is 486 B.C. supplied by the Cantonese dotted record of 489 A.D. taken from India to China by Saṅghabhadra (cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 184), although scholars now usually accept the date 483 A.D. proposed by Fleet and Geiger (*J.R.A.S.*,

1909, pp. 1-34; Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii). Thus the following chronology of the Magadhan rulers is suggested.

King	Reign-period	
	(According to 486 B.C. as date of the Buddha's death.)	(According to 483 B.C. as date of the Buddha's death.)
Bimbisāra .. ..	546-494 B.C.	543-491 B.C.
Ajātasatru .. ..	494-462 "	491-459 "
Udayin .. ..	462-446 "	459-443 "
Anuruddha and Muṇḍa ..	446-438 "	443-435 "
Nāgadāsaka .. ..	438-414 "	435-411 "
Śīśunāga .. ..	414-396 "	411-393 "
Kālāśoka .. ..	396-368 "	393-365 "
Ten sons of Kālāśoka ..	368-346 "	365-343 "
Nine Nandas .. ..	346-324 "	343-321 "
Candragupta .. ..	324-300 "	321-297 "
Bindusāra .. ..	300-272 "	297-269 "
Aśoka .. ..	272-235 "	269-232 "

The above chronology based on the Ceylonese traditions agrees remarkably with the following known facts of history: that the last Nanda king was on the throne of Magadha when Alexander was leading his Indian expedition in 327-324 B.C.; that Candragupta, a younger contemporary of Alexander, ascended the Magadhan throne shortly after the Greek king's departure from India; and that Aśoka was a contemporary of Antiochus II Theos of Syria and Western Asia (261-246 B.C.), Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), Magas of Cyrene (*circa* 285-258 B.C.), Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia (277-239 B.C.) and Alexander of Epirus (272—*circa* 255 B.C.) or of Corinth (252—*circa* 244 B.C.). The probable course of the gradual expansion of Magdha, under Bimbisāra, Ajātasatru, Śīśunāga, Mahāpadma-Nanda, Chandragupta and Aśoka, from a small state in the Patna-Gaya region of South Bihar to a gigantic empire covering the major part of India and Afghanistan should also be borne in mind in this connection.

To ignore all the above facts in believing that the Purāṇas have rightly placed Śīśunāga about a century before Bimbisāra is impossible in the present state of our knowledge, especially in view of the fact that the above Puranic statement is not supported by any evidence worth the name excepting absolutely unwarranted conjectures.

## THE CONFLUENCE OF THE GAṄGĀ AND THE YAMUNĀ.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B.

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The Rāmāyaṇa gives a detailed account of the journey of Rāma from the city of Ayodhyā, on the Sarayū, to the Citrakūṭa mountain where he proposed to stay during his life of exile for 14 years.<sup>1</sup> From Ayodhyā he proceeded towards the south and, having crossed successively the four rivers known as Tamasā, Vedaśruti, Gomatī and Syandikā, reached the bank of the Gaṅgā at Śrīgaverapura. Of these rivers the Tamasā, or the Eastern Tons, and the Gomatī are well known, and the Syandikā is undoubtedly the modern Sai. The Vedaśruti must have been a rivulet flowing between the Tons and the Gumti and may be easily identified with the Bisui river.<sup>2</sup> Rāma crossed the Gaṅgā in a boat and went to the hermitage (*āśrama*) of Bharadvāja, situated at the *saṅgama* (confluence) of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

So far the itinerary is quite clear, but then the difficulty begins. Rāma decided to fix his residence at Citrakūṭa mountain whose distance and bearing from the hermitage or *saṅgama* was given by Bharadvāja. According to his advice Rāma started in the morning, crossed the Yamunā by means of a raft, and then walked for a *krośa* (i.e. about two miles) along the bank of the river, till he arrived at a forest where he hunted animals and roamed at leisure. Having spent the night in a small clearing on the bank of the river, he started next morning. After walking along the southern bank of the Yamunā towards the west for a short distance, he turned south<sup>3</sup> and arrived at Citrakūṭa before dusk. The distance between the *saṅgama* and the Citrakūṭa is expressly said to be 10 *krośa* in one place and 2½ *yojanas* in another,<sup>4</sup> both meaning about 20 miles,<sup>5</sup> and Rāma covered it in less than two days.

Now Citrakūṭa is usually identified with the mountain of the same name, in the Banda District, U.P., about 20 miles N.N.E. of Kalinjar. Apart from the identity of name, this identification is further supported by the fact that the river Mandākinī, which flows near modern Citrakūṭa,

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<sup>1</sup> Bombay Edition, Canto II, Chs. 45-56. The same itinerary, with some additional details, is given in connection with Bharata in Chs. 83-93. The subject has been treated by Pargiter in *JRAS.*, 1894, pp. 231ff., and his conclusions are radically different from mine. This is mainly due to the fact that he has confined himself exclusively to Gorresio's text, which is palpably faulty, and wrongly interpreted some of its passages. I have discussed his views in detail in an Appendix to this paper.

<sup>2</sup> As will be shown in the Appendix, this river was at first identified by Pargiter with the Chaukā, a tributary of the Gogrā, 50 miles above Ayodhyā. But later he evidently gave it up, for he says 'that the river has not hitherto been identified' (Eng. Tr. of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 293). I think we can easily identify it with the Bisui river. Its geographical position between the Tons and the Gumti, and the easy derivation of Bisui from Vedaśruti (Vedsuti—Vedsui—Vidsui—Bisui) support this identification.

<sup>3</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 92, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 54, 28; II. 92, 10. Gorresio's text has 3 *yojanas* in the former passage (Ch. 54, v. 29) but 2½ *yojanas* in the latter (Ch. 101, v. 11). We have thus another evidence of its unreliable character.

<sup>5</sup> For *Krośa* and *Yojana* cf. *JRAS.*, 1894, pp. 237-8. I have taken the standard meaning of *yojana* as equivalent to 8 or 9 miles (cf. Apte's Dictionary).



evidently represents the Mandākinī river which, according to Rāmāyaṇa,<sup>1</sup> flowed to the north of Citrakūṭa. But then the distance of this Citrakūṭa from the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, i.e. Allahabad, is about 65 miles. This is nearly three times the distance which is specifically stated in the Rāmāyaṇa and indirectly corroborated by the fact that Rāma covered it in two days.

In view of the fact that the itinerary given in the Rāmāyaṇa has otherwise proved to be fairly accurate<sup>2</sup> we cannot lightly dismiss this particular statement about the distance which is referred to in different words in two different and widely separated passages. We must, therefore, conclude that either the *saṅgama* of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā was much further to the west in those days, or the identification of Citrakūṭa is wrong.

Let us now consider the probability of either of these. It has been tacitly accepted that from time immemorial Allāhābād has been the site of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. There is no real ground for this supposition, particularly as we know that in some cases the site of such confluence has been considerably shifted within historical times. We know, for example, that the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra (Pātnā) was situated at the confluence of the rivers Son and Gaṅgā. But today the Son falls into the Gaṅgā more than twenty miles above Pātnā. Even the course of the Gaṅgā just below Allāhābād shifted considerably in comparatively recent times.<sup>3</sup> The site of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā also might have, therefore, been shifted from time to time. Apart from general surmises on the analogy of other rivers, we have also some positive evidence in support of such shifting.

Hiuen Tsang says that from Prayāga, at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, he proceeded to Kauśāmbī. For this purpose he had to go south-west, through a forest infested by wild elephants and other fierce animals, for 500 li (about 100 miles). The same distance and direction are also given in the 'Life of Hiuen Tsang,' and this is corroborated by the further statement, in another part of the same book, 'that the pilgrim on leaving Prayāga, journeyed south-west through a jungle for seven days to Kauśāmbī'.<sup>4</sup>

Now as Kosam, which represents the ancient city of Kauśāmbī, is only about 30 miles due west from Allāhābād, scholars at first located Kauśāmbī somewhere in Bāghelkhand.<sup>5</sup> But it is now almost universally accepted

<sup>1</sup> II. 92, 11; 95, 1. Cf. also *Raghuvamśa*, XIII. 48. A river Mālyavatī is also mentioned as flowing near Citrakūṭa in the Bombay Edition (*Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 56, 35), but Goresio's Text (56, 33) has Mandākinī instead. For the identification of Citrakūṭa cf. *ASR.*, XXI (10-12); XIII (42-54); *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 240. The Mandākinī stream is a tributary of the Paisuni and flows at the distance of a mile from Citrakūṭa hill, but the local Pandits give the name Mandākinī to what is now generally known as Paisuni river (*U.P. District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI, pp. 17, 224).

<sup>2</sup> Rāma is said to have reached the Gaṅgā from the bank of the Tamasā in a single day and a few hours of the night in a chariot, and this is quite reasonable for a distance of about 60 miles. Each stage of journey is indicated, and the place where Rāma spent each night is also mentioned. The distance of 20 miles between Prayāga and Citrakūṭa was covered by Rāma on foot in two days. This is also quite reasonable. Whatever we might think of Rāma's story, there is no doubt that the writer of the passage had an accurate knowledge of the locality and tried to draw as realistic a picture of the journey as possible.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to the course of the Gaṅgā below Allāhābād the *Allahabad District Gazetteer* says: 'The changes in this portion of the river are very great, and near the mouth of the Tons, in the extreme north of Meja and at several other places, there are old beds of the river at a considerable distance from the present channel' (p. 8).

<sup>4</sup> Watters, I. 366; Beal, I. 234; Life, 90-91.

<sup>5</sup> V. A. Smith in *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 503.

that the ruined village of Kosam actually represents the site of Kauśāmbi. No one has, however, even hinted at the logical conclusion that unless we definitely reject, for no reason whatsoever, Hiuen Tsang's specific statement of the distance and direction of Kauśāmbi from Prayāga, supported by the detailed account of his journey<sup>1</sup>, we must locate the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā about 70 miles further to the east by north of Allāhābād. In any case Hiuen Tsang's statement certainly opens up the possibility that the site of the *saṅgama* or the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā has shifted considerably to the west during the last thirteen centuries, though the name Prayāga has been associated with it all the time.<sup>2</sup> If we bear this in mind, we shall be less inclined to reject the testimony of the Rāmāyaṇa to the effect that the site of Prayāga-*saṅgama* was 30 or 40 miles to the west of Allāhābād, about 1,000 years or more before the time of Hiuen Tsang. The shifting of the bed of the Gaṅgā in still earlier times may be inferred from the statement in the Purāṇas that 'when the city of Hastināpura was carried away by the Gaṅgā, the Kuru king Nicakṣu transferred his capital to Kauśāmbi'.<sup>3</sup> As the ruins of ancient Hastināpur lie on an old bed of the Gaṅgā, there was a further shifting of the bed since the time of Nicakṣu.

The Rāmāyaṇa itself supplies another evidence that the course of the Gaṅgā shifted in the region near Allāhābād. As noted above, Rāma is said to have crossed the Gaṅgā at Śrngaverapura. This place has been identified by Cunningham with Singror or Sringiverapura, built on a very high bluff, 22 miles to the north-west of Allāhābād. Once the Gaṅgā flowed by this cliff and undermined its southern face. The river then deserted the place and only a small branch now passes under Singror in the wide channel where the old stream of the Gaṅgā once swept along.<sup>4</sup>

But apart from this evidence about the change in the course of the Gaṅgā, the identification of the Śrngaverapura with Singror throws interesting light on the identification of Prayāga-*saṅgama*. It appears from the description in the Rāmāyaṇa that the hermitage of Bhuradvāja at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā was not very far from the landing place on the Gaṅgā, opposite Śrngaverapura. As a matter of fact it is said to be about a *krośa* or 2 miles, though the path lay through

<sup>1</sup> Dr. B. C. Law tries to reconcile Hiuen Tsang's statement with the actual fact by suggesting that the 'pilgrim went to the country of Kauśāmbi by a round-about way instead of going straight by a short-cut from Prayāga to the city of Kauśāmbi' (*Kausambi in Ancient Literature*, p. 7). But even if we hold that Kauśāmbi was at the eastern extremity of the country of the same name, Hiuen Tsang could have hardly avoided entering the Kauśāmbi country after a journey of thirty miles or so, unless he deliberately avoided the border of this kingdom in order to complete an useless round-about course of about 100 miles through a 'great forest infested with savage beasts and wild elephants' extremely dangerous to travellers. Besides, no one in his senses would have avoided a short-cut of thirty miles to the capital city, which was obviously his main objective, and preferred to follow instead a round-about way through a wild and dangerous forest three times that distance.

<sup>2</sup> It seems that Prayāga was the general name of the *saṅgama* or of the whole region in the neighbourhood, though the city on the site was known by other name. Thus according to Harivaṃśa (XXVI. 49) Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital city of Purūravas, was also called Prayāga or was situated in the province of Prayāga. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Payāga is mentioned, along with the Sarasvatī, in *Majjhima-Nikāya* (I, p. 39) as one of the seven sacred rivers of India. This river name may have something to do with the name of the *saṅgama* known as Prayāga.

<sup>3</sup> *Dyn. Kali Age*, by Pargiter, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *ASR.*, XI. 62. But according to the *Allahabad District Gazetteer* (p. 300), 'the deep stream now again flows under the cliff which rises to a height of 100 feet above the water.'

dense forest, called *Prayāga-vana*.<sup>1</sup> According to a verse in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which occurs both in Bombay edition (Chap. 89, v. 21) and Gorresio's text (Chap. 97, v. 27), *Prayāga-vana* was just on the other side of the *Gaṅgā*. But Gorresio's text has another chapter, immediately following, which is altogether wanting in the Bombay edition. V. 6 of the chapter says that the hermitage of Bharadvāja was about a *krośa* from the *Prayāga-vana*, but v. 18 adds that Bharata proceeded for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *yojana* before he reached *Prayāga-vana*. This self-contradictory passage occurring in a chapter which is altogether wanting in the other edition, and absolutely redundant so far as the main narrative is concerned, must be regarded as spurious. It may be even suspected that the passage was a later addition in order to reconcile the actual distance of Śrīngaverapura from the confluence of the *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* at Allāhābād.

In any case, if we accept only the passages authenticated by both the editions, and the identification of Śrīngaverapura with Singror, we must hold that the *Yamunā* met the *Gaṅgā*, almost opposite this place, i.e. at a point about 20 miles above Allāhābād. This would considerably reduce the distance between the *saṅgama* and Citrakūṭa. Further, as Rāma is said to have proceeded south after crossing the *Gaṅgā*, it probably flowed in a more southerly direction than at present before reaching the *Yamunā*. If we presume that the *Yamunā*, too, had a more southerly course, and the hermitage of Bharadvāja was at a short distance to the west of the confluence, the actual distance between it and Citrakūṭa might not be widely different from what is recorded in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

So far we have considered the possibility of the confluence of the *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* being situated at a distance from Allāhābād. We may now consider the other alternative, viz. the probability that there was a Citrakūṭa mountain nearer Allāhābād. As already observed, the present Citrakūṭa mountain not only bears the same name, but the river Mandākinī flows near it as stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There is thus a strong case in favour of the identification, and besides, no other mountain named Citrakūṭa is known to us. There is, however, one detail in the account of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which throws some doubt on the identification. It is said that on reaching Citrakūṭa Rāma first visited the hermitage of Vālmiki.<sup>2</sup> Now, both at the beginning and at the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,<sup>3</sup> the hermitage of Vālmiki is said to be situated near the confluence of the *Gaṅgā* and the *Tamasā* (S. Tons).<sup>4</sup> Can we therefore locate Citrakūṭa also in the same region? This satisfies the distance as recorded in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, viz. 10 *krośa* or 20 miles, from the present confluence of the *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā*. But the direction would be all wrong. For according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma, after crossing the *Yamunā*, proceeded to the west along the bank of this river, whereas the confluence of the *Gaṅgā* and *Tamasā* being to the east of the confluence of the *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*, Rāma could not possibly reach it by following the course of the last named river.

<sup>1</sup> In Ch. 89, v. 22, it is said that on arriving at *Prayāga-vana*, Bharata left behind his troops and proceeded towards Bharadvāja's hermitage. In Ch. 90, v. 1, we are told that the troops were stationed at a distance of one *krośa* from the hermitage. The dense forest is referred to in Ch. 54, v. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 56, 16.

<sup>3</sup> I. 2, 3; VII. 57, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Pargiter holds that the hermitage of Vālmiki was on the *Tamasā* (E. Tons) which Rāma had crossed on his way from Ayodhyā to *Prayāga* (*JRAS.*, 1894, 235). But it is distinctly stated in *Rāmāyaṇa* VII, Ch. 57, that Lakshmana crossed the *Gaṅgā* while taking out Sitā to Vālmiki's hermitage for banishment. This view is also followed by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa* (XIV. 52). The *Tamasā*, on the bank of which Vālmiki's hermitage stood, must therefore be the E. Tons.

Pargiter, while accepting the identification of Citrakūṭa with the modern hill of that name, has tried to explain away the discrepancy between its present distance from Allāhābād and the statement in the Rāmāyana. In his opinion 'Citrakūṭa would be the range of hills stretching from the river Ken to about twenty miles of Allāhābād. Rāma would strike the eastern end of the chain, which would be, as Bharadvāja says, south with a westerly trend from Prayāga. This distance, too, would agree with the two-and-a-half or three *yojanas* mentioned by him, and suit the two days' journey which Rāma with Sitā spent in traversing it. Reaching that end they would have travelled along the chain and no doubt hermits were scattered along it, and not collected on one single hill. In later times the name may have become restricted to the single hill now called Chitra-kut'.<sup>1</sup>

This explanation appears plausible enough, as there is a distinct and continuous range of hills known as Vindhyaśāla range, with an average elevation of about 500 ft. above the lower plateau, stretching from modern Citrakūṭa up to about 20 miles of Allāhābād. But there is one important detail which Pargiter has ignored. Bharadvāja said to Bharata that Rāma was living at a distance of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *yojanas*, in Citrakūṭa hill, to the north of which flows the Mandākinī, and his cottage was on the other side of that river. The three verses referring to it occur both in Bombay edition (Chap. 92, vv. 10-12) and in Gorresio's text (Chap. 101, vv. 11-13), and may therefore be regarded as genuine. Now the river Mandākinī which flows by the Citrakūṭa hill of the present day must be taken to be the Mandākinī river, and as such it must be located about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *yojanas* or 20 miles distant from the *saṅgama*, though it is really 65 miles from Allāhābād. Thus Pargiter's explanation does not really reconcile the present position of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā-*saṅgama* with its distance from Rāma's hermitage on the Citrakūṭa hill as recorded in Rāmāyana.

There is thus a strong case in favour of the view that the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā has shifted both to the east as well as to the west over a considerable distance during the historical period. There is nothing to be surprised at this, for the rivers in the Panjāb are also known to have similarly shifted their beds and, as noted above, the confluence of the Son and the Gaṅgā has shifted more than 20 miles since the days of Candragupta Maurya. If we do not accept this natural possibility, we have to suppose that the author of the Rāmāyana, who is otherwise accurate, made a serious mistake only on this point, and Hiuen Tsang made a deliberately false statement. Of these different alternatives it is perhaps wiser to accept, at least as a provisional hypothesis, that the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā has shifted from time to time.

## APPENDIX

### *The Geography of Rāma's exile*

In tracing Rāma's journey from Ayodhyā to the bank of the Gaṅgā Pargiter (*JRAS.*, 1894, pp. 231ff.) has exclusively relied on Gorresio's text. It is therefore necessary to compare it with the corresponding passages in the Bombay edition in order to find out the differences between the two and, if possible, to evolve a correct text. In making this comparison, we shall ignore differences in words and phraseology which do not materially affect the sense, and confine our attention to the sequence of events in the journey which have a bearing upon the route followed by

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 239.

him. The Bombay edition and Gorresio's text will be referred to respectively as B and G, and the chapters (all in Ayodhyākāṇḍa) and verses will be indicated by Roman and Arabic numerals. Rāma, including his two companions, will be referred to as R.

1. R. reaches Tamasā river and spends there the first night of his exile along with the people of Ayodhyā who followed him (B. XLVI, 1-17; G. XLIV, 1-17).

2. R. decided to leave before the night was over, and while the people were yet asleep, in order to avoid them (*Ibid.*, 18-24).

3. R. asked Sumantra to get the chariot ready, and this being done, crossed the Tamasā (B. 25-29). These verses are wanting in G.

4. R. told Sumantra that in order to put the people off his track he should drive the chariot quickly towards the north, and return after a moment in such a way that the people of Ayodhyā may not follow his movements. Sumantra did so and brought back the car to R. (after a short detour) (B. 30-32; G. 25-27).

After this G. adds two verses (28-29) corresponding to B. 28-29, stating that R. crossed the Tamasā.

Thus B. and G. closely agree,—only G. omits B. 25-27. (R.'s conversation with Sumantra) and puts B. 28-29 (crossing of the Tamasā) after, instead of before, B. 30-32 (asking Sumantra to return after a short detour to the north). The effect of this change is that according to B., R. first crossed the Tamasā and then asked Sumantra to make the detour, whereas according to G., R. crossed the Tamasā after the detour. There is no doubt that G. is faulty, as such a movement would defeat the very object R. had in view, viz. to leave the place before the people of Ayodhyā awoke. It is quite clear that R. crossed the Tamasā first, and then adopted the trick of detour to the north so that the people on the other bank might think that he was proceeding to the north, and not towards the south as he really intended. (It is interesting to note that although Pargiter followed G. he makes R. cross the Tamasā before proceeding north.)

5. The story of Rāma's journey is resumed in B. XLIX and G. XLVI. The first two verses, which are common, tell us that R. proceeded very far during the remaining hours of the night. B. then gives the description of the villages passed through in vv. 3ff. In between the two G. inserts two verses (3-4) which read as follows:—

*Tam syandanam = adhiṣṭhāya sa-bhāryaḥ saparicchadaḥ |*  
*Śrīmatīm = ākulāvartīm = atarat = tām mahānadīm || 3*  
*Tām = uttīrya mahābāhuḥ Śrīmac-chivam = akaṇṭakam |*  
*Prapede sa mahā-mārgam = anurūpaṁ śivam śubham || 4*

These verses, which Pargiter has taken to mean that R. crossed the river Śrīmatī Mahānadī, are wanting in B. That they are interpolations would clearly follow from a comparison of these with G. XLIV, 28-29 which read as follows:—

*Tam syandanam = adhiṣṭhāya Rāghavaḥ saparicchadaḥ |*  
*Śighram tām = ākulāvartīm = atarat = Tamasā-nadīm || 28*  
*Samtīrya ca mahābāhuḥ Śrīmac-chivam = akaṇṭakam |*  
*Prapede Tamasā-mārgam = abhayaṁ kṣemadarśanam ||*

There is hardly any doubt that through some error these two verses of G. XLIV have been repeated, with slight alterations, in G. XLVI; originally perhaps a copyist's mistake, it was later amended to suit the new context. This follows not only from close verbal agreement between the two, but

also from the significant pronoun *taṁ* (that) which occurs at the very beginning. In the earlier chapter this pronoun was very appropriate because the verse immediately preceding mentions the '*syandana*' (chariot) brought back by Sumantra. But in the later chapter there was no reference to any such '*syandana*', and therefore '*taṁ syandanam*' (that chariot) is meaningless. It would then follow that the two additional verses (3-4) in G. XLVI wanting in B., which otherwise closely agrees with the former, must be rejected, and that Śrīmatī Mahānadi, far from being the name of a river which R. crossed, really refers to the Tamasā.

6. R. then crossed the river Vedaśruti (B. XLIX. 9; G. XLVI. 10), and proceeding south, crossed the Gomatī (B. 10; G. 11) and another river, named Syandikā in B. 11 and Sarpikā in G. 12. There is hardly any doubt that these two refer to the same river and may be variants of the same name.

7. R. then reached the Gaṅgā in the evening and stayed at night at Śringaverapura as the guest of its king Guha, an old friend. (B.L. 12, 26, etc.; G. XLVI. 19, XLVII. 2, etc.).

We are now in a position to discuss the itinerary of Rāma as propounded by Pargiter. After describing Rāma's journey to the bank of the Tamasā, Pargiter continues: 'He was followed thither by the citizens, and to escape them he crossed the river at night with his chariot and gained the Tamasā road' and went northwards. Proceeding in the new direction he would reach the river Sarayū or its western tributary called now the river Chaukā. The poem says he reached the Śrīmatī Mahānadi. These words appear peculiar as the name of a river. There seems to be no river called the Śrīmatī. . . . This double name therefore probably means the Sarayū which Rāma would naturally reach. . . . (Next) Rāma crossed the great river Vedaśruti. . . . The only stream with which it seems identifiable is the modern river Chaukā. After crossing it Rāma resumed his original course and turned southwards. He reached the Gomatī and crossed it probably a little below the modern Lucknow. . . . The next river which he reached, the Sarpikā, would be the modern Sai. . . . He would have crossed it probably about twenty-five or thirty miles below Rai Bareilly, where a road north from Śringavera-pura would naturally run' (*JRAS.*, 1894, pp. 235-6).

It will be seen at once that this elaborate theory rests solely on the assumption that after crossing the Tamasā Rāma proceeded north till he reached the Sarayū at a point 50 miles or more above Ayodhyā. He crossed and recrossed the Sarayū—for no purposes whatsoever—and then crossed the Chaukā. All these he could easily have avoided by simply following the western bank of the Sarayū and the Chaukā. Such a course would be fantastic in any case, and particularly so in view of the fact that the ultimate goal of Rāma's journey was the bank of the Gaṅgā on the south. It would also defeat the very object he had in view, viz. to evade the citizens of Ayodhyā. But, there is absolutely no warrant for the assumption that Rāma went north. Pargiter refers to vv. 25-29 of Chap. XLIV of Ādikāṇḍa in support of his view. Ādikāṇḍa is obviously a slip for Ayodhyākāṇḍa. But vv. 25-29 of Chap. XLIV clearly state that at Rāma's direction Sumantra only took the chariot to the north and returned in a moment. It was then that Rāma got into the chariot. So Rāma did not at all proceed towards the north, far less went as far as the Chaukā river.

This one error of Pargiter led to others. Although he admits that Śrīmatī Mahānadi was a peculiar name and no such river was known, he still identifies it with the Sarayū. As we have shown above, the passage

in G. Text containing this name is an interpolation, and Rāma did not cross any such river. As regards Vedaśruti Pargiter identifies it with the Chaukā, but as pointed out above, the Bisui is not only a regular derivation from Vedaśruti, but its position between the Tamasā and the Gomati exactly corresponds to the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa that Rāma successively crossed these three rivers.

Thus the initial error of taking Rāma far towards the north has forced Pargiter to suggest identifications of Śrīmatī Mahānadi (a river that probably does not exist) and the Vedaśruti which are not supported by any evidence. These errors are again responsible for taking Rāma to Lucknow. It seems quite clear, on the other hand, that Rāma followed the direct southern route roughly corresponding to the present road running along the Railway line in the Fyzabad-Allahabad section of the East Indian Railway. It may be presumed that he crossed the four rivers,—Tons, Bisui, Gumti and Sai—respectively at or near Bharat Kund, Khajurahat, Sultanpur, and Partabgarh stations of that section. The route proposed by Pargiter would cover a distance of about 170 miles from the bank of the Tamasā to Prayāg, as against the direct route of 60 miles suggested by me. The fact that Rāma had made the whole journey in a single day and probably an hour or two of the previous night, is by itself sufficient to repudiate the view of Pargiter, for we can hardly believe that even a fast chariot can cover a distance of 170 miles or so, including the crossing of four rivers, in about 14 or 15 hours. Pargiter's view must therefore be definitely rejected.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

**THE RAJ GONDS OF ADILABAD: A Peasant Culture of the Deccan.** Being Book I of Volume III of The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad series: Myth and Ritual. By Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf in collaboration with Elizabeth von Furer-Haimendorf. Foreword by K. de B. Codrington. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1949. Pages xvii+449 with 90 illustrations, 33 drawings and four maps. Price Rs.20.

Prof. von Furer-Haimendorf is well known to anthropologists. For a number of years, as Adviser to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, he was directly responsible for the welfare and administration of this particular group among whom he paid frequent and prolonged visits. He tells of his approach, the difficulties involved and the final winning of their confidence. He is therefore fully qualified to undertake the task to which he has set himself with insight and understanding. The book presents a balanced picture of aboriginal life. Prof. Furer-Haimendorf has no axe to grind. His work is on a solid foundation and he is not seeking to make a sensation. One seems to live in an altogether different climate from that of some recent monographs where certain aspects of primitive life seem greatly over-emphasized. There is evident an objectivity and scientific approach much needed in studies like this.

The Foreword by Dr. Codrington points out some of the pitfalls that anthropologists have fallen into due to inherited national points of view. He emphasizes the great need in India for careful studies of primitive groups before it is too late. 'The world is changing rapidly and India is changing with the world. Her hill and forest tribes are Indian in every sense of the word, and they cannot be left out of this change. They have a future not merely a past.' There is an urgent need to fill up the gaps in the ethnological knowledge of vast areas of India.

This book is a most valuable contribution to this knowledge. In the past the Gonds played an important part in Central India. 'No aboriginal people of India has attained greater prominence on the political scene of past centuries than the large groups of tribes commonly known by the generic term Gond.' They numbered 3,063,753 according to the 1931 census and the author calls them 'the premier aboriginal race of India'.

The volume under review is the first part of Vol. III of the series on the Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad. The second part is entitled 'Social Structure and Cultural Change' and is in preparation. This section will contain the Glossary and Index to both parts. It is a pity that an index is not printed with this volume. There are three parts to the book: the first tells of their material and cultural milieu, and covers pages 23-96. The illustrations and line drawings accompanying this and other sections are most helpful. No detail is overlooked. The next part of our book is called 'The Mythological Foundations of the Social Order'. This covers 209 pages in all. It contains a collection of myths and traditions dealing with the ancient history of their clans, the origins of the cult of clan deities and other important aspects of Gond life. He has 'attempted to arrange the myths: . . in such an order as will give as complete and coherent an account as possible of the traditions prevailing among the Gonds of Adilabad State'. Some of the myths deal with the birth of the Gond gods, their liberation and consequent actions. The myth of Jangu Bai which tells 'the full story



of this goddess' miraculous birth and her intervention in the fortunes of the primeval Gonds' also reveals 'other episodes in Gond mythology, not directly connected with Jangu Bai or her cult'. In the next chapter the long myth of Manko has the Gondi and English translation in parallel columns. Many other stories lend themselves to a proper understanding and evaluation of Gond society. There are many inconsistencies and variations and blending with alien elements, but it gives a picture of things as they are in Adilabad.

Part III, called 'The Annual Cycle' is magnificent. In three chapters, devoted respectively to the hot season, the rains, and the cool season, the author with great imagination and skill weaves the pattern of their lives and shows the blend of mythology, economics and daily living in a form that is intriguing. The pulse of rural India beats through it all and it is an authentic voice that is audible in its pages.

The book is well-worth owning. It is most readable, has been produced in a style that has so far seldom been equalled and is highly commended.

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W. G. GRIFFITHS.

INDIA: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publications Division,  
Indian Art through the Ages. Delhi, 1948. Price Rs.3.

This small brochure, profusely illustrated, is intended to give a short survey of Indian art in its different manifestations from the earliest times to the modern days. It is divided into five sections, Sculpture, Bronzes, Painting, Textiles, and Modern Painting. Within this short conspectus the account in each section cannot but be sketchy. But what one feels on going through the book is a lack of balanced treatment in respect of the representative phases and schools in text as well as in illustrations. This is particularly noticeable in the section on sculpture. It is also difficult to understand why bronzes, representing only a different medium of sculptural expression, have been treated in a separate section instead of being included within that of sculpture. The section on painting has a more balanced account, but a specimen or two of the earlier phases would have made the section more illustrative. The section on textiles implies at least a reference to other forms of industrial arts, but such a reference is unfortunately lacking.

The reproductions are good and in spite of the above drawbacks, more or less inherent in a publication of this nature, the book is expected to serve as a useful and popular guide to the artistic achievements of India in their more important manifestations.

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S. K. SARASWATI.

ISLAMIC RESEARCH ASSOCIATION MISCELLANY. Vol. I. 1948. Published by Oxford University Press. Calcutta. 1949.

This is the first number of what promises to be a valuable series of occasional collection of studies on the different facets of Islamic civilization. The present issue contains papers by well-known scholars from all over the world. It would not do to single out contributors but there are important studies on, for example, a valuable old manuscript of Ibn Nadim's *Fihrist*, on ex-territorial capitulation enjoyed by Muslims in non-Muslim countries, on the Ismaili manuscripts in Hamburg Oriental Seminar, etc. A feature of the publication which may well be adopted by other learned societies in India is its multi-lingualism which enables scholars from non-English

speaking countries to present results of their studies to those workers in the field who do not wish to work in isolation. A high standard of printing continues the tradition of Islamic Research Association's publications, but even that cannot justify the high price demanded for the issue.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH.

**TREE-WORSHIP AND OPHIOLATRY.** By Vidvan G. Subramania Pillai, Senior Research Lecturer in Tamil, Annamalai University. Annamalai University Publications, 1948. Pages—vi, 1-102.

The brochure with a foreword by Shri R. Ramanujachariar, Professor of Philosophy, Annamalai University, deals with the topic of tree and serpent worship, mainly on the basis of numerous references to this practice found scattered in the Tamil Works of various periods. It also tries to throw light incidentally on the inner significance of the multifarious rites and ceremonies associated with the cults of the tree and serpent. James Fergusson attempted long ago in his voluminous work, '*Tree and Serpent Worship in India*,' mainly on the basis of archaeological data that the people of Ancient India paid regular homage to trees and serpents. The interpretation of many of his data was found objectionable, for it was pointed out that the object of worship in many of the reliefs of Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati was not a tree or a serpent, but really the invisible Buddha symbolized by his Bodhi-vṛiksha with his Vajrāsana beneath it or Buddha (not shown) on his seat sheltered by the serpent Muchalinda. But evidences were also not wanting that the Nāgas (serpents) in various forms and Yakshas mainly residing in different types of trees were held in high veneration by a large number of Indian people. J. Ph. Vogel has shown in his monograph, *Indian Serpent Lore*, how the Nāga cult was well patronized in Mathura and other regions of India. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his well-documented work, *The Yakshas*, Parts I and II, has referred occasionally to the different trees serving as the abodes of the Yakshas venerated by the general mass of the people.

The value of the work under notice is that its author has confined his attention to the Tamil land and the data collected by him from the Tamil texts throw an interesting sidelight on the subject. He, however, does not refer to most of the works mentioned above where identical grounds were covered; he mentions Fergusson only by name without approving his conclusions. Readers should also be chary of accepting one of his hypothesis, which relates to the origin of the worship of Śiva-Liṅga. He writes (pp. 86ff.) that the practice developed out of that of worshipping the Kanthu, the stump of a tree, so common in his country. When the tree-stump withered away, a stow pillar was put in its place, and these pillars came to be worshipped as Kanthali and Śiva-Liṅga. He vehemently denounces any attempt to connect Śiva-Liṅga worship with phallic worship. But had he cared to study one of the oldest archaeological relics of his own land, he would not have been so vehement in his denunciation. The Parasuramesvara Śiva-Liṅga still in worship at Gudimallam (near Renigunta, North Arcot) first brought to the notice of scholars by one of his own illustrious country-men, the late T. A. Gopinath Rao, gives the lie direct to such improved hypothesis propounded by the author.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

**TOLKĀPPIYAM—POBULATIKARAM.** By E. S. Varadaraja Iyer, Vol. I, Part I, Pages xvi and 206; Vol. I, Part II, 207-584 (Annamalai University, 1948).

Tradition avers that the *Tolkāppiyam* is the oldest extant work in Tamil. Certainly it is the earliest extant Tamil grammar, but modern scholarship finds it difficult to believe that the work was composed earlier than the first century of the Christian era; some would place it much later. It comprises three *Adikārams* (Parts), *Eluttu* (Orthography), *Śol* (Etymology and Accidence), and *Poruḷ*, a comprehensive term which covers themes of love and war together with sections on Prosody, on figures of speech, on sentiments (*Rasas*, *Meypṇāḍu*) and on Idiom and usage. Love forms the subject of four sections (*Iyals*) called *Agattiṇai*, *Kaḷavu*, *Kaṇṇu* and *Poruḷ* which constitutes the first, third, fourth and fifth in the series of nine *Iyals* contained in the *Adikāram* on *Poruḷ*. These sections are translated in the two parts of Vol. I now under review.

The importance for linguistic studies of a reliable rendering of this ancient and difficult classic of Tamil grammar can hardly be overrated. It is generally known that Sanskrit and Prākṛit works of grammar and literature have much to contribute to a proper elucidation of obscurities in the *Tolkāppiyam*. For the pursuit of this line of study the first desideratum is to enable scholars who do not read Tamil to gain a precise idea of the contents of the Tamil work. Ancient Tamil customs and social institutions and conventions are systematically expounded in the different sections of the *Poruḷ-Adikāram*, and a critical study of these against a wider background may be expected to explain the origins of ancient Tamil culture and the sources of its sustenance. The department of Tamil studies in the Annamalai University have therefore chosen well in undertaking this translation.

The translator assigns the *Tolkāppiyam* to the third century B.C. and the General Editor, Dr. A. C. Chettiar, to a period 'anterior to 450 B.C., the age commonly assigned to Pāṇini, the Sanskrit grammarian', dates which will command the assent of few critical students. In the interpretation of the *sūtras* reliance is placed mainly on the commentaries of ḷampūrṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar, both great annotators belonging to periods several centuries later than the date of *Tolkāppiyam*; where the two annotators differ, both are translated. The editor remarks that the translator should have consulted a modern commentary by a former Professor of Tamil in the University. It is somewhat disappointing that the translator does not seem to have thought of closely studying the text of the *sūtras* with a view to reach their natural and proper meaning; commentaries may be helps or hindrances according to the use we make of them, and no modern student should tie himself to a single commentator or shirk the task of judging between different interpretations or criticizing them where necessary.

The plan of the work varies widely between the two parts. In Part I the *sūtras* are not transliterated though the omission is made good in the first few pages of Part II, and the text of the commentaries is not given. Some *sūtras* are not numbered while others are omitted (p. 8). The illustrative stanzas cited in the commentaries are translated also, and indeed the editor hails these translations as 'the greatest merit of the work'! There are lengthy dissertations on sundry topics interspersed with the translations; these are by no means impressive or original, and have little relevance to the context, e.g. that on kingship, administration and so on (pp. 10-32). They appear to be parts of earlier writings of the translator lugged in for reasons best known to him, as we may suspect from the occurrence of

phrases like 'as was already deserved', 'we already observed', which are not justified by what precedes them in the book itself.

But the most serious flaw in the work is that the translation of the *sūtras* themselves is not always accurate. To give perhaps what is an extreme instance—*sūtras* 14 and 15 on p. 9 are simple in themselves and mean in substance that while the behaviour of lovers appropriate to one *tiṇai* or region may be ascribed to a different region in a stanza, the descriptions of nature belonging to two different regions should not get mixed up in one and the same stanza; so also the time appropriate to one region may be ascribed to another. But the translation reads as follows: 'The basic things of one *tiṇai* may go in with those of any other *tiṇai*; but the lands that possess them need not be contiguous. The basic things as well as the products of the soil that are different from the *uripporuḷ* can get mixed with those of another soil; but the love aspects remain the same for each land division as will be seen from the poems of Śāṅgam celebrities' (p. 9). The poems of Śāṅgam celebrities, by the way, have no place in the rendering of a *sūtra* that has not a syllable suggesting the idea. This in fact is a translation of the commentary and not of the corresponding *sūtra*. What can one make, again, of a translation like this: 'When the hero expiates with a view to do away with the sin he had committed by his clandestine love affair and tries to see that it is extinct beyond recognition just like the letters written in the air' (p. 248). One will take exception to some renderings of technical terms like: *munpani* (hemanta) and *pinpani* (śiśira) by 'pre-snow season' and 'post-snow season'. The transliteration of words is inconsistent, e.g. Tholkāppiyar (p. 5) and Tolkāppiyar (p. 12), and 'Nāvishnu Prathivipathi' (p. 11).

This work which must surely have cost much trouble to the author should have been published with more time and care. Hurried publications like this raise a legitimate doubt whether the pressure for the quick results of research in some of our Universities, particularly the younger ones, is not producing the desirable fruit. Whatever that may be, the scholar who does not read Tamil will have to use this book with very great caution if he wishes to avoid pitfalls. We hope that the book will be thoroughly revised and the defects will be avoided scrupulously in the succeeding ones.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.



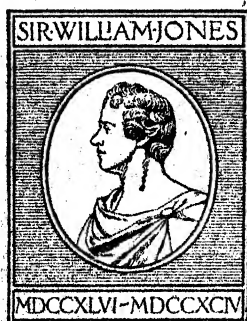
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# RESEARCHES IN ANCIENT INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

By P. C. SENGUPTA

(Received May 16, 1949)

As researches in Astronomical Chronology, the following nine papers of mine were published in the *JRASB. Letters*:—

- |  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| (1) Some Astronomical References from the<br>Mahābhārata and their Significance .. | Vol. II, 10, 1937.      |
| (2) Bhārata Battle Traditions ..   | } Vol. IV, 15–18, 1938. |
| (3) Solstice Days in Vedic Literature ..   |                         |
| (4) Madhu-Vidyā or the Science of Spring ..  |                         |
| (5) When Indra became Maghavan ..  |                         |
| (6) The Solar Eclipse in the R̥gveda and the<br>Date of Atri ..                    | Vol. VII, 3, 1941.      |
| (7) Time Indications in Baudhāyana Śrauta<br>Sūtra ..                              | Vol. VII, 9, 1941.      |
| (8) The Gupta Era ..   | Vol. VIII, 2, 1942.     |
| (9) Time Indications in Kālidāsa ..  | Vol. IX, 3, 1945.       |

The researches published in the above papers revised and improved upon, together with my other findings in Indian Chronology, were incorporated in my work, *Ancient Indian Chronology* and published by the Calcutta University in the form of a book in 1947 A.D. It now appears from some reviews <sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> of this work that some of my data, their sources and consequently the findings therefrom have been doubted. In the present paper I propose to defend my view-points and clarify those doubts.

In the prehistoric research portions of my work and in some of the above-named papers, doubts expressed by the reviewers relate to the sources, the *Mahābhārata*, *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śrauta Sūtras*. I take up first the *Mahābhārata* as the source for finding the year of the Bhārata battle.

The epic *Mahābhārata*, as we have it now, has received many additions but we cannot discard it altogether as a source for history, it is an *itihāsa* which means something like a chronicle. On this point Bhāskara II's *dictum* as to this sort of literature as handed down to later times runs thus <sup>3</sup> : that in finding the reliable portions of such works, we are to accept as true only those statements that can stand the test of scientific examination. When I selected my data from the *Mahābhārata*, I closely adhered to this rule of scientific consistency, and avoided all omens which are clearly later additions and cannot by any stretch of imagination be believed to have been the integral parts of the original Pāṇḍava saga. I concentrated my attention in my selection of data to the scattered lunisolar indications alone, and carefully avoided all summaries, which were all later additions having

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Chatly, Dates in Indian Antiquity, *The Observatory*, Vol. 68, No. 844.

<sup>2</sup> V. Ramesam, Review of *Ancient Indian Chronology*, *The Hindu* (Madras), dated 25-7-1948.

<sup>3</sup> Bhāskara II, *Grahagaṇṭa*, Comm. on *Bhagaṇādhyāya*, 1–6. अथपक्षिमादौवाक्यः

hardly any shadow of truth in them. My chief data for finding the year of the Bhārata battle are only three, viz.:—

- (i) That there was a new moon at the star *Antares* (*Jyēṣṭhā*) in the year of the fight.<sup>1</sup>
- (ii) That the battle which lasted eighteen days, ended on the day of the moon's conjunction with *Śravaṇā* (*Altair*).<sup>2</sup>
- (iii) That between the end of the fight and the first day of the sun's northerly course, the interval was of 50 days.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the first datum, there has not been raised any objection from any quarter. As to the second some doubts have been expressed on a wrong interpretation of the verses of the *Śalyaparva*, ch. 35, 13-14<sup>4</sup>, which normally mean that Valadeva being smitten with grief at the prospect of the great carnage imminent went away on a pilgrimage tour to the holy bathing places on the river Sarasvatī, and on the *Anurādhā* day Kṛtavarmā with his whole army of Yādavas sided with Duryodhana. Here by a ludicrous misconstruction, viz. combining the first verse of stanza 14, with lines of stanza 13, the commentator Nilakanṭha made out that Valadeva started not on the *Puṣyā* day but on the *Anurādhā* day. Wherever there is anything astronomical the commentator has been always misleading. In giving this interpretation he has quite forgotten the import of the sixth stanza of the same or the preceding chapter which says that Valadeva had gone out on the *Puṣyā* day and returned on the *Śravaṇā* day, the 42nd from the *Puṣyā* day.<sup>5</sup> That from the *Anurādhā* day, the *Śravaṇā* day, the date would be the 6th, 33rd, 60th day, and never the 42nd day—is a fact missed by the commentator and his followers. Hence my conclusion that on the last day of the battle the moon was conjoined with *Śravaṇā*, is of unshakeable validity.

Now taking into consideration the data (i) and (ii) together, we see that the moon may take 4, 31, 58, etc. days in A.P. to pass from *Antares* to *Altair*, i.e. from *Jyēṣṭhā* to *Śravaṇā*. As the battle lasted 18 days, we are forced to accept that here this period of the moon's transit from *Antares* to *Altair* as of 31 days.

Next as to the *Mahābhārata* datum (iii) tabled above, that between the end of the fight and the first day of the sun's next northerly course, there was an OBSERVED interval of fifty days. We now proceed to show that this was impossible for interpolation by using any one of the Indian astronomical methods both the prescientific and *Siddhāntic* ones. I have shown in Chapter I of my book that this interval could not be interpolated by using knowledge of the *Jyauṭiṣa Vedāṅgas* wherefrom the interval works out as between 57 and 54 days.<sup>6</sup> We now come down to the era of the early *Siddhāntic* period of Indian astronomy, dated from about 500 A.D.

Now from the day of the new moon at <i>Antares</i> till the end of the fight the period was of	..	..	31 days (a).
Between the end of the fight and the 1st day of the sun's next northerly course the interval was of	..	..	50 days (b).
	Total	..	81 days.

<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, MBh. references numbered (i), (vi) and (vii) on pages 3, 6 and 7.

<sup>4</sup> The text is : ततो मनुपरीतात्मा जगाम युद्धमन्धनः ।

तौर्ध्यार्चा वल्लभरः सरस्वत्या मन्वायमाः ॥ १३ ॥

मैत्रनक्षत्रयुक्तेन सङ्गितः सर्वथाद्वैः ।

आश्वय्यास भोजसु दुर्वोधनमरिन्दनः ॥ १४ ॥

<sup>5</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, MBh. reference (vi) on page 6.

<sup>6</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *ibid.*, pp. 19-24.

These 81 days comprise  $2\frac{3}{4}$  lunations. With the lunar month of *Mārga* (lunar *Agrahāyana*) begun with the new moon at *Antares*, in  $2\frac{3}{4}$  lunations, the day of the last quarter of lunar *Māgha* must come as the first day of the sun's northerly course,<sup>1</sup> and the winter solstice day came one day earlier, i.e. in 80 days. Here the lunar month must be taken as new moon ending.

The *Kali Ahargana* (i.e. number of days of the *Kali* era)  
on the *Jyēsthā* new moon day of 2449 B.C. or  
—2526 of the Śaka era becomes .. .. 238,755 days.  
Now add for the W.S. day of 2448 B.C. .. .. 80 days.  
The number of days of the *Kali* era for the W.S. day of  
2448 B.C., works out as .. .. 238,835 days.

This *Ahargana* is necessary if calculation be made according to the *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta and the modern *Sūrya Siddhānta*. But as we want to examine the potentiality by the *Sūrya Romaka* and the *Paulīśa Siddhāntas* as summarized by Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, we have to find the negative *Ahargana* for the date from the epoch of Varāha's this work. Now the epoch of the zero day of 427 of Śaka era<sup>2</sup> works out as the day of the *Kali Ahargana* = 1317123. The *Kali Ahargana* on the day of the W.S. of 2448 B.C. = 238835; hence the negative *Ahargana* of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* for the winter solstice day of the year 2448 B.C. = -1078288 days.

The rules according to the *Sūrya*,<sup>3</sup> *Romaka*<sup>4</sup> and the *Paulīśa*<sup>5</sup> *Siddhāntas*, as given by Varāha for the luni-solar elements are true for the mean midday at Ujjayini. Hence in making calculations according to the first two works named before, the *Kali Ahargana* should be taken at 238834.5, i.e. half a day less. The calculation is shown below :—

Siddhānta (1)	Ahargana (2)	Mean Sun (3)	True Sun (4)	Long. of W.S. acc. to Siddhānta (5)	Differences (6)
Khaṇḍakhādya of Brahmagupta	+238834.5	10s 15° 55' 16"	10s 17° 51' 13"	10s 9°	8° 51'
Mod. Sūrya Sid- dhānta	Kali +238834.5	10s 15° 57' 2"	10s 17° 49' 19"	10s 9°	8° 49'
Varāha Sūrya Sid- dhānta	P. Siddhāntikā —1078288	10s 15° 55' 16"	10s 17° 51' 13"	10s 6°	11° 51'
Varāha Romaka Siddhānta	—1078288	9s 10° 42' 48"	9s 12° 39' 23"	9s 6° 30'	6° 9'
Varāha Paulīśa Siddhānta	—1078288	10s 14° 51' 43"	10s 16° 50' 4"	10s 6°	10° 50'

The longitude of the winter solstice of the year 2449 B.C. has been based on the longitude of *Regulus* or *Maghā* in these *Siddhāntas* on the

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, MBh. Reference (viii) on page 8; also see 'Note on the variation of lunar months in the Vedic Period' annexed.

<sup>2</sup> *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, ch. I, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1.

hypothesis that the winter solstice was known as very nearly opposite to *Regulus*.<sup>1</sup> The longitude of *Regulus* in the first two works =  $4^{\circ} 9'$ .<sup>2</sup> Hence the longitude of the winter solstice has been taken =  $10^{\circ} 9'$  in the *Siddhāntic* notation. The *Pañcasiddhāntikā* gives the longitude of *Regulus* as =  $4^{\circ} 6'$ .<sup>3</sup> Hence winter solstice (2448 B.C.) has been assumed to have been =  $10^{\circ} 6'$  according to the *Sūrya* and the *Paulīśa Siddhāntas*. In the case of the *Romaka Siddhānta* the longitude of *Regulus* has been corrected for  $-29^{\circ} 5'$  centuries by  $29^{\circ} 30'$ . Hence the longitude of *Regulus* for 2449 B.C. has been taken =  $3^{\circ} 6' 30'$  and that of the winter solstice =  $9^{\circ} 6' 30'$  in the *Romaka* notation.

The differences in column (6) show that according to the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* and the modern *Sūrya Siddhānta*, the sun reached the winter solstice 9 days earlier. According to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* as given by Varāha, the sun reached the winter solstice 12 days earlier. Similarly it is readily seen that according to the *Paulīśa* and the *Romaka Siddhāntas* the sun reached the winter solstice 6 and 11 days earlier. Necessarily for the interpolator the possible interval between the end of the fight and the first day of the sun's northerly course could have been 41, 41, 38, 44 and 39 days respectively. Never could the interpolator get at the interval of 50 days of the *Mahābhārata* statement by using these *siddhāntas*.

The above calculation completely explodes the standpoint of one reviewer that the astronomers after the Christian era were very competent to make the necessary calculations to interpolate the *Mahābhārata* references I have used as bases for finding the year of the Bhārata battle.

There is no evidence of the influence of the Indian *Siddhāntic* astronomy that can be traced in the present *Mahābhārata*. The great epic does nowhere speak of the signs of the zodiac, does not mention the days of the week. When it speaks of the solstices, etc.,<sup>4</sup> the text has reference to the equinoxes, the solstices, and the ends of the 86th days and not  $86^{\circ}$  as measured from the beginning of the vernal equinoctial year. Even the names tropical months stated in the *Mahābhārata* as *Dhātā*, *Mitra*, *Ayamā*, *Śakra*, *Varuṇa*, *Aṁśa*, *Bhaga*, *Vivasvān*, *Pusan*, *Sarvā*, *Tvastā* and *Viṣṇu*<sup>5</sup> are not the names of these months of the *Siddhāntas*. The attempt at tracing the influence of the Indian *Siddhāntic* astronomy on the great epic is to run after a mere chimera.

Thus it is fully established that the lunisolar data I have derived from the *Mahābhārata* itself and have used them for finding the year of the Bhārata battle cannot be held as interpolation by any subsequent redactors. They belong to the most ancient strata of the epic—they were the statements of the original Pāṇḍava saga from which the *Mahābhārata* grew into its present form in successive stages.

How elegantly from the set of three data enunciated before, the date of the Bhārata battle comes out is now very briefly stated.

The year in our time in which the new moon at the closest approach to *Antares* (*Jyēṣṭhā*) happened was the year 1929 A.D. and the date was December 1, 1929. After 80 days from it the date was the 19th of February, 1930—the true lunisolar-stellar anniversary of the winter solstice day of the year of the Bhārata battle. Nowadays the winter solstice falls on

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, quotation from *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XIII, 3, on p. 15 and also MBh. reference cited on p. 171, No. (2).

<sup>2</sup> P. C. Sengupta, Introduction to Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Calcutta Univ. reprint, p. xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> MBh., *Vana.*, ch. 198, the concluding lines.

<sup>5</sup> MBh., *Adi.*, ch. 123, 15-16.

December 22. Between this date and the 19th of February, there is an interval 59 days by which the winter solstice day has preceded. We now take the rough proportion that the winter solstice day precedes in this particular case, by one day in 74.22 years.

Hence on multiplying 74.22 years by 59 we get the elapsed years till 1929 A.D. as = 4378 years. We have again to make the year of the Bhārata battle exactly similar to 1929, in respect of lunisolar-stellar phenomena. Now remembering that 19, 160 and 1939 sidereal years are true lunisolar-stellar cycles<sup>1</sup> we have,

$$4378 = 1939 \times 2 + 160 \times 3 + 19 + 1.$$

Hence the period of 4378 years has got to be curtailed by one year, and the correct interval between 1929 A.D. and the year of the Bhārata battle is to be taken at 4377 years sidereal. Now from 1929 A.D. we subtract 4377 years and arrive at the astronomical year of -2448 A.D. or 2449 B.C. which is the year of the Bhārata battle as established in the *Ancient Indian Chronology*. This finding gets corroborated by the Vṛddha Garga Tradition as recorded by Varāhamihira about the Yudhiṣṭhira era having the zero year of -2526 Śaka era.

In judging the lunisolar data as obtained from the *Mahābhārata*, I have used the year 1929-30 A.D. as the gauge year, as the new moon at *Antares* on December 1, 1929 A.D., happened as near as possible to this star. We could as well take year 1934-35 A.D. as the gauge year in which the new moon at *Antares* happened on the 6th December, 1934. The *Mahābhārata* data would then lead to the 25th February, 1935, as the true anniversary of the winter solstice day of the year of the battle. This would raise the year from 2449 B.C. to about 2829 B.C.—a finding that has no anchorage of a recorded tradition and is of no use to us. Similarly some other solutions are possible, but none excepting the finding of 2449 B.C. gets corroboration from any reliable tradition. The date for the new moon at *Antares* in the gauge year can never be taken on a date earlier than December 1 of our time—as it would not be a new moon at *Jyēṣṭhā* (*Antares*).

It has been thus shown that the lunisolar data which have been the bases for finding the year of the Bhārata battle in my work, cannot be by any stretch of imagination considered as later additions in the present *Mahābhārata*—they all belong to the time when the Pāṇḍava saga was first composed, faithfully preserved and transmitted either by memorizing or by writing in an alphabet which has been supplanted by the later and highly scientific current Indian alphabet.

There are some other passages in the great epic, which may be interpreted on this finding that the battle was fought in 2449 B.C. Here is an example, viz. :

*Bhīṣma's statement as to the correct termination of the 13 years of the Pāṇḍavas' Exile.*—In the *Virāṭaparva*, chapter 52, stanzas 3-5<sup>2</sup> Bhīṣma's statement on this point runs as follows: 'In every 5 years there happen two

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, p. 16, also *JRASB. Letters*, Vol. III, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> MBh. Text : पञ्चमे पञ्चमे वर्षे द्वौ श्रावणपौषयुतः ॥ ३ ॥

एवामभ्यधिका मासाः पञ्च च द्वादशस्यपः ।

अथोद्गमां वर्षाचामिति मे वर्तते मतिः ॥ ४ ॥

सर्वे श्रावणचरितं बदेभिः संप्रतिश्रुतम् ।

एवमेतद् भुवं ज्ञात्वा ततो बीभत्सुपामतः ॥ ५ ॥

extra lunations. Of the Pāṇḍavas there have been 5 extra lunations and 12 extra days in their period of exile according to my reckoning. All of the conditions have been fulfilled by them according to their promise. Having known this as correct, Arjuna who never does anything wrong has come to this place before us.'

Neither the commentator Nilakaṇṭha nor any one of the later exponents, has been able to explain this mode of reckoning which Bhīṣma has here followed. He says that in the 13 years of the exile there have been 161 lunations and 12 extra days or that the total number of days become 4766. In the lunisolar reckoning according to the Vedāṅgas which follows the same rule in lunisolar adjustment of the quinquennium, the number of days become 4759, which is less by 7 days. If in 8 years there be taken 3 extra lunations, in 12 years there would be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  extra lunations plus 11 extra days for one year, the number of days in 13 years become 4752 which is less by 14 days. Hence Bhīṣma's statement has remained a riddle or *Vyāsakūṭa* as it is styled in the *Mahābhārata*. Here is the solution of the riddle:

As stated before, my finding of the year of the Bhārata battle is 2449 B.C. The exile of the Pāṇḍavas began from some date of the year 2462 B.C., i.e. thirteen years before the year of the fight.

On January 8, 2462 B.C., at G.M.N. or Kurukṣetra mean time 17 hrs. 8 mins. (J.D. = 822185) there were—

True Sun	= 268° 31' 21",
True Moon	= 91° 27' 46",
<i>Regulus</i> or <i>Maghā</i>	= 88° 26' 47".

The full moon happened about 6 hours before, almost exactly conjoined with *Regulus* or *Maghā*. It was thus necessarily followed by the last quarter conjoined with *Antares* or *Jyeṣṭhā* and the previous new moon took place at about  $\beta$  *Delphinis*. This lunar month of which this was the full moon, was a Vedic standard month of Māgha.<sup>1</sup> The sun reached the winter solstice on the 10th January with moon 16·5 or 17 days old roughly.

The next step would be to determine the date of this year 2462 B.C. on which the Pāṇḍavas having lost the stakes at the game of dice went into their exile. In doing this we have to settle the date on which ended the thirteen years of the Pāṇḍavas' exile. It was the day of the battle of Arjuna and the Kauravas on the north of Virāṭa's capital and very nearly the 14th day of the dark half of the lunar month for reasons set forth below.

We have in the *Virāṭaparva*, ch. 30, the stanzas 26-27<sup>2</sup> which say that Suśarmā, the chief of the Trigartas, started on his expedition to attack Virāṭa's capital from the south on the 8th day of the DARK HALF of the month and the Kauravas started to attack the same city, one day later on the 9th day, from the north.

That the actual fight took place on the north of Virāṭa's capital about 5 days later, would be readily conceded. We have seen that in the year 2462 B.C., the quinquennium was started two days after the full moon of

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, page 162, also *JRASB. Letters*, Vol. IV, pp. 420-21.

<sup>2</sup> MBh. Text : प्रतिवैरं चिकीर्षन्तो गोषु गृह्णा मन्वावलाः ।

आदातुं माः सुसर्माय कृष्णपक्षीयसप्तमीम् ॥ २६ ॥

अपरे दिवसे सर्वे राजान् सन्नय कौरवाः ।

अष्टम्यमेव गृह्णन्तो गोकुलाणि सङ्कशः ॥ २७ ॥

**Māgha.** Bhīṣma's statement of 12 extra days and 5 extra lunations makes the age of the moon on the day of the encounter as the 14th day of the dark half. It is now necessary to find the lunar month of which the day was the 14th of the dark half.

In the year 2449 B.C. the new moon near *Antares* happened on October 21, the 12th October was a *Puṣyā* day; the 27th day backward was also a *Puṣyā* day. The *Puṣyā* days before 21st October, 2449 B.C., are thus arranged in the series of 9, 36, 63 etc., days in A.P. backward from that date. There must be two *Puṣyā* days between the end of the Pāṇḍava's exile and the new moon at *Antares* on the 21st October, 2449 B.C. The reasons are set forth now:—

On the first *Puṣyā* day, Drupada's priest went to the Kaurava court to claim the restoration of the dominion to the Pāṇḍavas with the capital at Indraprastha<sup>1</sup> and the second *Puṣyā* day came about 27 days later while *Kṛṣṇa* was still negotiating for peace at the Kaurava court,<sup>2</sup> and both the armies marched to and encamped at *Kurukṣetra*. Hence from the 14th day of the dark half of the lunar month on which the period of the Pāṇḍava's exile ended we have to count 2 lunations +2 days or 61 days till October 21 of the year 2449 B.C. Hence the date in question was the 21st of August, 2449 B.C., on which at G.M.N. or K.M. time of 17 hrs. 8 mins.

$$\text{True Sun} = 127^{\circ} 14' 31'',$$

$$\text{True Moon} = 101^{\circ} 35' 15''.$$

Hence, Moon—Sun =  $334^{\circ} 20' 44'' = 12^{\circ} \times 27 + 10^{\circ} 20' 44''$ . It is thus clear that the 28th *tithi* was current, perhaps also the 28th day from the first visibility of the crescent after the preceding new moon.

Now from the 21st August, 2449 B.C., we count 4766 days backward following Bhīṣma's statement and arrived at the date:—

The 4th August, 2462 B.C. (J.D. 822393), on which at G.M.N. or K M.T., 17 hrs. 8 mins. we have—

$$\text{True Sun} = 109^{\circ} 36' 44''.$$

$$\text{True Moon} = 307^{\circ} 13' 55''.$$

Thus, Moon—Sun =  $12^{\circ} \times 16 + 5^{\circ} 37' 11''$ . Hence the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half of the month had begun from about 12 hrs. before. This date of the 4th August, 2462 B.C., was the day on which the Pāṇḍavas went away on exile.

Now the Julian day No. of the preceding Māgha full moon day = 822185, and the Julian day No. of the date of the Pāṇḍava's exile = 822393. Difference = 208 days.

This period of 208 days comprise 7 lunations +2 days. Hence the day of the Pāṇḍavas' exile was the 2nd day after the full moon of *Bhādrapada*.

We now set forth how in 13 years, there came to be reckoned 5 extra lunations and 12 extra days. According to the *Jyauṭiṣa Vedāṅgas* (circa 1429 B.C.), in a quinquennium the second *Āṣāḍha* and the second *Pauṣa* were reckoned as extra months at intervals of 30 lunations and not counted at any other times.<sup>3</sup> In the Pāṇḍava times also, we may infer, that the extra or

<sup>1</sup> MBh., *Udyoga.*, ch. 6, 17. स भवान् पुष्ययोगेन सुहृतेन जयेन च ।

कौरवेयान् प्रयात्वाश्च कौन्तेयस्यार्थसिद्धये ॥ १७ ॥

<sup>2</sup> MBh., *Udyoga.*, ch. 150, 3. प्रयाध्वं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं पुष्योद्योति पुनः पुनः ।

<sup>3</sup> *Yājñaka Jyauṭiṣa*, 7, सावन्वावर्षयोः सदा, and also in the 9th stanza of the same work the statement of the *tithis* of the 1st *ayana* days of the ten courses of the quinquennium is as 1, 7, 13, 4, 10, 1, 7, 13, 4 and 10. The sixth figure 1, shows the first *tithi* of *Śrāvaṇa*.



additive months were only (1) the full moon ending *Śrāvaṇa* and (2) the full moon ending *Māgha* at intervals of 30 lunations, and that such extra months were not reckoned at any other times. The five-year-long cycle in this particular case was started from January 10, 2462 B.C. The first day of the sun's northerly course, and extra months were added at intervals of 30 lunations.

Now on the 4th of August, 2462 B.C., seven months of the quinquennium were already over, thus:—

After 23	lunations, there was reckoned	one extra lunation	(1)
and „ 54(24+30)	„ „ „	one „ „	(2)
„ „ 85(55+30)	„ „ „	one „ „	(3)
„ „ 116(86+30)	„ „ „	one „ „	(4)
„ „ 147(117+30)	„ „ „	one „ „	(5)
„ in 13 lunations <sup>1</sup>	there were reckoned	12 extra days	(a)

Thus in 161 (= 148+13) lunations and 12 extra days, there were reckoned 5 extra lunations and 12 extra days.

Hence Bhīṣma's reckoning of 13 years was not done by any direct method of calculation, but was based on the SPECIAL CIVIL CALENDAR made in the year of the Pāṇḍava's exile, and was as old as the Pāṇḍava time. It is very likely that settling the day or days for the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, was the occasion for the finding of the winter solstice day of the year 2462 B.C. and the great sacrifice was finished two lunations and two days later from January 10, 2462 B.C., on the first day of Indian spring.

We may therefore conclude that the *Mahābhārata* in spite of many interpolations in it by later writers, contains solid bed-rock of truth of the really true events, from which the data carefully selected should lead to the correct dates of the events of the Pāṇḍava time, and my finding of the date of the Bhārata battle must be accepted as correct. It is thus clearly established that the *Mahābhārata* as basis for chronological finding, when the selection is made by avoiding the doubtful statements, is thoroughly trustworthy from the view-point of real history. The question that remains to be answered is how the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vedas* have been transmitted through millennia of years.

#### *Transmission through Millennia of years of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Literature*

The method by which the real history of the Pāṇḍavas has been transmitted through centuries and millennia of years must be either pure oral transmission by a special class of memorizers called *sūtas*, helped probably by means of writing with some pre-Devanāgarī script. This script in course of years, got supplanted by the Devanāgarī or Brāhmī alphabet and script. In the Mohenjo Daro finds there is evidence of a script which is different from the Devanāgarī or the Brāhmī script, although these inscriptions have not been as yet satisfactorily deciphered. There were several classes of memorizers, one class specialized in memorizing the *Mahābhārata*, one class in memorizing the *Vedas* including the *Samhitās*, and *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas*; they were the *Śrautins*, a class which still exists. By thus dividing these duties it may be conceded that a correct verbal transmission was made possible. Although the present Brāhmī alphabet and script may be taken to have been invented about 1000<sup>2</sup> B.C. The possibility of some

<sup>1</sup> The extra days in 13 lunations becomes 12  $\frac{47}{60}$ , here the fraction has been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, page 207.

other form of script being used in the preservation and transmission of the Vedas and the *Mahābhārata* saga cannot thus be altogether ruled out.

Prof. K. C. Chattopādhyāya of the Allahabad University who holds that writing was known in the Vedic period, points out the following *ṛc* as evidence from the *Rgveda* itself.

'One (man) indeed seeing speech has not seen her, another (man) hearing her has not heard her, but to another she delivers her person as a loving wife well-attired presents herself to her husband.'<sup>1</sup>

From these considerations my view-point is that the present *Mahābhārata*, in spite of all lies and interpolations relating to omens, summaries, etc., made into it by the later redactors, has faithfully preserved those references on which I have based the finding of the year of the Bhārata battle. The references which I have examined in this paper, must be as old as the Pāṇḍava time. They are: (1) an observational result which could not be interpolated by using any of the ancient systems of Indian astronomy and perhaps not even by using the *Syntaxis* of Ptolemy, (2) Bhīṣma's rule for settling the duration of the Pāṇḍava's exile for 13 years, which is in thorough agreement with my finding of the date of the Bhārata battle, and which cannot be explained under any of the ancient or modern systems of reckoning. I now turn to—

### *Vedic Data for Vedic Antiquity*

Of the *Rgveda* there are no variant reading as it is current in the whole of India—a fact which is in a marked contrast to the *Mahābhārata*, which has many recensions with many later additions. Hence the *Rgveda* is the most reliable work for the determination of Vedic antiquity. In my work, *Ancient Indian Chronology* not only the *Rgveda*, but also the *Atharva Veda* has been used to establish some of the dates. Whitney's translation of the latter work which shows the variant readings has been utilized in the research. Hence there can be no fault as to the Vedic texts used in finding the Vedic dates. As to their interpretation some differences have had to be made with the commentators whenever they confounded the whole issue by their mistakes.

In the work, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, in ascertaining the Vedic antiquity no less than ten chapters have been devoted; in six of them the superior limit to the Vedic culture has been established at 4000 B.C. These are the Chapters IV, V, VII, VIII, IX and XI. The dates arrived at in Chapters X, XII and in Chapter XIII one or two dates from the references, have converged to a Vedic antiquity of about 3000 B.C. The date of 3243 B.C. has been arrived at in Chapter XII, where the *Brāhmaṇa* text speaks of the birth of Paśupati or Śiva as a god in the Vedic or Hindu pantheon, and Prajāpati or Brahmā is condemned by giving him a bad name by the Vedic people. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* also it is stated that Śiva or Mahādeva had no share of the sacrificial portions before, and of the punishment which Śiva meted out to Dakṣa for not inviting or invoking him at the latter's Vedic sacrifice. How and when the Vedic gods Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, etc., were gradually cast off and Śiva was accepted as a god is a matter for research in the religious history of the Vedic peoples. The date about 3243 B.C. appears to the present author as the date when the

1 उक्तः पञ्चमर्द्धं वाचसुतः प्रुत्तमप्रुत्तोत्येनाम् ।

उक्तो को नम्बं विषये आर्य पत्तुवर्त्तनी सुवाचा ॥ M. X. 71, 4. cf. *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 47ff.

influence of the Mohenjo Daro civilization prevailed over the Vedic religion and its ideals. In the *R̥gveda* we get the mention of the Śiśnadevas or Phallic worshippers in two places, viz. (1) in M. VII, 21, 5 and (2) in M. X, 99, 3. The second reference speaks of a fight between the Vedic Aryans and the Śiśnadevas in which the latter were defeated and their city was destroyed. It is likely that the Vedic Aryans came from the north earlier and settled in Gandhara (Kandahar) and the north Punjab and the Mohenjo Daro people came by sea and built their cities in Sind and the South Punjab. Again the destruction of *Šaubhapurī* by Kṛṣṇa about 2462 B.C. described in the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, (chapters 13–22, may really mean the destruction of a city of the Mohenjo Daro people. The two peoples lived side by side in peace for a long time and the conflict came much later is my considered opinion on this point. The lower limit to the truly Vedic antiquity has been shown in my work<sup>1</sup> as about 2444 B.C. almost the same as the year of the Bhārata battle. The real Vedic period thus extends from 4000 to 2450 B.C. Before me the same superior limit to the Vedic antiquity was obtained both by Tilak and Jacobi.

#### *Max Müller and Winternitz on Vedic Antiquity*

We now take up the estimates of Max Müller and Winternitz as to the Vedic antiquity. Both of them formulated their estimates on the basis that Buddhism presupposes the existence of the whole *Veda*, i.e. the hymns, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. The former conjectures that the Vedas were developed between 1200 and 1000 B.C., and the latter from the same basis, ascribes the superior limit to the Vedic antiquity as about 2500 to 2000 B.C. These are mere guess works and they could not discern anything better from the Vedas for any scientific determination of the Vedic periods. 'Max Müller considered his date of 1200–1000 B.C. only as a *terminus ad quem* and in his Gifford Lectures on "Physical Religion" in 1889, he expressly states, "that we cannot hope to fix a *terminus a quo*. Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 B.C. no power on earth will ever determine". It is remarkable, however, how strong the power of suggestion is even in science. *Max Müller's hypothetical and really purely arbitrary determination of the Vedic epochs in the course of years, received more and more the dignity and the character of a scientifically proved fact, without any arguments or actual facts having been added.*'—Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 293 et seqq. (Cal. Univ. Edn.).

We can only imagine that Max Müller was led by the idea that the *Vedāṅga* statement of the position of the solstices, viz. the summer solstice at the middle of the *Aśleṣā* division and the winter solstice at the beginning of the *Dhanisthā* division was the oldest traditional statement indicating limit of the Hindu cultural antiquity at 1400 to 1200 B.C. Winternitz could not go beyond the age when the vernal equinox was at the *Kṛttikā* (*Pleiades*) and the summer solstice at *Maghā* (*Regulus*) true for about 2500 to 2200 B.C. Winternitz has failed to get at the true import of the *Mahābhārata* statement—*Rohiṇī hyabhat pūrram* or that *Rohiṇī* was the first star<sup>2</sup> (*circa* 3000 B.C.) and also of the statement in the Atharva Veda that the line of Parameṣṭhin<sup>3</sup> passed through the star *Aja-ekapat* (*α Pegasi*), the 'one-footed goat'—(*circa* 4000 B.C.), as Whitney literally

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Indian Chronology*, Introduction, page xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, page 16, quotation from the *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, page 94; quotation from the *Atharva Veda*.

translates it. It was the translator of the *Atharva Veda* who first discovered that the *Atharva Veda* speaks of the heliacal rising of the  $\lambda$  and  $\nu$  *Scorpionis*, and could even estimate the season when they became visible, but it is a pity that he could not get at its chronological significance. This has been shown in Chapter X of my work, *Ancient Indian Chronology*.

In my work, the data from the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Śrauta sūtras* and the *Mahābhārata* have been most carefully selected; the methods of arriving at the Vedic and post-Vedic dates have been thoroughly scientific while Max Müller and Winternitz's estimates are mere conjectures. If the readers of my work can free themselves from the fallacy of *argumentum ad verecundiam*, they should readily accept my findings. Those who are scholars in Sanskrit literature but not astronomers can perhaps recognize the validity of my data. Once this is recognized the chronological findings should be readily accepted.

Similarly, the findings of the dates of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śrauta sūtras* are also scientifically correct, they cannot be compared to and judged by the rough estimates of the biassed orientalists, who could not and cannot understand the astronomical references contained in these works, and their significance. We look for truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

As to the date of Kālidāsa, one reviewer is inclined to take Kālidāsa as prior to Vatsbhaddji, the poet of the Mandasor inscription, because the similes and ideas are of the same type. The conclusion may be the reverse of that. It seems a wrong idea that all the similes in Kālidāsa are original. The more natural hypothesis would be that these similarities indicate that these were the usual modes of expression of ideas in Sanskrit literature. Even the *Gītā* says that spring is the season of flowers, 'ṛtūnām kuṣumā-karāḥ'. In the modern *Rāmāyaṇa*, the poet describes the limpid waters of the Tamasā as pure as the mind of a righteous man. We have in Varāha's *Bṛhat Saṁhita* a very similar expression: 'minds of righteous men as pure as the waters of autumn'. Here no orientalist would make the assumption that the poet of the modern *Rāmāyaṇa* was later than Varāha.

The same reviewer has ended his review by saying: why I took the trouble of reconsidering the Gupta era when Keilhorn had done all that was necessary before me. If this had been the case Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar would not have sought my assistance in settling the date of the Gupta inscription Nos. XI and XII on pp. 259-61 of my work. The reviewer has admitted, however, that 'Mr. Gupta had rendered a service in the matter by explaining a discrepancy of one year which sometimes occurs in the interpretation of the Gupta inscriptions'. My aim chiefly was to put a stop to all attempts at identifying the Gupta era with the Saṁvat or the Malva era. He has again admitted that I have done some service in the matter of calendar reckoning in the Gupta period. But he has missed the important point I have settled as to the Jovial years in the Gupta inscriptions, which are to be interpreted according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chapter XIV, 16-17, known by the name *Kāntikādi* years. By this discovery, the zero year has been shifted from the dubious 319-21 A.D. to the rational year of 319 or 319-20 A.D. That the Gupta and the Valabhi eras are the same was known to Alberuni. Neither myself nor Keilhorn can claim any originality here.

As I conclude the defence of findings published in the several papers in the *JRASB. Letters* and in my work *Ancient Indian Chronology*, I would say that attacks upon my researches are not unwelcome. With Kālidāsa I may say, 'Hemnaḥ saṁlakṣyate hyagnau viśuddhiḥ śyāmikā-pivā'. Of gold, purity or otherwise is tested by fire.

## APPENDIX

*A Note on the Variation of Lunar Months in the Vedic Period*

That the variation in the reckoning of the lunar months from full moon ending to new moon ending and *vice versa* happened in the Vedic period at very short intervals, is evidenced by the following passage from the *Taittirīya Brahmana*, K.I., p. 8, Anu. 10, 2 thus:

‘Paurṇamāsyāṁ pūrvamaharbhavati, Vyāṣṭakāyām uttaram. Nānai-vārdhamāsayoh pratitiṣṭhati. Amāvāsyāyām pūrvamaharbhavati, uddṛṣṭe uttaram. Nānaiva māsayoh pratitiṣṭhati.’

This may thus be translated:

‘The full moon day becomes the first day, or the last quarter of the new moon ending Māgha becomes the next day. The half months are also established in various ways. The first day becomes the new moon day and the next day, the day of the first visibility of the crescent. Various also are the ways in which the two sorts of lunar months are established.’

The nature of the day, half month, and the lunar month all depended on the lunar phase on the previously observed winter solstice day. In the year 2462 B.C. on January 8, the Māgha full moon happened, and the first day of the sun’s northerly course began on January 11 with the age of the moon about 3 days. The months became full moon ending no doubt, but the reckoning of the months was from the 3rd day of the dark half to the 2nd day next dark half month and continued so on till the next determination by observation of the lunar phase of the winter solstice day. A corresponding reckoning of the half months necessarily followed. In reckoning the full moon ending months, sometimes the first day of the sun’s northerly course became the last quarter of Māgha or *Vyāṣṭakā*, as on January 10, 2448 B.C. (vide *A.I. Chronology*, p. 19). In this case the half months came to be reckoned from one *Aṣṭakā* (last quarter) to the next first quarter, thence to the next *Aṣṭakā* (last quarter) for half months. With regard to the lunar months they were reckoned from one *Aṣṭakā* to the next.

As examples, we have the full moon reckoning started from January 10, 2454 B.C., as the first day of the sun’s northerly course; the last quarter of Māgha in 6 years fell on the *Vyāṣṭaka* on January 10, 2448 B.C.

Again in the year 2450 B.C., January 10, was both a new moon and winter solstice day. The sun came to the winter turning point at 3 a.m. and the new moon happened about 8 p.m. The months became new moon ending in the year 2450 to 2448 B.C., but the first day of the sun’s northerly course came to be reckoned from the first visibility of the crescent. This also shows why in the *Mahābhārata* references used by me for the determination of the *Bhārata* battle should be interpreted in terms of the new moon ending lunar months.

We have seen that the full moon reckoning of lunar months from January 10, 2454 B.C. was changed into new moon ending reckoning on January 10, 2450 B.C. This change is readily seen from the following consideration:

It has been shown that in 8 years, there are 107 sidereal months and consequently 99 lunations, vide page 16, *Ancient Indian Chronology*. Thus in four years there would be 49·5 lunations = 1461·74 days and in 4 years there are 1461 days. Thus in four years the nature of the lunar months is quite liable to be changed from the full moon ending to the new moon ending and *vice versa*, when observational methods are employed in finding the winter solstice days.

UN-PĀṆINIAN SANDHI IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA <sup>1</sup>

By NILMADHAB SEN, M.A., *Professor of Sanskrit, Maharaja Bir Bikram College, Agartala, Tripura*

(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee)

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*Note.*—The following editions of the Rāmāyana have mainly been used in the preparation of this paper:—

- (1) The edition published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, in pothi-form in the Śaka era 1848. (By.)
- (2) The edition published by R. Nārāyaṇasvāmī from Madras in 1933 A.D. (M.)
- (3) The edition published by T. R. Krishṇācārya. (K.)

Besides these, a few other editions have also been consulted.

If not mentioned otherwise, the references to the cantos and ślokaś are given after the Bombay edition.

Sandhi or euphonic combination in Sanskrit, based mainly on the principle of avoidance of hiatus and laws of assimilation, whether progressive, regressive or mutual, is classified by the native grammarians under three heads, viz. vowel, consonant and visarjaniya, according as the final sound of the first word in the combination (and also the initial sound of the second word in the case of vowel sandhi) is a vowel or a consonant or a visarjaniya. The consonant sandhi in the Rā., however, does not show, excepting two or three cases, any noteworthy feature differing from the norms laid down by the great grammarian Pāṇini about 450 B.C.; and it is remarkable that the Mbh. also shows no, or hardly any, case of un-Pāṇinian consonant sandhi. Excepting a large number of cases of hiatus and a few cases of 'double sandhi' and other sporadic un-Pāṇinian forms, which will be noted below, the vowel sandhi also in the Rā. generally conforms to the types sanctioned by Pāṇini. But the visarjaniya sandhi in the Rā., as also in the Mbh., shows quite a good number of cases of double sandhi and other un-Pāṇinian forms.

A comparison of the un-Pāṇinian sandhi-forms in the Rā. with those in the Mbh. reveals the fact that almost all the different types occur in both the epics; the only difference, if it can be called a difference at all, lies in the fact that while the cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi are quite large in number in the Mbh., they are not so in the Rā. This is probably due to the fact that the Rā. is more an ornate epic than the Mbh.; and although

<sup>1</sup> The publication of the critical edition of the Mbh. by the Bhāṇḍārkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has given a fresh impetus to the study of the epic forms and the usages in the Mbh., and a band of Marathi scholars are studying the same from different points of view. But apart from a few isolated papers, notably that of Dr. Michelson, no systematic and comprehensive work has yet been done on the language of the Rā., and the present paper is the first outcome of my detailed study on the epic linguistic forms of the Rā. Dr. Kulkarni's papers on the un-Pāṇinian forms and usages in the Mbh. have greatly helped me in comparing them with similar forms in the Rā.

sandhi was quite flexible in the epic, as in the Vedic, period, the poet of the genuine portions of the Rā. did not take too much license with it, and it is noteworthy that the largest number of cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi occur in the first and the last books.

A few types of un-Pāṇinian sandhi in the epics show a close affinity with Pāli; but it would be unwarranted to think that such forms in the epics are entirely due to Pāli influence, for most of these types occur in the Vedic language as well; and it must be assumed that they were quite common in the older dialects from which were derived Epic Sanskrit on the one hand and Pāli on the other, although it may be true that direct Pāli influence can be found in a few sporadic cases.

Below is given a complete and systematically arranged list of all the cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay Recension).

### 1. IRREGULAR VOWEL SANDHI

As already said before, cases of irregular vowel sandhi, apart from those of hiatus, are not numerous in the Rāmāyaṇa. They, however, may be broadly divided into four classes, viz. (a) double sandhi, (b) sandhi of Praṇḥya vowels, (c) irregular loss of ā after -e, and (d) miscellaneous.

#### (a) Double Sandhi

Only ten cases of irregular double sandhi of vowels are found in the Rā. It is to be noted here, as also in the Mbh. (the first five books containing seven such cases), that the first word always ends in -e and excepting once the second word is 'iti'. All the cases in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot. Examples are:—

i. 21. 8	..	..	pratiśrutya kariṣyēti (M., saṁśrutyaivam kari- syāmi). (Cf. kariṣyēti—Mbh., v. 105. 8.)
M., By., ii. 37. 34	..	..	na cīram asyāḥ pravīdhiyātēti.
M., By., iii. 60. 35	..	..	hā Sitēti punaḥ punaḥ.
iii. 61. 29 (M., 30)	..	..	hā priyēti vicukrośa.
M., By., iii. 69. 14	..	..	chi raṁsyāvahēty uktvā.
M., By., iv. 6. 17	..	..	hā priyēti rudan.
M., By., v. 25. 11	..	..	hā Sumitrēti bhāmini.
M., By., v. 36. 45	..	..	bahuśo hā priyēty evam.
vi. 103. 65 (M., vi. 104. 27)	..	..	yugāntōlkeva saprabhā (< yugānte + ulkeva).
vii. 96. 13 (M., 14)	..	..	sādhu Sitēti cāpare.

#### (b) Irregular Sandhi of Praṇḥya Vowels

Certain final vowels which do not combine with the following vowel are termed as Praṇḥya by the Sanskrit grammarians. Such vowels in Classical Sanskrit are: (1) the vowels i, ū, e as both declensional and conjugational endings of the dual number, (2) the nom., accu. dual and the masc. nom. pl. of the pronoun *adas* (i.e. amū and amī), (3) 'the final o made by the combination of a final or an only vowel with the particle u', e.g. atho, uto, etc., (4) 'the final or only vowel of an interjection', e.g. aho, he, etc., and (5) the pluta (protracted) accent.

The treatment of Praṇḥya vowels is quite anomalous in the RV., for sandhi in the RV. depends entirely on metre, and as such Praṇḥya vowels on many occasions enter into sandhi in the RV. *metri causa*, while for the same reason many non-Praṇḥya vowels do not coalesce with the following vowel. Though in several instances the contraction of the so-called

Pragṛhya vowels is not shown in our text of the RV., still, as the metre shows, it must be pronounced as such. But already in the later Vedic period the special character (i.e. non-contraction) of the Pragṛhya vowels gradually came to be fixed (and finally Pāṇini prohibited their contraction with the following vowel for Classical Sanskrit). It is, therefore, not surprising that irregular sandhi of Pragṛhya vowel is very rare in the epics.

While comparing and contrasting the language of the Rā. with that of the Mbh., Dr. Michelson (JAOS, vol. 25, pp. 89ff.) remarked that contraction of the Pragṛhya vowel is unknown in the Mbh. This is entirely wrong. The critical edition of the Mbh. contains no less than 11 cases of contraction of Pragṛhya vowels in the first five books alone—a number which is much higher than that found in the entire Rā. Out of six such cases in the Rā., four are with the interjection *aho* (but twice only in the first five books of the Mbh.), one is with a nominal formation and another with a verbal formation.

M., By., ii. 3. 2	..	ahô` smi paramapritāḥ.
iii. 58. 17	..	ahô` smi vyaṣane magnāḥ (M., aho`smin`.)
M., By., vi. 98. 1	..	sarasīva mahāgharṁ.
vii. 27. 7	..	ahô` tibalavad rakso (M., asau hi`.)
M., By., vii. 30. 3	..	ahô` sya vikramaudāryam. (Cf. Mbh., III. 40. 29, ahô`yam.)
M., By., vii. 102. 15	..	na jajñātê` tidhārmikau. (Cf. Mbh., i. 57. 88, jajñātê`straviśāradau.)

(c) *Irregular Elision of ā after -e*

There are a few instances in the Rā. in which the vowel ā is irregularly dropped after -e just as the vowel *a* drops after -e. This type of irregular vowel sandhi occurs in the Mbh. also where it is very common, occurring at least 12 times in the first five books. Dr. Michelson (*op. cit.*) gives a very rational explanation of this type of irregular sandhi; first, the vowel ā irregularly becomes ä—as in Pāli and Prākṛit—before two consonants and then the regular sandhi between -e+ä takes place. These cases are on a par with those instances in which the combination -as+ā results in o. Examples in the Rā. are:—

{ vi. 73. 26	..	khe` ntardadhê` tmānam anantavīryaḥ. (Cf.
{ M., vi. 73. 29	..	Mbh., amalê`tmānam, i. 68. 64; manyatê`tmānam, i. 198. 19.)
M., By., vii. 34. 2	..	yuddhê`hvayati darpitaḥ.
vii. 67. 13	..	na tē` jñām kurute` naghā (M., nājñām te). (Cf. Mbh., sthāsyāmi tē`jñayā, i. 70. 41; gaccha tē`jñām, iii. 158. 58.)

It may be mentioned in this connection that attempts have been made to explain these forms in the Rā. in another way. Thus it is held that in the above instances tmānam (a Vedic variant for ātmānam), hvayati (without upasarga) and jñām (a supposed variant for ājñām) should be substituted for ātmānam, āhvayati and ājñām respectively. But occurrences of such cases in the Mbh. as garte` rtāms trānam (i. 45. 5), vavrire` ṅgrasam (i. 71. 6), paryāvavṛte` śramāya (iii. 113. 5), te` stike (i. 53. 18), etc. render such an explanation highly implausible.

(d) *Miscellaneous*

A sporadic instance of irregular sandhi between -i+ä is found in the word Triyambaka, vii. 46. 21. This is probably a phonetic spelling for



the regular Tryambaka. This irregular form is sometimes found in Classical Sanskrit also (cf. Kālidāsa: *Triyambakam saṁyaminam dadarśa*) and the regular form is found already once in the RV., vii. 59. 12, where, however, it should *metri causa* be pronounced as Triambaka. The regular form Tryambaka is found elsewhere in the Rā. also, e.g. i. 75. 12, vi. 94. 38. The irregular form Triyambaka is found for the first time in the Kapiṣṭhala, viii. 10.

## 2. IRREGULAR CONSONANT SANDHI

As already mentioned above, there are only two definite and one uncertain cases of irregular consonant sandhi in the Rā. In two instances the final sound is -n; in one case, final -n of the first member of the combination has been irregularly doubled, while in another case it has not been doubled, although it should have been so. The first instance seems to be copyist's slip and the second one is *metri causa*. In the third instance there is irregular sandhi with 'ahar' not only for avoiding a hypermetrical foot in the verse, but also for avoiding three consecutive short syllables. (See also Great Epic of India, page 256.)

- M., By., i. 63. 21 .. yadi me bhagavānnāha (variant: bhagavān āha  
in T. R. Kṛṣṇācārya's, Śrīraṅgam and an  
old Grantha editions).  
vii. 36. 44 (M., 45) .. grantham mahad dhāraṇam aprameyaḥ.  
M., By., iv. 35. 7 .. aho' manyata dharmātmā (for ahar amanyata).

## 3. IRREGULAR VISARJANIYA SANDHI

Irregular visarjaniya sandhi in the Rā. can broadly be classified under three heads, viz. (a) double crasis, (b) combination of -as + ā resulting in o, and (c) miscellaneous.

### (a) Double Crasis after Elision of Visarjaniya

The most elementary rule of visarga-sandhi is that a visarjaniya (-s) preceded by *a* is dropped if it is followed by any vowel other than *a* (in which case the whole combination is changed to o); it is also dropped when it is preceded by *ā* and followed by any vowel whatsoever; the two vowels thus brought together by the elision of -s do not, however, coalesce and the resultant hiatus remains in tact. But in quite a large number of cases in the Rā., as also in the Mbh., we find that the hiatus is avoided by the un-Pāṇinian double sandhi. Dr. Michelson (*op. cit.*) regarded this type of double sandhi as 'true Vedic archaism'. If by the term 'Vedic archaism' he means, as he probably does, that such forms were current only in the Vedic language, and died out in the epic period, but nonetheless were incorporated in the epics by mere imitation of the older language, he is palpably wrong. Instances of double sandhi after elision of -s are found in the RV. in which *saḥ* almost invariably coalesces with the following vowel; the tendency to double sandhi increased already in the AV. period, the Kāśmīr recension of the AV. showing a great number of such cases, and it continued to be so in the living and popular Sanskrit of the later (epic) period—as also in Pāli—until it was finally prohibited for Classical Sanskrit for all times to come by Pāṇini. (See also Keith, JRAS, 1910, pp. 1321ff.)

Double sandhi on many occasions occurs no doubt *metri causa*, but it could have been easily avoided in many other cases, e.g. i. 58. 4, ii. 51. 8, vi. 84. 6, vi. 96. 9, etc., and this non-avoidance conclusively proves that double sandhi was not only a Vedic feature, but an epic characteristic as

well. Attempts, however, were made later on to regularize these, as also the cases of irregular hiatus (see below), by many ingenious devices, e.g. change of syntactical order, substitutions by synonyms, insertion of particles, etc.

Instances of double sandhi after elision of visarga in the Rā. are:—

(i) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *ā*.—Four such cases occur in the Rā., whereas in the Mbh. such combination either results in *o* or shows the regular form. All the examples in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

- i. 29. 12 .. tapomūrtim tapātmakam (M., °tapodhanam).  
 M., By., i. 62. 13 .. Madhucchandādayah sūtāḥ.  
 vii. 3. 33 (M., 34) .. Laṅkāyām Viśravātmajāḥ.  
 vii. 11. 29 (M., 30) .. sāmpratam Viśravātmajāḥ.

(ii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *i*.—Only nine cases of this type of double sandhi are found in the Rā., whereas the Mbh. contains quite a large number of similar cases of sandhi. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa*.

- M., By., iii. 42. 1 .. gacchāvēty abravīd dīno. (This may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.)  
 M., By., iii. 47. 11 .. Rāmēti prathito loke.  
 iv. 52. 13 .. sādhu atra pravīśamēti. (This may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.)  
 vii. 5. 14 (M., 15) .. prabhaviṣṇvo bhavāmēti. (This also may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one; variant: bhavema prabhaviṣṇavaḥ.)  
 vii. 36. 47 (M., 49) .. eṣēva cānye ca manākapindrāḥ.  
 vii. 66. 8 .. Lavēti ca sa nāmataḥ (M., Lava ity eva).  
 M., By., vii. 79. 15 .. nāma tasya ca Dandēti.  
 vii. 93. 17 (M., 18) .. tathaiva karavāvēti. (This also may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.) And also  
 vii. 36. 42 .. simhaḥ kuṅjararuddhēva (a variant cited by Rāma for 'ruddho vā).

Cases like hā Rāmamātēti (ii. 40. 38), hā bhartēti (ii. 65. 23) do not seem to be cases of double sandhi, but of irregular inflexion, and will be treated under Morphology.

(iii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *u*.—Under this head falls the largest number of cases of double crasis and in most of the instances the second member is a conjugated form of the root *brū* or *vac*. Such cases in the Mbh., however, are surprisingly rare. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

- i. 9. 21 .. yenopāyena sōcyatām (vistareṇa tvayocyatām—variant of the commentary Śiromaṇi).  
 i. 19. 21 .. labdhasamjñas tatōtthāya (K. and Śrīraṅgam—śokam abhyāgamat tīvrām; M. °tathotthāya).  
 i. 39. 11 .. sōpādhyāyavacaḥ śrutvā (M., upādhyāyavacaḥ).  
 i. 58. 4 .. aśakyam iti sōvāca (M., iti covāca).  
 ii. 4. 17 .. sanirghātā divōlkās ca (M., maholkās ca).  
 ii. 16. 31 .. Rāghavōjjvalitaḥ śrīyā (variant cited by Rāma for Rāghavo jvalitaḥ).  
 ii. 51. 8 .. Lakṣmaṇas tu tatōvāca (M., tadovāca).  
 ii. 67. 26 .. samavadantōpatiṣṭhante (M., °vadanto' vatiṣṭhante).

- ii. 87. 15 .. .. bahuśōpahṛtam mayā (M., bahu cōpahṛtam mayā).  
 iii. 66. 17 .. .. tvam eva bahuśōktavān (M., bahuśo' nvasāh).  
 v. 10. 12 .. .. sōpāsarpāt subhītavat (M., so' pāsarpāt). (The M.-reading seems to be the correct one.)  
 v. 51. 40 .. .. yakṣaraksōrageṣu ca. (This may be a case of transfer of stem after the analogy of the preceding word yakṣa; variant in M.: rakṣo-gaṇeṣu ca.)  
 v. 54. 36 (M., 38) .. .. rakṣōpasamhāarakarāḥ prakopāḥ. (This also may be a case of transfer of stem.)  
 vi. 4. 96 .. .. toyaughaisarasōtthitaiḥ (M., 99, sahasotthitaiḥ).  
 v. 62. 9 .. .. punaḥ sa muditōtpatyā (M., utpatyā caivam mudito).  
 M., By., vi. 84. 6 .. .. Lakṣmaṇōvāca mandārtham.  
 vi. 96. 9 .. .. tatōvāca prahasyaitān (M., athovāca).  
 vi. 98. 18 .. .. sōpaplutya mahārathāt (M., so' vaplutya).  
 M., By., vii. 4. 31 .. .. sadyōpalabdhir garbhasya.  
 vii. 5. 8 (M., 9) .. .. vyādhayōpekṣitā iva.  
 vii. 11. 37 (M., 38) .. .. bahuśōktaḥ sudurmatih.  
 vii. 15. 34 (M., 38) .. .. Dhanadōcchvāsitas tais tu.  
 vii. 32. 69 .. .. sōtsasarja tadā raṇe (M., 70, 'hy utsasarja).  
 vii. 33. 13 (M., 14) .. .. Pulastyōvāca rājānam.  
 M., By., vii. 35. 43 .. .. śrutv endrōvāca mā bhaiṣiḥ.  
 vii. 42. 21 .. .. apsarōragasaṅghāḥ ca. (This also may be a case of transfer of stem, for apsaras on many occasions is treated as apsārā.)

(iv) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *e*.—Only two words, saḥ and eṣaḥ, enter into double sandhi with *e* following. The instances are:—

- vi. 26. 23 (M., 24) .. .. <sup>^</sup> eṣaivāśamsate Laṅkāṁ.  
 vi. 26. 28 .. .. Do. (M., 30, eṣo' py āśamsate).  
 vi. 26. 48 .. .. Do.  
 vi. 27. 24 (M., 25) .. .. Do.  
 vi. 27. 45 (M., 46) .. .. Do.  
 vi. 28. 25 (M., 26) .. .. <sup>^</sup> eṣaivāśamsate yuddhe.  
 vi. 61. 9 .. .. <sup>^</sup> saīṣa Viśravasaḥ putraḥ.

A rather peculiar feature of the above instances is that all of them occur in Book vi alone and the sentence, <sup>^</sup> eṣaivāśamsate Laṅkāṁ, is repeated five times.

M., By., vi. 24. 21, śikharair vikirāmainām is perhaps an instance of the use of secondary ending -ma for the primary -mas.

(v) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *o*.—Only two cases of this type of sandhi occur in the Rāmāyaṇa:—

- v. 60. 10 .. .. jitvā Laṅkāṁ sarakṣaughām.  
 vii. 36. 35 (M., 36) .. .. <sup>^</sup> tatas tu hṛtatejaujāḥ.

(vi) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *ā* and followed by *a*.—It is to be noted here that in six cases out of a total of 19, the second member

of the combination is abhavan (°t). The ratio of the occurrences of abhavan (°t) is much higher in the Mbh. (23 : 16 in the first five books).

M., By., i. 14. 24	..	kāñicanālanṛkṛtābhavan.
i. 20. 3	..	yasyāham (< yasyāḥ + aham)
M., By., ii. 20. 37	..	aprajāsmīti santāpo. (It may be that in this case the samāsānta suffix -as has not been added to the word prajā.
M., By., ii. 46. 17	..	Tamasāyāvidūrataḥ (for °sāyā avidūrataḥ).
iii. 56. 27	..	darpam asyāpaneṣyantu (for asyā apaneṣyantu, M. reads : asyā vineṣyadhvam).
iii. 69. 11	..	daryās tasyāvidūrataḥ (for °tasyā avidūrataḥ).
M., By., iv. 60. 8	..	yasminn ugratapābhavat.
M., By., iv. 66. 8	..	apsarāpsarasām śreṣṭhā. (This may be a case of transfer of stem.)
v. 14. 12	..	disaḥ sarvābhīdhāvantam (M., sarvāḥ pradhāvantam).
v. 38. 13	..	Mandākinyāvidūrataḥ (for °nyā avi°; M., °nyā hy adūrataḥ).
M., By., v. 45. 2	..	kṛtāstrāstravidām śreṣṭhā (for kṛtāstrā astra°).
v. 57. 41 (M., 40)	..	muditā vānarābhavan.
vi. 71. 20	..	tūnāśya ratham āsthitāḥ (for tūnā asya; M., tūno'sya).
vi. 93. 19 (M., 21)	..	Vaidehyārocayad vadham. (This may be explained otherwise by taking rocayad as an augmentless impf. form.)
vi. 96. 40	..	te tu hr̥ṣṭābhīnardanto (M., vi. 96. 37, hr̥ṣṭā vinardanto).
M., By., vii. 7. 12	..	vimadāḥ kunjarābhavan.
M., By., vii. 23. 6	..	°labdhavarāvasan. (vasan may be unaugmented impf.)
M., By., vii. 36. 6	..	tāḥ prajā muditābhavan.
vii. 87. 13	..	te sarve strijanābhavan (M., te' bhavaṁs strijanās tadā).

All the cases of sandhi with abhavan (°t) may otherwise be explained by taking this word as an augmentless impf. form, i.e. bhavan (°t).

(vii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by ā and followed by ā.—There is only one instance under this head, e.g.

ii. 74. 13	..	Kausalyāyātmasambhavam (M., Kausalyātanu-sambhavam).
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(vii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by ā and followed by ṛ.—Only one such case is found in the Rā., whereas no such case is found in the first five books of the Mbh.

vi. 41. 51	..	pr̥tanār̥kṣavanaukasām (for pr̥tanā ṛkṣa°; M. reads : pr̥thag ṛkṣa°).
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There is no instance of double sandhi of -ās with any other vowel than those cited above, and there is no instance of double sandhi of -s preceded by ī, ū, e, etc.

There are, however, a few instances, e.g. girīva (vii. 7. 2), yajñavibhūtiyam (vii. 65. 8), kālarātrīva (vi. 44. 16), which at first seem to be cases of double sandhi after irregular loss of visarga; but probably we find here cases of transfer of stem; and rātrī, be it noted, is grammatically correct.

## (b) Combination of -as + ā resulting in o

There are a few cases in the Rā. in which the combination -as + ā results in o as if the second member of the combination were a and not ā. The same phenomenon occurs in the Upaniṣads (cf. gūḍho' tmā—Kāṭha, i. 3. 12) and in the Mbh. where it is much more common, the first five books alone containing not less than 12 such cases. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

- ii. 34. 11 .. āryo' hvayati vo rājā (M., āryā hvayati).  
 M., By., iv. 12. 15 .. Vāliṇo' hvānakāraṇāt.  
 vi. 111. 23 (M., 112. 24) eṣo' hitāgniś ca.  
 vii. 36. 35 (M., 37) .. eṣo' śramāni tānyeva. (Cf. Mbh., bhavanto' śramāya, iii. 117. 7<sup>c</sup>; sambhṛto' śramavāsinā, v. 164. 6<sup>b</sup>, etc.).  
 M., By., vii. 81. 12 .. so' śramāvasatho janah.

## (c) Miscellaneous

Visarga has irregularly been dropped in a few cases, e.g.

- M., By., ii. 20. 37 .. na hy anyah putra vidyate (for putro vidyate).  
 vii. 110. 7 .. gandharvāpsarasasāṅkule (for āpsarasasāṅkule).

Both the cases are *metri causa* for giving a di-iambic close in the posterior pāda of a half-śloka.

Irregular loss of visarjanīya in such cases as sārcaimālī (i. 28. 7), arcimālī (v. 54. 48), jyotimukha (vii. 36. 48, etc.), chandagatau (vii. 36. 45, etc.) are perhaps due to transfer of stems and not genuine cases of irregular visarga sandhi.

eṣah irregularly becomes eṣo at

- vi. 28. 23 .. eṣo hi Lakṣmaṇo nāma (M., eṣo' sya).

This is for making the prior pāda of a half-śloka conform to the first pathyā and avoiding the seventh (i.e.  $\underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup}$  instead of  $\underline{\cup} \cup \underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup}$ ).

Another irregular visarga sandhi is found at

- M., By., iv. 46. 15 .. nityam apsarasālayam (for apsaraālayam).

This also may not be a genuine case of irregular visarga sandhi, but of transfer of stem wherein apsaras has been treated as apsarasā after the analogy of vāc: vācā, diś: diśā, tamas: tamasā, probably for avoiding an internal hiatus, unpleasant to the ear.

*Postscript.*—Keith (*op. cit.*) is inclined to explain the contraction in sarasīva (Rā., vi. 98. 1) by taking the second member as *va* < *iva*, as in Pāli. This explanation does not seem to be acceptable for the following reasons:—

- (i) *va* < *iva* as an independent word is nowhere found in the Rāmāyaṇa (excepting NW. Recension).
- (ii) Keith's theory fails to explain other similar definite cases of contraction of the Praghya vowels, both in the Rā. and the Mbh. (e.g. Rā., vii. 102. 15, jajñātē' tidhārmikau; Mbh., i. 14. 5, samupetē' dbhutē' naghe; i. 19. 16, tē' gādham; i. 57. 88, jajñātē' straviśāradau; v. 45. 3, śisriyātē' ntarikṣe, etc. etc.). But as no such case occurs even in the metrical Upaniṣads, the contraction of Praghya vowels in the epics should be regarded as genuine cases of archaism.

Similarly, it will be futile to try to explain such cases as *karīṣyēti*, *hā* *Sitēti*, etc. by regarding the second member as *ti < iti*, as in Pāli and Prākṛit (for this theory will fail to explain such cases as *Rāmēti*, *Lavēti*, etc. for *Rāma iti*, *Lava iti* respectively). The process of sandhi in such cases is as follows: First the vowel -e becomes -a (i.e. *karīṣye + iti* becomes *karīṣya iti*) as sanctioned by Pāṇini in viii. 3. 19, and then by double sandhi it again becomes -e.

#### 4. HIATUS

Though avoidance of hiatus is one of the basic principles of euphonic combination, still it seems that hiatus is one of the main characteristics of the epic, as of the Vedic, language. The RV. shows a particular preference for maintaining the hiatus. -as before a is changed to o (through I.I. \*-az) and the resultant hiatus, though not shown in about 75% of its occurrences in the written text of the RV., almost always remains; in innumerable cases *y* and *v* are to be pronounced as *ia* and *ua* respectively; sometimes a long vowel, oftenest ā, is to be resolved into two short syllables; the hiatus caused by a regular loss of visarga is generally retained. The written text, no doubt, sometimes shows avoidance of hiatus, but almost always, especially between two pādas, the hiatus is to be restored *metri causa*, and this fact simply proves that the saṁhitās assumed their present form in an age, probably about 400 B.C., when hiatus came to be generally avoided as far as practicable.

The practice of maintaining the hiatus no doubt continued for a pretty long time from the Vedic period downwards and it is not surprising that both the Rā. and the Mbh. contain a large number of cases of external hiatus. This is particularly more common between two pādas, but at the same time is quite frequent in two words in the same pāda as well.

Chronologically the metrical Upaniṣads can be regarded as almost immediate predecessors of the genuine portions of the epics and as such it would be interesting and profitable to make a comparative study of the treatment of hiatus in the Upaniṣads and in the epics. Irregular hiatus between two pādas occurs three times in the Īśa (vv. 6, 7, 10), seven times in the Kāṭha (i. 7; ii. 8, 16, 25; iv. 5; v. 6, 12), and three times in the Muṇḍaka (i. 2. 10; iii. 1. 1; iii. 2. 2), while the Kena does not contain a single such case. Irregular hiatus between two words in the same pāda occurs twice in the Īśa (vv. 9, 18) and six times in the Muṇḍaka (i. 2. 7; ii. 1. 8; iii. 1. 1; iii. 2. 5, 6, 7), and is unknown in others. Internal hiatus (excepting those cases which occur after the regular loss of -s) is found only once, e.g. in the Muṇḍaka (iii. 2. 11). Hiatus, whether regular or irregular, between two pādas has been avoided only once in the Muṇḍaka (ii. 1. 2) and the same between two words within a pāda has been avoided three times in the Kāṭha (i. 25; ii. 10; iii. 10) and sixteen times in the Muṇḍaka (i. 2. 2, 5, 7, 11 [twice]; ii. 1. 2 [three times], 4, 9; ii. 2. 4, 7; iii. 1. 4, 5, 6; iii. 2. 1). Coalescence of vowels between two pādas occurs once in the Īśa (v. 14), thrice in the Muṇḍaka (ii. 1. 9; iii. 1. 2; iii. 2. 8), and eleven times in the Kāṭha (i. 9, 20; ii. 2; iii. 5, 7; iv. 7, 9; v. 3, 14; vi. 14, 15), while the same within a pāda is very frequent in all the Upaniṣads.

From the above analysis it becomes evident that although hiatus between two pādas was quite common in the Upaniṣads, there was a marked tendency to avoid the same within a pāda, mostly by the insertion of the particle *hi*. Similarly, we find that hiatus between two pādas is quite common in the epics, but is comparatively rare between words in the same pāda, whereas avoidance of hiatus between words within a pāda is much more frequent than that between two pādas (in the By. edition of the

Rā. hiatus between two words within a pāda has been avoided, mostly by the insertion of *hi*, not less than 22 times in the First Book, 13 times in the Fourth Book, 11 times in the Fifth Book, 63 times in the Sixth Book, and 71 times in the Seventh Book; hiatus between two pādas has been avoided not less than 10 times in the Second Book, 4 times in the Third Book, 10 times in the Fourth Book, 3 times in the Fifth Book, 13 times in the Sixth Book, and 17 times in the Seventh Book, but not even once in the First Book; some of them, however, show variants in different editions and recensions.

Dr. Sukthankar, while editing the Mbh., was in favour of restoring the hiatus wherever variants were found in the MSS. and it is held that the oldest Nepalese MS. of the Mbh. has confirmed his views (ABORI, xix, pp. 211-15). But this fact only proves that the scribes even at an early date made attempts to avoid the hiatus and regularize the un-Pāṇinian sandhi; and for this purpose different MSS., and even the same MS. at different places, betray many ingenious devices of the scribes and the redactors, e.g. change of syntactical order, upasarga and tense, insertion of indeclinables like *hi*, *ca*, *tu*, *vā*, *api*, *nu*, etc., substitution by synonyms (e.g. *muni* for *ṛṣi*), or cognate words, etc., and these variations in the different MSS. prove that hiatus, mostly between two pādas, is a genuine characteristic of the epic language as well.

Internal hiatus, however, was very rare even in the Vedic language, there being only three irregular (e.g. *titaū*, *praūga*, and the compound *suūti*) and a few more regular (e.g. *namaūkti*, *saptaṛṣi*, etc.) cases of internal hiatus in the entire Vedic literature. It is, therefore, only natural that internal hiatus is very rare in the epics and is found only in compound words. All the cases of internal hiatus in the Rā. are between *a* and *ṛ* (cf. the fact that the combination *a+ṛ* remains as such in the RV., though metrically it should sometimes be pronounced as *ar*) which is sometimes found in Classical Sanskrit also; but the Mbh. sometimes show other types as well (e.g. Mbh., i. 76. 33, *Nārāyaṇaūrogata*).

The most interesting types of hiatus found in the Rā. are those between (i) *a* [*< -as*] and *a*; (ii) *o* [*< -as*] and *a*; and (iii) *o* [*< -as*] and *ṛ*. (ii) is normal sandhi of *-as+a* in the Saṃhitās and although the written texts of the Saṃhitās frequently show the elision of *a*, it must *metri causa* be restored in about 99% cases of its occurrences in the RV. and 80% cases of its occurrences in the AV. and metrical portions of the YV. This type of sandhi and resultant hiatus is found only once in the Upaniṣads (*Muṇḍaka*, iii. 1. 1, *anyo abhicākaśīti*) and is rare in the Rā., although a bit more frequent in the Mbh. (i) and (iii) are unknown both in earlier and later literature and as such may be regarded as truly epic.

From the grammatical point of view, hiatus may broadly be divided into two classes: (i) regular, i.e. hiatus with a Praghya vowel or hiatus caused by the regular loss of *-s* or *-y* or *-v*, and (ii) irregular. As regular hiatus is quite common in later Sanskrit as well, instances of this type of hiatus in the Rā. will not be shown in our present treatment of the subject.

#### (A) Internal Hiatus

There are only 5 cases of internal hiatus in compound words in the Rā.; of them, one is doubtful, as the metre shows; two more show variants, and only 2 seem to be certain.

- i. 8. 59     ..     ..     paramaṛṣiḥ  
 iii. 75. 26     ..     ..     hariṛksaraḥṇāmnaḥ (M., harer Rksaraḥṇāmnaḥ).  
 (By.-reading seems to be corrupt.)

- vii. 35. 65 .. .. sadevagandharvarṣiyakṣarākṣasaiḥ (M., °gandharvasayakṣa; K., °gandharvarṣiyakṣa).  
 vii. 40. 31 (M., 30) .. rākṣasaṣṭṣavānarāḥ.  
 vii. 98. 22 .. .. paramarṣinām vīra (M., paramam ṛṣinā).

(B) *Hiatus between two pādas*

## (a) Between -a and a-

- M., By., i. 1. 42 .. Sutikṣṇam cāpy Agastyam ca Agastyabhṛtaraṁ tathā.  
 M., By., i. 3. 18 .. Anasūyāsamāsyām ca aṅgarāgasya cārpaṇam (Rāma: °cāpy aṅga°).  
 i. 10. 26 .. ehy āśramapadaṁ saumya asmākam iti cābruvan (M., °saumya hy asmākam).  
 i. 25. 10 .. Sunde tu nihate Rāma Agastyam ṛṣisattamam (M., Rāma sāgastyam).  
 M., By., i. 32. 3 .. Kuśāmbam Kuśanābham ca Asūrtarajasam Vasum (Kṛṣṇācārya and Śrīraṅgam: °ca Ādhūrtarajasam).  
 M., By., i. 38. 22 .. tasya putro' mśumān nāma Asamañjasya vīryavān.  
 i. 45. 32 .. atha Dhanvantarir nāma apsarās ca suvarcasah (M., 20, °Rāma apsarāśca).  
 M., By., i. 56. 10 .. vāyavyam mathanaṁ caiva astram hayaśiras tathā.  
 M., By., i. 67. 11 .. darsayaitān mahābhāga anāyo rājaputryoh.  
 i. 67. 21 .. atyadbhutam acintyam ca atarkitam idam mayā (M., °ca na tarkitam).  
 i. 70. 40 (M., 41) .. Sudarśanaḥ Śaṅkhaṇasya Agnivarṇaḥ Sudarśanāt.  
 ii. 53. 29 .. dhruvam adya purī Rāma Ayodhyā yudhinām vara (M., °rājann Ayodhyā).  
 M., By., ii. 59. 16 .. Kausalyā putrahineva Ayodhyā pratibhāti me.  
 ii. 70. 9 .. Śatruḥṇasya ca vīrasya arogā cāpi madhyamā (M., vīrasya sārōgā).  
 M., By., ii. 76. 13 .. ye tv agnayo narendrasya agnyagārād bahiṣkṛtāḥ.  
 iv. 25. 52 .. tatas te sahitās tatra Aṅgadam sthāpya cāgrataḥ (M., tatra hy Aṅgadam).  
 M., By., iv. 27. 17 .. padmakaiḥ saralāiś caiva āśokaiś caiva śobhitam.  
 iv. 36. 6 .. tādrśam pratikurvita amśenāpi nrpātmaja (M., tādrśam vikramam vira pratikartum arindama). (From the M.-reading it becomes evident that the last word in this half-śloka was probably arindama and thus this half-śloka contained another hiatus in amśenāpi arindama, which, however, was avoided even in the By. edition by substituting nrpātmaja for arindama.)  
 v. 38. 38 .. tvayā nāthavatī nātha anāthā° (M., nātha hy anāthā).  
 v. 55. 28 (M., 29) .. tapasā satyavākyena ananyatvāc ca bhartari.  
 vi. 19. 12 .. baddhagodhāṅgulitrāś ca avadhyakavaco yudhi (M., °trāṇas tv avadhya°).



- vi. 22. 31 .. amoghaḥ kriyatām Rāma ayaṁ tatra śarottamaḥ (M., 34, Rāma tatra teṣu).
- vi. 22. 36 .. tasmād tadbhānapātena apaḥ kuṣiṣv aśoṣayat (M., °bhānena tv apaḥ°).
- M., vi. 22. 78 .. tad acintyam asahyaṁ ca adbhutam romaharṣa-  
nam (By., 73, °ca hy adbhutam).
- vi. 22. 78 (M., 82) .. Hanūmantam tvam āroha Aṅgadam tvatha (M., cāpi) Lakṣmaṇaḥ.
- vi. 32. 36 .. tena darśanakāmena aham prasthāpitaḥ prabho (M., °kāmena vayam).
- vi. 36. 5 .. hīnam mām manyase kena ahīnam sarvavikra-  
maiḥ (M., °kena hy ahīnam).
- M., By., vi. 54. 1 .. svabalasya ca ghātena Aṅgasya balena ca.
- M., By., vi. 54. 33 .. nimeśāntaramātreṇa Aṅgaḥ kapikujarah.
- M., By., vi. 60. 8 .. Ikṣvākukulajātena (M., -nāthena) Anaraṇyasya  
yat purā.
- vi. 76. 22 (M., 21) .. Prajaṅgho Vāliputrāya abhidudrāva vegitaḥ.
- vi. 83. 24 .. adṛṣṭapratikāreṇa avyaktenāsatā satā (M.,  
°kāreṇa tv avyaktena).
- vi. 93. 50 (M., 53) .. athavā putrasōkena ahatvā Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau.
- vi. 93. 58 (M., 61) .. etasminn antare tasya amātyaḥ śilavāñi (M.,  
buddhimāñi) śuciḥ.
- vi. 100. 5 .. Dvidiśa caiva Maindaś ca Aṅgado Gandha-  
mādanaḥ (M., Maindaś ca Dvidiśa caiva hy  
Aṅgado°).
- vi. 119. 30 .. amogham darśanam Rāma amoghas tava  
saṁstavaḥ (M., 120. 30, °Rāma na ca moghas).
- vii. 11. 42 .. kumudair utpalaiś caiva anyaiś caiva sugandhi-  
bhiḥ (M., 43, °caiva tathānyaiś ca).
- vii. 33. 5 .. tatas te pratyabhijñāya Arjunāya nyavedayan  
(M., °jñāya cārjunāya).
- M., By., vii. 33. 11 .. adya me kuśalam deva adya me kuśalam vratam  
adya me saphalam janma adya me saphalam  
tapah.
- vii. 36. 18 .. matto madāyudhānām ca avadhyo' yam bha-  
viṣyati (M., °ca na vadhyo' yam).
- vii. 36. 39 (M., 40) .. Sugrīveṇa samam tasya advaidham chidraavarji-  
tam.
- M., By., vii. 48. 13 .. aham tyaktā ca te vīra ayaśobhīruṇā jane.
- M., By., vii. 55. 10 .. vṛto' ham pūrvam Indreṇa antaram pratipālāya.
- M., vii. 56. 7 .. lokanātha Mahādeva aṇḍajo' pi tvam abjajaḥ  
(By., Mahādeva vāyubhūto' ham).
- vii. 56. 11 .. evam uktas tu devena abhivādyā pradakṣiṇam  
(M., °devena cābhivādyā).
- vii. 57. 5 .. pūrvam samabhavat tatra Agastyo bhagavān  
ṛṣiḥ (M., °tatra hy Agastyo).
- vii. 62. 13 .. duhkḥāni ca bahūniha anubhūtāni pārthiva  
(M., °bahūniha hy anubhūtāni).
- vii. 63. 2 .. adharmaṁ vidma Kākutstha asminn arthe  
nareśvara (M., °Kākutstha hy asminn).
- vii. 65. 36 .. matprasādāc ca rājendra atītam na smariṣyasi  
(M., °rājendra vyatītam).
- M., By., vii. 67. 22 .. śūlasya tu balaṁ saumya aprameyam anut-  
tamam.

- vii. 72. 15 .. .. kāle kāle tu mām vīra Ayodhyām avalokitum  
(M., vīra hy Ayodhyām).  
vii. 75. 19 .. .. ity evam uktaḥ sa narādhipena avākchirā  
Dāsarathāya tasmai (M., °narādhipena hy  
avākśirā).  
vii. 76. 23 .. .. tato' bhivādayāmāsa Agastyam ṛsisattamam  
(M., °māsa hy Agastyam).  
vii. 78. 18 (M., 19) .. .. tadā tu tad vanam Śveta Agastyah sumahān ṛṣih.

## (b) Between -a and ā-

- i. 45. 31 (M., 19) .. .. atha varṣasahasreṇa Āyur vedamayah pumān.  
M., By., i. 48. 11 .. .. Mithilopavane tatra āśramam dr̥śya Rāghavam.  
i. 49. 12 .. .. Viśvāmitram puraskṛtya āśramam praviveśa ha  
(M. 14, puraskṛtya tam āśramam).  
i. 58. 11 .. .. cityāmālyāṅgarāgaś ca āyasābharaṇo' bhavat  
(M., °lepaś ca āyasā°).  
M., By., i. 70. 8 .. .. ājñayā tu narendrasya ājagāma Kuśadhvajah.  
iii. 12. 26 .. .. kuśalapraśnam uktvā ca āsyatām iti so' bravīt  
(M., °ca hy āsyatām).  
iv. 43. 31 (M., 33) .. .. tam deśam samatikramya āśramam siddha-  
sevitam.  
M., By., iv. 46. 6 .. .. tataḥ kṣatajavegena āpupūre tadā bilam.  
v. 35. 37 (M., 38) .. .. tāni sarvāṇi Rāmāya āniya hariyūthapāḥ.  
v. 55. 13 (M., 14) .. .. kim agnau nipatāmy adya āhosvid vaḍavā-  
mukhe.  
v. 57. 34 .. .. hṛṣṭāḥ pādapaśākhāś ca āninyur vānararāśabhāḥ.  
v. 62. 24 .. .. balān nivārayantaś ca āsedur harayo harīn.  
vi. 4. 22 (M., 23) .. .. guhābhyah śikharebhyah ca āśu puplūvire tadā.  
M., By., vi. 21. 14 .. .. prasannaś ca kṣamā caiva ārjavam priyavādītā.  
vi. 63. 20 .. .. yo hi śatrum avajñāya ātmānam nābhiraḥṣati  
(M., °abhijñāya nātmānam).  
M., By., vi. 91. 6 .. .. aham tu ratham āsthāya āgamiṣyāmi samyugam.  
vii. 29. 31 (M., 33) .. .. Rāvaṇas tu samāsādya Ādityāmś ca Vasūniś  
tathā.  
vii. 30. 30 .. .. dr̥ṣṭas tvam sa tadā tena āśramam paramarṣiṇā  
(M., 32, tena hy āśramam).  
vii. 30. 49 (M., 51) .. .. nītaḥ sannihitaś caiva āryakeṇa mahodadhau.  
vii. 32. 50 .. .. nīparākṣasayos tatra ārabdham romaharṣaṇam  
(M., °tatra cārabdham).  
M., By., vii. 41. 14 .. .. gamyatām iti covāca āgaccha tvam smare yadā.  
M., By., vii. 59. 17 .. .. abhiṣekeṇa sampūjya āśramam samviveśa ha.  
M., By., vii. 63. 10 .. .. sambhārān abhiṣekasya ānayadhvam samāhitāḥ.  
M., vii. 71. 19 .. .. avāṇmukhāś ca dināś ca āścaryam iti cābruvan  
(By., °ca hy āścaryam).  
M., By., vii. 81. 22 .. .. kṛtodakā naravyāghra Ādityam paryupāsītā.

## (c) Between -a and ī-

- M., By., i. 26. 33 .. .. mūrdhni Rāmam upāghrāya idam vacanam  
abravīt.  
M., By., i. 63. 22 .. .. yatasva munisārdūla ity uktvā tridivam gataḥ.  
M., By., i. 67. 1 .. .. dhanur darśaya Rāmasya iti hovāca pārthivam.  
M., By., i. 67. 12 .. .. vatsa Rāma dhanuḥ paśya iti Rāghavam  
abravīt.

M., By., i. 70. 16	..	viditaṁ te mahārāja Ikṣvākukuladaivatam.
M., By., iii. 13. 4	..	yathaisā ramate Rāma iha Sītā tathā kuru.
iii. 31. 12 ..	..	nāgendra iva niḥśvasya idaṁ vacanam abravīt (M., °niḥśvasya vacanaṁ cedam).
M., By., iii. 66. 5	..	prākṛtaś cālpasattvaś ca itaraḥ kaḥ sahiṣyate.
M., By., iv. 40. 10	..	bāhubhyāṁ saṁpariṣvajya idaṁ vacanam abravīt.
M., By., iv. 56. 16	..	Kaikeyyā varadanena idaṁ ca vikṛtaṁ kṛtam.
iv. 59. 21 ..	..	eṣa kālātyayas tāta iti vākyavidāṁ vara (M., °tāvad iti).
M., By., v. 3. 23	..	kas tvaṁ kena ca kāryeṇa iha prapto vanālaya.
vi. 7. 18 ..	..	ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit kṣapayīṣyati (M., 19, °mahābāhur Indrajit).
M., By., vi. 14. 12	..	dharma-pradhānasya mahārathasya Ikṣvāku- varṁśa-pravarasya rājñāḥ.
M., By., vi. 17. 8	..	sālān udyamya śailāṁś ca idaṁ vacanam abruvan.
M., By., vi. 23. 31	..	Saumitraṁ saṁpariṣvajya idaṁ vacanam abravīt.
M., By., vi. 91. 4	..	stunvāno (M., stuvāno) haṣṣamāṇaś ca idaṁ vacanam abravīt.
M., vi. 117. 32 (By., vi. 116. addl. 1 after 32).	..	kalatranirapekṣaś ca īṅgitair asya dāruṇaiḥ.
vii. 19. 20 (M., 21)	..	tasya rākṣasa-rājasya Ikṣvākukulanandanāḥ.
M., By., vii. 34. 19	..	prayatnavantau tat karma ihatur baladarpitau.
vii. 35. 27 ..	..	yadi tāvac chiśor asya idṛśo gativikramaḥ (M., °asya tv idṛśo).
M., By., vii. 35. 59	..	putras tasyāmareṣena Indrenādya nipātitaḥ.
vii. 51. 22 (M., 23)	..	saṁpṛddhaiś caśvamedhaiś ca iṣṭvā paramadur- jayaḥ.
M., By., vii. 55. 4	..	āsīd rājā Nimir nāma Ikṣvākūṇāṁ mahāt- manām.
M., By., vii. 55. 8	..	tataḥ pitaram āmantrya Ikṣvākūṁ hi Manoh sutam.
M., By., vii. 83. 7	..	Somaś ca rājasūyena iṣṭvā dharmena dharmavit.
vii. 89. 24 ..	..	Budhasya samavarṇaṁ ca Ilāputram mahā- balaṁ (M., °samavarṇābham Ilāputram).

## (d) Between -a and ū-

i. 24. 32 (M., 31)	..	yakṣīnyā ghorayā Rāma utsāditam asahyayā.
i. 29. 18 (M., 19)	..	siddhe karmani deveśa uttiṣṭha bhagavaṁ itaḥ.
M., By., i. 35. 20	..	Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ lokanamaskṛtām.
i. 73. 39 (M., 40)	..	trir agniṁ te parikramya ūhur bhāryā mahau- jasaḥ.
M., By., iii. 49. 22	..	viṣeṣamānām ādāya utpapātātha Rāvaṇaḥ.
M., By., iii. 68. 36	..	snātīvā tau grāhrarājāya udakaṁ cakratus tadā.
M., By., vi. 3. 27	..	nyarbudaṁ rakṣasām atra uttaradvāram āsṛitam.
vi. 39. 24 (M., 26)	..	nānādhātuvicitraiś ca udyānair upaśobhitam.
vi. 59. 45 (M., 46)	..	taṁ Lakṣmaṇaḥ prāñjalir abhyupetya uvāca Rāmam paramārthayuktam.
M., By., vi. 70. 7	..	sa vrkṣaṁ kṛttam ālokyaya utpapāta tadāṅgadaḥ.
vii. 32. 30 ..	..	kṣamaśvādya Daśagrīva uṣyatām rajanī tvayā.

M., By., vii. 36. 1	..	śisukarṁ taṁ samādāya uttasthau Dhātur agrataḥ.
vii. 51. 6	..	°phalamūlais ca uvāsa munibhiḥ saha
M., By., vii. 57. 6	..	tad dhi tejas tu Mitrasya Urvaśyāḥ pūrvam āhitam.
M., By., vii. 71. 11	..	sabhāyām Vāsavasyātha upaviṣṭena Rāghava.
M., By., vii. 94. 5	..	svarāṇām lakṣaṇajñās ca utsukān dvijasatta-mān.
vii. 103. 4 (M., 5)	..	jayasva rājadharmena ubhau lokau mahādyute.
M., By., vii. 107. 11	..	Vaśiṣṭhasya tu vākyena utthāpya prakṛtijanam.

## (e) Between -a and ṛ-

M., By., i. 3. 26	..	aṅguliyakadānaṁ ca ṛkṣasya biladarśanam.
i. 9. 13	..	°mahīpāla Ṛṣyaśṛṅgaṁ susatkṛtam
i. 17. 35 (M., 36)	..	jugopa bhuja-vīryeṇa ṛkṣa-gopuccha-vānarān.
M., By., i. 34. 7	..	nāmnā Satyavatī nāma Ṛciṇe pratipādītā.
i. 60. 22	..	dakṣiṇām diśam āsthāya ṛṣimadhye mahātapāḥ (M., āsthāya muni°).
M., By., ii. 92. 31	..	devānām dānavānām ca ṛṣiṇām bhāvitātmanām.
M., By., iii. 69. 32	..	karābhyaṁ vividhān grhya ṛkṣān pakṣigaṇān mṛgān.
iv. 46. 23 (M., 24)	..	tatra parvatam āśādy Rṣyamūkaṁ nṛpātmaja.
vi. 4. 34 (M., 35)	..	°Jāmbavāmś caiva ṛkṣair bahubhir āvṛtaiḥ.
M., vi. 38. 12 (By., addl. verse 2 after verse 7).	..	Jāmbavāmś ca Suṣeṇaś ca Ṛṣabhaś ca mahā-matiḥ.
M., By., vii. 6. 1	..	tair bādhyamānā devās ca ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ.
vii. 97. 9	..	pratyayo me naraśreṣṭha ṛṣivākyair akalmaṣaiḥ (M., 11, suraśreṣṭhā ṛṣi°).

## (f) Between -a and e-

M., By., i. 3. 29	..	rātrau Laṅkāpraveśaś ca ekasyāpi vicintanam.
i. 42. 20	..	Ikṣvākūnām kule deva eṣa me' stu varah paraḥ.
ii. 64. 43	..	bhūmidasyāhitāgneś ca ekapatnīvratasya ca (M., °āhitāgner eka-).
iii. 31. 33	..	bādhaṁ kalya gamiṣyāmi ekah sārathinā saha (M., °gamiṣyāmi hy ekah).
iv. 18. 54 (M., 53)	..	bālaś cākṛtabuddhiś ca ekaputraś ca me priyaḥ.
M., By., vi. 41. 4	..	idānim mā krthā vīra evamvidham acintitam (arindama).
M., By., vii. 19. 3	..	nirjitāḥ smeti vā brūta eṣa me hi suniścayah.
vii. 35. 6	..	ete Hanūmatā tatra ekena vinipātītāḥ (M., tatra hy ekena).

## (g) Between -a and ai-

M., By., i. 27. 6	..	astram Brahmasiraś caiva Aiśikam api Rāghava.
M., By., i. 56. 6	..	Vāruṇaṁ caiva Raudraṁ ca Aindraṁ Pāśupa-taṁ tathā.
ii. 14. 1	..	viceṣṭamānam utprekṣya Aikṣvākam idam abravīt (M., °udvikṣya saikṣvākam).
vii. 6. 40	..	svādhītaṁ dattam iṣṭam ca aiśvaryam prati-pālitam (M., 36, °cāpy aiśvaryam).

## (h) Between -a (&lt;-as) and a-

- i. 70. 43 .. Nābhāgasya babbhūvāja Ajād Daśaratho' bhavat (M., °Ajāḥ Ajād).
- ii. 110. 31 .. Sudarśanasyāgnivārṇa Agnivārṇasya Śighragah.
- ii. 113. 23 .. Śṛṅgaverapurād bhūya Ayodhyāṁ sandadarśa ha (M., °bhūyas tv Ayodhyāṁ).
- iii. 47. 2 .. brāhmaṇas cātithiś caīṣa anukto hi śapeta mām (M., °cāyam anukto).
- iv. 53. 7 (M., 20) .. yuvarājo mahaprājña Āngado vākyaṁ abravīt.
- vi. 35. 13 .. dharmo hi śrūyate pakṣa amarāṇām mahātmanām (M., °pakṣo hy amarāṇām). (Hiatus in the next half-śloka of the same verse has, however, been avoided even in the By. edition; thus: pakṣo hy asurāṇām.)
- vi. 71. 97 (M., 103) .. Brahmadattavaro hy eṣa avadhyakavacāvṛtaḥ.
- vi. 83. 29 .. yadi dharmo bhaved bhūta adharma vā parantapa (M., °bhūtaḥ adharma).
- vii. 32. 67 .. sahasā rākṣasaḥ kruddha abhidudrāva Haihayān (M., °kruddhaś cābhidudrāva).
- vii. 35. 63 .. mā vināśaṁ gamiṣyāma aprasādyāditeḥ sutam.
- vii. 36. 16 (M., 17) .. varam dadāmi santuṣṭa aviśādaṁ ca saṁyuge.

## (i) Between -ā and a-

- M., By., i. 25. 11 .. āpatantīm tu tāṁ dṛṣṭvā Agastyo bhagavān ṛṣiḥ.
- i. 48. 17 .. muniveśadharo bhūtvā Ahalyāṁ idam abravīt (M., °dharo' halyāṁ).
- M., By., i. 71. 20 .. kanīyān eṣa me bhrātā ahaṁ jyeṣṭho mahāmune.
- i. 73. 32 (M., 33) .. Śatrughnaṁ cāpi dharmātmā abravīt Mithilēśvaraḥ (M., °Janakēśvaraḥ).
- ii. 113. 24 .. sārathē paśya vidhvastā Ayodhyā na prakāśate (M., vidhvastā sāyodhyā).
- ii. 118. 3 .. yady apy eṣa bhaved bhartā anāryo vṛttavarjitah (M., bhartā mamāryē).
- iv. 43. 22 .. haṁsukāraṇḍavākīrṇā apsarogaṇasevitā (M., °kīrṇā hy apsaro°).
- v. 24. 31 .. Rāvaṇasya grhe ruddhā asmābhis tv abhiraḥsitā (M., °ruddhām asmābhis).
- v. 58. 96 .. tasya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā aham apy abruvam vacaḥ (M., °śrutvā hy aham).
- M., By., vi. 34. 10 .. tadbhayāc cāham udvignā Aśokavanikāṁ gatā.
- M., By., vi. 48. 28 .. sā tvam bhava suviśrabdhā anumanaḥ sukho-dayaḥ.
- vi. 113. 69 .. ānitā Rāmapatnī sā apanīya ca Lakṣmaṇam (M., 114. 69, °sā tat te kātaryalakṣaṇam).
- vi. 120. 10 .. na kiñcid abhidhātavyā aham ājñāpayāmi te (M., °abhidhātavyam aham).
- vii. 4. 9 .. Prajāpatiḥ purā śṛṣṭvā apaḥ salilasambhavaḥ (M., °śṛṣṭvā hy apaḥ).
- M., By., vii. 24. 12 .. kācid dadhyau suduḥkhārtā api mām mārayed ayam.
- vii. 31. 5 .. Rāghavasya vacaḥ śrutvā Agastyo bhagavān ṛṣiḥ (M., °śrutvā hy Agastyo°).

- M., By., vii. 52. 15 .. yadartham Maithili tyaktā apavādabhayān nṛpa.  
 M., By., vii. 55. 5 .. nivesāyāmāsa tadā abhyāse Gautamasya tu.  
 M., By., vii. 75. 7 .. so' bravīt prapato bhūtvā ayam asmi narādhipa.  
 vii. 96. 10 .. tam ṛṣim pṛsthataḥ Sītā anvagacchad avānmukhi  
 (M., 11, °Sītā tv anvagacchad).  
 vii. 96. 22 (M., 23) .. iyaṁ śuddhasamācārā apāpā patidevatā.  
 vii. 105. 10 (M., 11) .. niḥṣṛtya tvaritaṁ rājā Atreḥ putraṁ dadarśa ha.

## (j) Between -ā and ā-

- i. 10. 13 .. hārdāt tasya matir jātā ākhyātum pitaraṁ  
 svakam (M., °jātā hy ākhyātum).  
 ii. 32. 39 .. tam pariṣvajya dharmātmā āvāpya Sarayūtaṭāt  
 (M., °dharmātmā ā tasmāt).  
 ii. 71. 3 .. śilām ākurvatīm tīrtvā āgneyam śalyakarṣa-  
 nam (M., °tīrtvā hy āgneyam).  
 vii. 36. 42 (M., 43) .. sinḥhaḥ kuñjararuddho vā (pañjararuddho vā)  
 āsthitaḥ sahito raṇe.  
 M., By., vii. 62. 12 .. santāpaṁ hṛdaye kṛtvā āryasyāgamanam prati.  
 M., By., vii. 80. 18 .. arajāpi rudantī sā āśramasyāvidūrataḥ.

## (k) Between -ā and i-

- M., By., i. 6. 5 .. pālītā sā purīśreṣṭhā Indreṇvāmarāvati.  
 ii. 12. 56 .. dīnayatūrayā vācā iti hovāca Kaikayīm (M.,  
 °rājā iti).  
 ii. 15. 25 (M., 26) .. pratibudhya tato rājā idaṁ vacanam abravīt.  
 v. 60. 8 .. dṛṣṭā devī na cānītā iti tatra niveditum.  
 vi. 35. 6 (M., 7) .. Rāvaṇasya vacaḥ śrutvā iti mātāmaho'bravīt.  
 vi. 84. 7 .. °Sītā iti śrutvaiva Rāghavaḥ (M., °Sītām iha).  
 vi. 113. 40 (M., 114. 40) .. putro me Śakranirjeta ity ahaṁ garvitā  
 bhṛṣam.  
 M., By., vii. 33. 4 .. praviveśa purīm Brahmā Indrasyevāmarā-  
 vatīm.

## (l) Between -ā and u-

- M., By., i. 35. 21 .. Gaṅgā ca saritām śreṣṭhā Umā devī ca Rāghava.  
 v. i. 63 .. khe yathā nipataty ulkā uttarāntād viniḥṣṛtā  
 (M., ulkā hy uttarā°).  
 v. 37. 46 .. °āsaktā uparī uparī° (M., °āsannā hy uparī°).  
 vi. 17. 19 (M., 28) .. nihanyād antaraṁ labdhvā ulūko vāyasān iva  
 (M., iva vāyasān). (For the closing part M.-  
 reading seems to be the better of the two.)  
 vi. 77. 12 (M., 13) .. vikīryamāṇaḥ sahasā ulkāśatam ivāmbare.  
 vii. 35. 36 .. utpapatāsanaṁ hitvā udvahan kāñcanīm  
 srajam (M., °hitvā codvahan).  
 M., By., vii. 48. 2 .. Lakṣmaṇaṁ dīnaya vācā uvāca Janakātmajā.

## (m) Between -ā and ṛ-

- M., By., i. 45. 7 .. naur eṣā hi sukhāstīrṇā ṛṣṇām puṇyakar-  
 maṇām.  
 M., By., i. 69. 13 .. tasya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā ṛṣimadhye narā-  
 dhipaḥ.  
 M., By., v. 9. 9 .. tādrśī tad viśiṣṭā vā ṛddhi rakṣoganeṣv iha.

- vii. 36. 58 (M., 59) .. Agastyādayas tu tac chrutvā ṛṣayah saṁśīta-vratāḥ.  
 vii. 40. 13 (M., 14) .. Rāmasya bhāṣitam śrutvā ṛkṣa-vānara-rākṣasāḥ.  
 M., By., vii. 62. 2 .. Rāghavasya vacaḥ śrutvā ṛṣayah sarva eva te.  
 M., vii. 76. 47 (By., addl. 13). tasya tad vacanam śrutvā ṛṣeḥ paramadhārmikam.

## (n) Between -ī and ā-

- i. 38. 8 .. ṣaṣṭim putrasahasrāṇi aparā janayiṣyati (M., °sahasrāṇi hy aparā).  
 ii. 71. 39 .. apetaṁālyasobhāni asaṁmrṣṭājirāṇi ca (M., 40, °sobhāny apy asaṁmrṣṭā°).  
 M., By., iv. 12. 34 .. tvayi vira vipanne hi ajñānāl lāghavān mayā.  
 iv. 59. 18 .. diṣṭyā jīvati Sīteti abruvan mām maharṣayah (M., °Sīteti hy abruvan).  
 v. 13. 38 .. vānaprastho bhaviṣyāmi adṛṣtvā Janakātma-jām (M., °bhaviṣyāmi hy adṛṣtvā).  
 v. 59. 24 (M., 27) .. pativratā ca suśroṇī avastabdhā ca Jānakī.  
 M., By., vi. 54. 29 .. tataḥ paramatejasvī Aṅgadah plavagarṣabhah.  
 vi. 113. 104 .. śakataṁ dārurūpāṇi agnīm vai yājakāms tathā.  
 vi. 113. 116 .. dārupātrāṇi sarvāṇi araṇim cottarāraṇim.  
 M., vi. 129. 30 .. acintayantī Vaidehī Aśokavanikāṁ gatā (By., 128. 32, °Vaidehī hy Aśoka°).  
 vii. 2. 23 .. dhyānam viveśa tac cāpi apaśyad ṛṣikarmajam (M., °cāpi hy apaśyad).  
 vii. 96. 4 .. Bharadvājaś ca tejasvī Agniputraś ca supra-bhah (M., °tejasvī hy Agniputraś ca).  
 vii. 96. 20 (M., 21) .. tasyāham phalam aśnāmi apāpā Maithilī yadi (K., tasyāḥ phalam upāśniyām apāpā°).  
 M., By., i. 44. 23 .. sarve pāpāḥ praṇaśyanti āyuh kīrtiś ca vardhate.  
 i. 64. 18. .. aham hi śoṣayiṣyāmi ātmānam vijitendriyah (M., °śyāmi hy ātmānam).  
 M., By., i. 72. 15 .. imāny āsanamukhyāni āsyatām (āsatām) muni-puṅgavau.  
 vii. 6. 5. .. śaraṇāny aśaraṇyāni āśramāṇi kṛtāni naḥ (M., °aśaraṇyāni hy āśramāṇi).  
 vii. 34. 28 .. paścīmanā sāgarām Vālī ājagāma sa-Rāvaṇaḥ (M., °Vālī hy ājagāma).  
 vii. 85. 6 .. tredhābhūtaṁ kariṣyāmi ātmānam surasatta-maiḥ (M., °kariṣyāmi hy ātmānam).

## (o) Between -ī and vowels other than ā-

- i. 46. 7 .. tām ālabhya tataḥ svasti ity uktvā tapase yayau (M., °tataḥ svastīty uktvā sa).  
 vii. 89. 23 .. tataḥ sā navame māsi Ilā Somasutāt sutam.  
 i. 21. 8 .. °kariṣyeti uktaṁ vākyaṁ akurvataḥ  
 M., By., ii. 118. 53 .. mama caivānujā sādhiḥ Ūrmilā śubhadarśanā.  
 M., By., vi. 13. 19 .. Rāmam ādīpayiṣyāmi ulkābhir iva kuñjaram.  
 vi. 24. 38 .. śarair ādīpayiṣyāmi ulkābhir iva kuñjaram (M., 39, °ādīpayāmy enam ulkābhir).  
 M., By., vi. 71. 57 .. sa sañcukopātibalā manasvī uvāca vākyaṁ ca tato bṛhacchriḥ.

- M., By., v. 11. 76 .. vicintayan na muñcāmi Rṣymūkam ahaṁ tv  
imam.  
vi. 106. 13 (M., 107. 13) .. vyomanāthas tamobhedī Rg-Yajuh-Sāma-  
pāragah.  
M., By., vii. 39. 7 .. svāni rājyāni mukhyāni rddhāni muditāni ca.  
M., By., vii. 46. 8 .. Gaṅgātīre mayā devi ṛṣiṇām āsramān śubhān.  
M., By., vii. 69. 16 .. Śatrughno vai puradvāri ṛṣibhiḥ samprapūjitah.  
vi. 67. 11 .. tāni cānyāni rakṣāmsi evaṁ cānyad gireḥ  
śirah (M., 12, °rakṣāmsi punaś cānyad).  
vii. 107. 18 .. daśa cāśvasahasrāni ekaikasya dhanam dadau  
(M., 19, °cāśvānām ekaikasya).

## (p) Between -u and ā-

- M., By., i. 65. 5 .. etasminn eva kāle tu Ayodhyādhipatir mahān.  
M., By., i. 70. 38 .. Sagarasyāsamañjas tu Asamañjād athāmsu-  
mān.  
ii. 30. 15 .. patram mūlam phalam yat tu alpaṁ vā yadi  
vā bahu (M., °tvam alpaṁ).  
iv. 21. 11 .. saṅskāryo harirājas tu Āṅgadaś cābhiṣicyatām  
(M., °rājas ca Āṅgadaś cā°).  
M., By., vi. 28. 12 .. triyojanasahasraṁ tu adhvānam avatīrya hi.  
M., By., vii. 32. 10 .. aprāptāny eva tāny āsu asambhrāntas tadār-  
junah.  
M., By., vii. 63. 30 .. anyathā kriyamāṇe tu avadhyah sa bhaviṣyati.  
M., By., iii. 31. 17 .. taṁ svayam pūjayitvā tu āsanenodakena tu.  
vii. 93. 7 .. jātāni parvatāgreṣu āsvādyāsvādyā gāyatām  
(M., °āgreṣu cāsvādyā°).

## (q) Between -u and vowels other than ā-

- M., By., ii. 10. 39 .. kim āyāsena te bhīru uttiṣṭhotttiṣṭha śobhane.  
M., By., vii. 56. 13 .. etasminn eva kāle tu Urvaśi paramāpsarā.  
i. 17. 5 (M., 6) .. yakṣapannagakanyāsu ṛkṣavidyādhareṣu ca.  
M., By., i. 18. 8 .. tato yajñe samāpte tu rtūnām ṣaṭ samatyayuh°

## (r) Between -e and ā-

- i. 40. 9 .. na ca paśyāmahe° śvaṁ te āsvahartāram eva  
ca (M., °tam āśva°).  
i. 45. 41 .. ekatām agaman sarve asurā rākṣasaiḥ saha.  
i. 52. 22 .. tat sarvaṁ kāmadhug divye abhivarsa kṛte  
mama (M., °kṣipram abhivarsa).  
M., By., i. 67. 24 .. mama Kauśika bhadraṁ te Ayodhyāṁ tvaritā  
rathaiḥ.  
ii. 22. 4 .. upakṛptaṁ yad etan me abhiṣekārtham  
uttamam (M., upakṛptaṁ hi yat kiñcid  
abhiṣekārtham adya me).  
ii. 87. 17 .. iti tena vāyaṁ sarve anunitā mahātmanā (M.,  
16, °rājann anunitāḥ).  
iv. 62. 6 .. rākṣasendro janasthāne avadhyah suradānavaiḥ  
(M., °janasthānād avadhyah).  
v. 1. 124 .. tvarate kāryakālo me ahaś cāpy ativartate  
(M., 131, °me hy ahaś°).  
M., By., vii. 46. 9 .. araṇye munibhir juṣṭe adya neyā (M., apaneyā)  
bhaviṣyati.



M., By., vii. 46. 15	..	hrdayam caiva Saumitre asvasthan iva lakṣaye.
vii. 78. 9	..	bhrātaram Suratham rāje abhiṣicya mahi- patim (M., °rāje hy abhiṣicya).
vii. 91. 10	..	sārdham āgaccha bhadram te anubhoktum mahotsavam (M., °te hy anubhoktum).
vii. 102. 13	..	putre sthite durādharṣe Ayodhyām punarāga- mat (M., durādharṣe hy Ayodhyām).
vii. 109. 21	..	sarvāṇi Rāmagamane anujagmur hitāny api (M., °gamane hy anujagmur).
iii. 43. 42	..	sa kadācic cirāl loke āsasāda mahāmuniṁ (M., 40, °lobhād āsasāda).
iii. 47. 48	..	hṛtāpi te'haṁ jarām na gamiṣye ājyam yathā makṣikayāvāgīrnam (M., °gamiṣye vajram yathā).
M., By., iii. 74. 30	..	praharsam atulaṁ lebbe āścaryam iti cābravit.
v. 62. 27	..	madāndho na kṛpām cakre āryako'yam mameti ca (M., °vedainam āryako'yam).
vi. 4. 4 (M., 5)	..	Sitā śrutvābhiyānam me āśāṁ eṣyati jīvite.
M., By., vii. 1. 15	..	yathārham upaviṣṭas te āśrameṣv ṛṣisattamam.
vii. 44. 21	..	tathā vadati Kākutsthe avadhānaparāyanāḥ (M., Kākutsthe hy avadhāna°).
M., By., vii. 74. 5	..	ete dvijarsabhāḥ sarve āśaneṣūpaveśitāḥ.
M., By., vii. 81. 13	..	ihaiva vasa durmedhe āśrame susamāhite.

## (s) Between -e and vowels other than ā-

i. 14. 17	..	.. aho tṛptāḥ sma bhadram te iti śuśrāva Rāghavaḥ (M., °ta iti).
M., By., i. 42. 22	..	.. evam bhavatu bhadram te Ikṣvākukulavar- dhana.
ii. 14. 65	..	.. vyaktam Rāmābhiṣekārthe ihāyāsyati dhar- marāt (M., °ābhiṣekārtham iha).
M., By., vii. 6. 20	..	.. Sukeśam rākṣasam jāne Iśānavaradarpitam.
vii. 76. 10	..	.. diśantu varam etan me īpsitam paramam mama (M., °ma īpsitam).
M., By., i. 33. 12	..	.. Somadā nāma bhadram te Ūrmilā tanayā tadā.
M., By., i. 71. 21	..	.. Sītām Rāmāya bhadram te Ūrmilām Lakṣma- nāya vai.
i. 73. 30 (M., 31)	..	.. Lakṣmanāgaccha bhadram te Ūrmilām udyā- tām mayā.
M., ii. 67. 17	..	.. nārājake janapade udyānāni samāgatāḥ (By., janapade hy udyānāni).
M., By., vi. 6. 6	..	.. trividhāḥ puruṣā loke uttamādhamamadhyā- māḥ.
vii. 86. 4	..	.. atha naṣṭe Sahasrākṣe udvignam abhavaj jagat (M., Sahasrākṣa udvignam°).
vii. 36. 59 (M., 60)	..	.. evam uktvā gatāḥ sarve ṛṣayas te yathāgatam.
i. 14. 25	..	.. ekaviṁśati yūpās te ekaviṁśaty aratnayaḥ (M., ta eka°).
iv. 5. 17	..	.. tvam vayasyo'pi hr̥dyo me ekam duḥkham sukham ca nau (M., °me hy ekam).
M., By., vii. 30. 15	..	.. tatsthasyāmaratā syān me eṣa me niścito varah.
vii. 104. 4	..	.. vasa vā vira bhadram te evam āha pitāmahaḥ (M., ta evam).

## (t) Between -ai and a-

- M., By., vii. 53. 10 .. sa naṣṭām gām kṣudhārto vai anviṣaṁs tatra  
tatra ha.

## (u) Between -ai and u-

- ii. 21. 14 .. dātum icchati Kaikeyyai upasthitam idaṁ  
velā.

## (v) Between -o and other vowels

- vi. 106. 17 (M., 107. 17) .. namo namaḥ sahasrāmśo Ādityāya namo  
namaḥ.  
vii. 91. 14 .. ṛṣayaś ca mahābāho āhūyantām tapodhanāḥ.

## (w) Between -o (&lt; -as) and other vowels

- vii. 2. 33 .. piteva tapasā yukto abhavad Viśravā munih  
(M., 34, °yukto hy abhavad).  
vii. 21. 19 .. gorasaṁ gopradātāro annaṁ caivānnadāyinaḥ  
(M., °dātāro hy annam).  
i. 60. 34 .. tato devā mahātmāno ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ  
(M., mahātmāno munayaś ca).  
K., iv. 11. 64 .. tataḥ śāpabhayād bhīto Ṛṣyamūkam mahā-  
girim (M., By., °bhīta Ṛṣyamūkam).

## (C) Hiatus within a pāda

## (a) Between -a and ā-

- M., By., vii. 31. 10 .. Rāvaṇas tatra āgataḥ.  
vii. 109. 4 .. brahma āvartayan param (M., brahmam  
āvartayan).

## (b) Between -a and ī-

- ii. 49. 13 (M., 14) .. sūta ityeva cābhāsyā.  
iv. 40. 5 .. koṭyoghāś ca ime prāptāḥ (M., koṭyagraśa ime).  
M., By., v. 47. 35 .. mahoragaṁ grhya ivāṇḍajeśvara.  
vii. 5. 40 (M., 42) .. Kumbhīnaś ca ity ete.  
M., By., vii. 8. 1 .. velām etya ivārṇavaḥ.  
vii. 14. 7 .. vyavardhata ivodadheḥ (M., sāgarasyeva  
vardhataḥ).  
vii. 28. 41 (M., 42) .. citrakarma ivābhāti.  
M., By., vii. 35. 42 .. Indra Indreti.  
vii. 61. 19 .. sa vihāya imaṁ lokam (M., 20, vihāya tv  
imam).  
M., By., vii. 90. 7 .. Kardamasya Ilaḥ sutaḥ.  
M., By., vii. 90. 17 .. uvāca Ilaśannidhau.  
M., By., vii. 107. 10 .. Vatsa Rāma imāḥ paśya.  
M., By., vii. 107. 14 .. sarvān no naya īśvara.

## (c) Between -a and u-

- iii. 49. 4 .. kāmārūpeṇa unmatte (M., kāmārūpiṇam un-  
matte).

- iv. 25. 3 .. param karma upāsītum (M., karma śakyam upāsītum).  
 vii. 87. 22 .. prapīpatya Umām devīm (M., prapīpatya hy Umām).  
 M., By., vii. 93. 2 .. cakāra uṭajān śubhān.

## (d) Between -a and ɾ-

- M., By., i. 2. 26 .. Vālmīkaye ca ṛṣaye.  
 M., By., i. 9. 17 .. na gacchema ṛṣer bhītāḥ  
 i. 15. 22 .. siddhānś ca ṛṣisattamān (M., 21, °ca muni-)  
 i. 73. 18 (M., 19) .. kārayasva ṛṣe sarvaṁ.  
 ii. 116. 25 .. Rāmaḥ saṁsādhyā ṛṣigaṇam (M., saṁsādhyā tv ṛṣigaṇam).  
 M., By., ii. 116. 25 .. abhivādya ṛṣim.  
 ii. 119. 6 .. agnihotre ca ṛṣiṇā (M., ṛṣiṇām agnihotreṣu).  
 M., By., iii. 73. 8 .. sarve ca ṛtavas tatra.  
 M., vii. 36. 39 .. sa ca Ṛkṣarajā nāma (By., tatas tv arṣarajā).  
 vii. 36. 48 .. ete ca ṛkṣāḥ.  
 vii. 82. 15 .. abhivādya ṛṣisreṣṭham (M., abhivādya muni°).  
 M., By., vii. 105. 2 .. uvāca ṛṣisattamaḥ.

## (e) Between -ā and other vowels

- vi. 79. 30 .. hatvā aśvān apātayat (M., 38, rathāśvān samapātayat).  
 vii. 49. 5 .. ekā dīnā anāthavat (M., dīnā hy anāthavat).  
 M., By., i. 21. 7 .. dharmātmā iti.  
 v. 38. 38 (M., 40) .. anāthā iva dṛṣyate.  
 M., By., vi. 12. 28 .. khalu sā ihāhrtā.  
 vi. 84. 7 .. hatā Indrajitā (M., °tām Indra°)  
 M., By., vii. 31. 36 .. Gaṅgā iva mahāgajaiḥ.  
 vii. 36. 36 .. tejasā iva bhāskarāḥ (M., 38, tejasā bhāskara-prabhaḥ).  
 vii. 67. 5 .. Māndhātā iti vikhyātaḥ (M., Māndhāteti sa vikhyātaḥ).  
 vii. 88. 9 .. dadarśa sā llā tasmin (M., sā tv llā).  
 iii. 40. 8 .. apāyam vā upāyam vā (M., °vāpy upāyam vā).  
 M., By., vi. 60. 12 .. na mithyā ṛṣibhāṣitam.  
 M., By., vii. 105. 5 .. tac chrutvā ṛṣisārdūlaḥ.  
 vii. 56. 21 .. Urvaśyā evam uktas tu.  
 vii. 69. 28 (M., 29) .. eṣā eva.

## (f) Between -ī and other vowels

- v. 20. 8 .. ekavenī adhaḥ śayyā (M., ekavenī dharā śayyā).  
 iv. 8. 5 .. tvayī ātmagatān guṇān (M., svayam ātmagatān).  
 M., By., iii. 46. 3 .. śikhī chatrī upānahī.

## (g) Between -e and other vowels

- vi. 30. 8 .. balamadhye amarṣaṇaiḥ (M., balavadbhir amarṣaṇaiḥ).  
 vii. 57. 7 .. jajñe Ikṣvākudaivatam (M., jajñe cekṣvāku°).  
 M., By., vii. 88. 7 .. tasmin reme llā tadā.

- M., By., vii. 90. 23 .. Pratiṣṭhāne Ilo rājā.  
 ii. 63. 2 .. āpede upasargas tam (M., āviveśopasargas tam).  
 vii. 22. 2 .. ratho me upanīyatām (M., ratho'yam upanīyatām).  
 i. 17. 31 (M., 32) .. anye Ṛkṣavataḥ prsthān.  
 M., vii. 93. 2 .. ekānte ṛṣivāṭānām (By., ekānta ṛṣisaṃghātaḥ).  
 (h) Between -o (<-as) and ṛ  
 v. 58. 138 (M., 135) .. vasato Ṛṣyamūke me.

(D) *Avoidance of hiatus between two pādas*

Hiatus even between two pādas has been avoided, almost invariably by the insertion of the particle *hi*, in quite a large number of cases even in the best preserved Southern recension of the Rā. But some of them show variants in the different editions of the same recension, and it seems that with a few probable exceptions (e.g. between 'o <-as and a' at i. 34. 21, ii. 2. 28, ii. 44. 15, iv. 32. 18, iv. 46. 22, vi. 18. 12, vi. 71. addl. 2 after 95, vii. 8. 29, vii. 25. 23, vii. 51. 17, vii. 92. 9, etc.), almost all of them contained hiatus in the original Rāmāyaṇa. Such cases, collected from the By. edition of the Rā., are:—

- i. 24. 31 .. na hi kaścid imaṃ śakto *hy* āgantum idrśam.  
 ii. 2. 28 .. Ikṣvākubhyo'pi sarvebhyo *hy* atirikto viśāmpate.  
 ii. 13. 2 .. anartharūpā'siddhārthā *hy* abhitā bhayadarśinī.  
 ii. 15. 8 .. rājñāḥ sampratibuddhasya cānāgamanakāraṇāt.  
 ii. 16. 4 .. sahasotpatitāḥ sarve *hy* āsanebhyāḥ sasambhramāḥ.  
 ii. 44. 15 .. sūryasyāpi bhavet sūryo *hy* agner agniḥ prabhoḥ prabhuḥ.  
 ii. 50. 42 .. diṣṭyā tvāṃ Guha paśyāmi *hy* arogaṃ saha bāndhavaiḥ.  
 ii. 99. 42 .. vanaukasas te'bhisamīkṣya sarve *tv* aśrūṇy amuñcan pravihāya harṣam.  
 ii. 108. 2 .. prākṛtasyeva narasya *hy* āryabuddhes tapasvinaḥ.  
 ii. 109. 20 .. kṣātraṃ dharmam ahaṃ tyakṣye *hy* adharmam dharmasaṃhitam.  
 ii. 118. 1 .. sā *tv* evam uktā Vaidehī *tv* anasūyānasūyayā.  
 iii. 11. 71 .. bhrātaraṃ tam Agastyasya *hy* āmantrayata Rāghavaḥ.  
 iii. 63. 7 .. sā nūnam āryā mama rākṣasena *hy* abhyāhṛtā khaṃ samupetya bhīruḥ.  
 iii. 64. 59 .. asaṃpātaṃ kariṣyāmi *hy* adya trailokya-cāriṇam.  
 iii. 70. 5 .. lokaṃ *hy* atijitāṃ kṛtvā *hy* āvāṃ hantum ihecchati.  
 iv. 1. 7 .. nalinair api saṃchannā *hy* atyarthasubhaddarśanā.  
 iv. 2. 20 .. kasya na syād bhayaṃ drṣṭvā *hy* etau sura-sutopamau.

iv. 9. 10	..	..	tasmin dravati santraste <i>hy</i> āvām drutataram gatau.
iv. 12. 14	..	..	vṛkṣair ātmānam āvṛtya <i>hy</i> atiṣṭhan gahane vane.
iv. 14. 1	..	..	tām āśuvegena durāsadena <i>tv</i> abhiplutām śokamahārṇavena.
iv. 15. 17	..	..	tvarā guṇavati yuktā <i>hy</i> asmin kāle viśeṣataḥ.
iv. 32. 18	..	..	niyuktair mantribhir vācya <i>hy</i> avaśyam pārthivo hi tam.
iv. 38. 33	..	..	nihatya Rāvaṇam yuddhe <i>hy</i> ānayaṣyanti Maithilīm.
iv. 46. 22	..	..	Mataṅgena tadā śapto <i>hy</i> asminn āśrama- maṇḍale.
iv. 58. 13	..	..	devāsura vimardāms ca <i>hy</i> amṛtasya viman- thanam.
v. 13. 67	..	..	drakṣye tad āryāvadanam kadā <i>nv</i> aham tārādhīpatulyavarcaṣam.
v. 27. 14	..	..	taṭas tasya nagasyāgre <i>hy</i> ākāśasthasya dan- tiṇaḥ.
v. 51. 13	..	..	dikṣu sarvāsu mārṅante <i>hy</i> adhaś copari cāmbare.
vi. 13. 16	..	..	naitad Dāśarathir veda <i>hy</i> āvādayati tena mām.
vi. 18. 12	..	..	yas tu doṣas tvayā prokto <i>hy</i> ādāne' ribalasya ca.
vi. 19. 18	..	..	ākhyātāni ca tattvena <i>hy</i> avagacchāmi tāny aham.
vi. 22. 58	..	..	sūtrāṇy anye pragrṇanti <i>hy</i> āyataṁ śata- yojanam.
vi. 22. 73	..	..	tam acintyam asaḥyam ca <i>hy</i> adbhuṭam lomaharṣaṇam (M. 78, °ca adbhuṭam).
vi. 35. 13	..	..	adharṇo rakṣasām pakṣo <i>hy</i> asurāṇām ca rākṣasa. (Similar hiatus has been preserved in the previous half-śloka of the same verse.)
vi. 47. 10	..	..	avekṣya vinivṛttā sā cānyām gatim apaśyati.
vi. 59. 4	..	..	saṁkampayan nāgaśiro'bhyupaiti <i>hy</i> Akampa- nam <i>tv</i> enam avehi rājan.
vi. 71. addl. verse 2 after 95.			muhūrtamātram niḥsaṁjño <i>hy</i> abhavac chatru- tāpanaḥ.
vi. 94. 11	..	..	evam pravṛtte saṁgrāme <i>hy</i> adbhuṭam suma- had rajaḥ.
vi. 125. 18	..	..	striḥbhīḥ parivṛtāḥ sarve <i>hy</i> Ayodhyām yāntu Sītayā.
vi. 130. 39	..	..	vānarāṇām ca tat karma <i>hy</i> ācacakṣe'tha mantrinām.
vii. 8. 26	..	..	rākṣasān hantum utpanno <i>hy</i> ajayyaḥ prabhur avyayaḥ.
vii. 21. 23	..	..	sukham āpur muhūrtaṁ te <i>hy</i> atarkitam acintitam.
vii. 25. 23	..	..	pitā jyeṣṭho jananyā no <i>hy</i> asmākaṁ cāryako'- bhavat.
vii. 32. 11	..	..	savyetarakarāṅgulyā <i>hy</i> āśabdāśyo Daśānanaḥ.
vii. 35. 20	..	..	tasya bhāryā babhūveṣṭā <i>hy</i> Añjaneti pariśrutā.
vii. 35. 23	..	..	dadarśa phalalobhāc ca <i>hy</i> utpapāta ravim prati.

- vii. 47. 11 .. śrutvā pariśado madhye *hy* apavādaṁ sudā-  
ruṇam.  
vii. 51. 17 .. tapasārādhito devo *hy* abravīd bhaktavatsalah.  
vii. 62. 12 .. āryeṇa hi purā śūnyā *tv* Ayodhyā paripālītā.  
vii. 92. 9 .. evaṁ suvihito yajño *hy* aśvamedho *hy*  
avartata.  
vii. 96. 5 (alt. rdg.) .. Kātyāyanah Suyajñas ca *hy* Agastyas tapasām  
nidhiḥ.  
vii. 97. 22 .. evam bahuvidhā vaco *hy* antarikṣagatān surān.  
vii. 99. 11 .. anurañjanti rājāno *hy* ahany ahani Rāghavam.  
vii. 109. 10 .. taṁ yāntam anugacchanti *hy* antaḥpuracarāḥ  
striyaḥ.

In a few cases, e.g. vii. 42. 24, vii. 51. 12, etc., hiatus has been avoided by the insertion of the preposition *ni* and it is difficult to determine whether this preposition formed a part of the original Rā. or not.

### ADDENDA

A few more cases of irregular sandhi and hiatus found in the By. recension, but omitted in the main article through inadvertence, are given below:—

#### IRREGULAR SANDHI

- By., i. 32. 21 .. nāvamanya (for no' vamanya, a variant cited by the  
commentator Rāma and styled by him as  
'apapāṭha').  
By., iii. 13. 12 .. tatōvāca vacaḥ subham (Govindarāja, followed by  
M., reads: dhīro dhīrataram vacaḥ).  
By., iii. 71. 20 .. mitraṁ ca vōpadekṣyāmi (M., °caivopadekṣyāmi).

#### IRREGULAR HIATUS

*Between two pādas*

*Between a and ā*

- By., iii. 36. 4 .. vasanti manniyogena adhvīvasaṁ ca rākṣasaḥ  
(Govinda, followed by M., °niyogena nityavāsam).  
By., iv. 65. 2 .. Maindaś ca Dvīdaś caiva Āṅgado Jāmbavāms  
tathā (M., °caiva Suṣeṇo).  
By., iv. 19. 28 (M., 27) .. supteṇa punar utthāya āryaputreti vādini.  
By., v. 13. 30 .. °duḥkhena abhibhūtā (M., 32, duḥkhena *hy* abhi°).  
By., v. 50. 18. .. °kāryeṇa āgato'smi (M., kāryeṇa samprāpto'smi).

*Between ā and other vowels*

- By., ii. 63. 34 .. tasyāhaṁ karuṇaṁ śrutvā ṛṣer vilapato niśi (M.,  
°śrutvā lālapato bahu). (From the two readings  
it seems that originally the second half of the  
verse was probably 'ṛṣer lālapato niśi'.)  
By., iv. 20. 26 .. vyavasyata prāyam anindyavarṇā upopaveṣṭum  
bhuvī yatra Vālī (M., °prāyam upopaveṣṭum  
anindyavarṇā).  
By., v. 13. 49 (M. 51) .. athavainaṁ samutkṣīpya uparyupari sāgaram.  
M., vii. 76. 40 .. °vinā rājñā eṣa me niścayaḥ paraḥ

## Between e and other vowels

- By., ii. 14. 65 .. vyaktañ Rāmābhiṣekārthe ihāyāsyati dharmarāt  
(M., 66, °sekārtham ihāyāsyati).  
By., ii. 54. 1 .. te tu tasmin mahāvṛkṣe uṣitvā rajanīm śubhām  
(M., vṛkṣa uṣitvā).  
M., By., vii. 100. 18.. niveśya te puravare ātmajau sanniveśya ca.

## Between ai and ā

- By., iii. 43. 3 .. āgacchāgaccha śighram vai āryaputra sahānuja.  
(This verse is not found in M.)

## Within a pāda

- i. 70. 19; ii. 110. 5 .. śāśvato nitya avyayaḥ  
By., iii. 35. 41 .. tūrṇam eva ihāgataḥ.  
By., v. 54. 25 (M. 26) kapirūpeṇa hā iti.

IRREGULAR SANDHI IN THE BENGALI RECENSION (Bl.) OF THE  
RĀMĀYAṆA (CALCUTTA SANSKRIT SERIES EDITION)

*Note.*—Gorresio's edition is indicated by Bl. Ka and MSS. by Bl. Kha, Ga, Gha, Ņa, Ca, etc.

Northern India has always remained a great centre of Classical Sanskrit poetry and, as such, every attempt was made there to regularize, as far as practicable, the un-Pāṇinian forms found in the epics. As a result of this tampering with the original epic language of the Rā., the Bl. recension shows only a few cases of irregular sandhi, including the variants found in the MSS. As against about 90 cases of irregular sandhi in the By. recension, the Bl. recension shows only about 38 cases. Of them Bl. ii. 17. 27 (apra-jāsmīti), iii. 54. 14 (Rāmēti), iv. 5. 15 (hā priyēti), iv. 52. 40 (praviśāmēti—twice in Bl. and M., but once in By.), iv. 60. 8 (ugratapābhavat), v. 2. 14 (apsarāpasarasām), v. 15. 12 (sōpāsarpāt), v. 34. 20 (hā priyēty evam), v. 59. 20 (sarakṣaughām), vi. 78. 1 (sarasīva), vii. 35. 7 (ahō'tibalavad), vii. 38. 3 (ahō'sya), and vii. 40. 18 (dhārayan aprameyaḥ) correspond to By., ii. 20. 37, iii. 47. 11, iv. 6. 17, iv. 52. 13, iv. 60. 8, iv. 68. 8, v. 10. 12, v. 36. 45, v. 60. 10, vi. 98. 1, vii. 27. 7, vii. 30. 3 and vii. 36. 44 respectively. Those cases of irregular sandhi, which have no corresponding forms in the By. recension, are given below:—

## 1. Irregular vowel sandhi

## (a) Double sandhi

- Bl., iii. 79. 10 .. kaccit tēndriyasamyaḥ.  
Bl., v. 32. 51 .. dhriyatēti Rāmam.  
Bl., v. 34. 23 .. priyēti hā.  
Bl. Cha, vii. 103. 12 sādhu Sītēti (variant: Sīte sādhu iti).

## (b) Sandhi with Praghyā vowels

- Bl., ii. 12. 29 .. ahō'dyānugṛhītāḥ.  
Bl., vi. 41. 12 .. ahō'sya sadṛśam sakhyam.  
Bl., vi. 111. 24 .. ahō'dbhutam.

## (c) Miscellaneous

Bl. Ka, Gha, Ņa, Cha, abhyupetum (variant: abhyupaitum).  
Jha, Ḍa, iii. 53. 7.

## 2. Irregular consonant sandhi

One rather remarkable case of irregular consonant sandhi, a resultant of haplology or, more probably, of apocope, is found at

Bl., iv. 9. 99 .. Hanumādibhiḥ (for Hanumadādibhiḥ; cf. pṛṣḍara for \*pṛṣadudara).

## 3. Double sandhi of visarga

## (a) Double sandhi of -as and ā

Bl., vii. 23. 9 .. idam Viśravasâtmaja.  
Bl., vii. 38. 47 .. (Com.'s reading) sô'ryakeṇa (for sa āryakeṇa; variant: svāryakeṇa).

## (b) Double sandhi of -as and i

Bl., iii. 56. 18 .. rākṣasêti samudvegam.  
Bl., iv. 10. 32 .. gaccha rakṣêti.  
Bl., vi. 40. 50; vii. 31. 42 .. rakṣêndro° (Cf. Bengali, tejendra, etc.)  
Bl., vii. 64. 52 .. Brahmadattêti nāmnaiṣaḥ.

## (c) Double sandhi between -as and u

Bl., iii. 81. 31 .. padmapuṣparajônmiśraḥ (may be a case of transfer of rajas to raja).  
Bl., iv. 10. 26 .. sôttare vāry upāsṛsat.  
Bl. Cha., vii. 64. 21 .. acakṣuṣôttamaṁ cakṣuḥ (variant: acakṣuṣo hi tvam).

## (d) Double sandhi between -ās and a

Bl. Gha., i. 12. 6 .. khanakâpi ca (variant: khanakā api).  
Bl., iii. 32. 32 .. sahitâbhyadravan (Ņa, Ḍa, sahitâ hy adravan).  
Bl., vi. 37. 79 .. hr̥ṣṭamanâbhavat.  
Bl., vi. 49. 35 .. vāryamânâpi harayah.  
Bl., vi. 51. 104 .. trastâbhavan.  
Bl., vi. 77. 9 .. sarve yūthâdhipâbhavan.

## (e) Double sandhi between -ās and ā

Bl. Ņa., i. 18. 11 .. narâśu samupāgaman (variant: narāstam).





**SOME NOVEL SYMBOLS ON THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE  
CABINET OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL**

By SUNIL CHANDRA RAY, M.A.

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While arranging the coins in the Cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, I noticed several new symbols on the obverse of some of the punch-marked silver coins. I take this opportunity to present them before the learned members of the Society.

One of the most interesting stamps, which invariably occurs on punch-marked coins, is a sort of six-armed symbol, usually made up of two or three arrow-heads alternating with a taurine, a dumb-bell and some other designs. Different varieties of the so-called six-armed symbol have already been noted and classified by distinguished numismatists like Spooner, Theobald, Walsh, Allan, Durgaprasad, Bhattacharya and others.

As early as 1890, Theobald observed (J.A.S.B., 1890) 9 varieties of six-armed symbols on the punch-marked coins of Ancient India. Subsequent discoveries and examinations revealed several other types of such symbols and when in the year 1936 Allan published his Catalogue of coins of Ancient India in the B. M. Collection, he noted as many as 14 variants of it. The distinguished numismatist of the British Museum also declared that the finds which were published and illustrated in different journals or works up to the time of the publication of his catalogue, contained no symbol unrepresented in the Museum collection of the p-m. coins: but the Golakpur (Patna) hoard published by Walsh in the J.B.O.R.S., 1919 contained types of symbols unrepresented in the British Museum. But so far as the six-armed symbol was concerned the Patna find contained only one variety and this was already represented in the B. M. Catalogue.

Durgaprasad's well-illustrated article on the classification and significance of the symbols on the silver p-m. coins of Ancient India, published in the Numismatic Supplement of J.A.S.B., 1934, was an interesting one. The plates accompanying this article showed 15 types of different six-armed symbols on the p-m. coins found throughout India in addition to those presented by Allan.

A hoard of punch-marked coins from Taxila was published, with detailed descriptions by Walsh, in the year 1938 in the Memoir of the A.S.I., No. 59. The six-armed symbols found on the older coins of Taxila contained 11 new varieties in addition to those already published.

Shortly after the publication of Walsh's memoir, a hoard of silver punch-marked coins from Purnea was elaborately described with illustrations by P. N. Bhattacharya in the M.A.S.I., No. 62. The six-armed symbols found on these coins were as many as 28 of which 13 symbols were unlike the previous ones.

The punch-marked coins in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal contain three new and unpublished varieties of this symbol. The first is a circle with a pellet in the centre; around the circle are six-arms, three of which are arrow-heads which alternate with a crescent-topped standard. This variety can be clearly recognized on four specimens. (See Fig. 1.)

Another interesting variety appears on one coin only. Unfortunately, part of it only appears on the coin. The four arms which are visible

consist of an arrow, the petal of a flower or a leaf, a crescent on a standard and a small circular object,—all attached to a circle round a pellet. (See Fig. 2.)

Another symbol which was possibly a six-armed one, but of which only three arms are visible, represents an arrow, a dumb-bell and a combination of two circles—all connected with a circle round a pellet. This symbol is present on one coin only. (See Fig. 3.)

A fourth new design on the punch-marked coins of the Society is a circle round a pellet or circlet, surmounted by taurines and small semi-circles; a larger circle surrounding the whole object. (See Fig. 4.) It may be mentioned that a wheel surmounted by taurines and small crescents, which appears on several coins found at Taxila is very similar to this design, (see Mem. A.S.I., 56, pl. I-58a) and only after a close examination the difference existing between them may be noted. Symbol 4 appears on three specimens.

Besides the four new varieties of symbols mentioned above, there is another novel design—triple arrow standing on a line. (See Fig. 5.) This symbol, closely related to a symbol of three arrows standing on a semi-circle, known from other varieties, occurs only on a single specimen.

The provenance of these punch-marked coins cannot be traced. But from stylistic consideration it appears that those which bear the symbol No. 4, might possibly have been deposited in or around Taxila.

It is not possible to interpret definitely the significance of the new types of symbols found on these coins, since there is no agreement of opinion among scholars regarding the meaning of the punch-marks themselves.

D. B. Spooner once opined that many of these symbols were Buddhist in character (A.S.I.A.R., 1905-06, pp. 151ff.). Later on, he changed his opinion and suggested that most of the symbols were Zoroastrian (J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 411-13).

D. R. Bhandarkar thought that most of these represented the seven jewels, *Sapta ratnāni*, viz. *hastī*, *aśva*, *ratha*, *maṇi*, *śtrī*, *grhapati* and *pari-nāyaka*—the insignia of an Indian *Chakravartin* empowered to issue coins (A.S.I.A.R., 1913-14, p. 211), whereas Durgaprasad tried to explain them as Tantric in character (J.A.S.B., 1934, Num. Suppl., XLV, pp. 16-55).

According to Allan many of the symbols are simple and taken from the animal and plant world, while others are quite unintelligible and some may be conventionalized form of pictographic symbols (Intr. B. M. Cat. of Ancient Indian Coins, p. xxiii).

The suggestion that many of the punch-marks are religious in character (Coomaraswamy—Indian and Indonesian Art, pp. 43-45; Banerjea—Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 120) seems to be the most probable one, in the present state of our knowledge, specially if we remember the religious and cult associations of the various devices and symbols on tribal coins and other later coins. The new punch-marks found in the coins of the Society may also have had some religious and cult significance attached to them.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

## KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS CONCERNING FISH AND FISHERIES OF INDIA

### 2. FISHERY LEGISLATION IN ASOKA'S PILLAR EDICT V (246 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>

By SUNDER LAL HORA, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., C.M.Z.S., F.R.A.S.B., F.N.I.,  
*Director, Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta*

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#### INTRODUCTION

Though this is the second<sup>2</sup> article of the series started in 1948, in fact this is the fourth<sup>3</sup> article in which a critical review is given of the knowledge of ancient Hindus concerning the fish and fisheries of India. Dr. B. C. Law's financial assistance enabled the writer to engage some Oriental scholars for collating references to fish and fisheries in ancient Hindu literature in order to write this series of articles, but I regret it has not been possible for me to devote much time to this work in spite of the fact that a considerable amount of partly digested material is now available for my study.

In the present article, an attempt is made to elucidate the significance and importance of the injunctions laid down by Asoka concerning the catching of fish in his benevolent laws. I have made every attempt to complete this article as a dedication to the Republic of India when it comes into existence on the 26th January, 1950, for it seems to me that we may

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. B. C. Law for giving me the correct date of the Pillar Edict V. Asoka ascended the throne in 272 B.C. (*vide* V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 206-207). The Pillar Edict V was put up when he had ruled for 26 years.

<sup>2</sup> For the first article on 'References to Fish in Arthaśāstra (ca. 300 B.C.)' see *J.R.A.S.B. Sci.*, XIV, pp. 7-10 (1948).

<sup>3</sup> For the two earlier articles see 'Ancient Hindu Conception of Correlation between Form and Locomotion of Fishes', *J.R.A.S.B. Sci.*, I, pp. 1-7 (1935) and 'Sanskrit Names of Fish and their Significance', *J.R.A.S.B. Sci.*, XIV, pp. 1-6 (1948).

have to go back to the Asokan period, not only for an Emblem of *Chakra* on our National Flag and Asoka's Capital *Motif* for the official seal but also for the conduct of our day-to-day life.

#### ASOKA AND HIS INSCRIPTIONS

In order to supply the necessary background for the readers of this article, Shri S. K. Saraswati<sup>1</sup>, Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, very kindly supplied to me the following note concerning Asoka and his Inscriptions:—

"The main sources of our knowledge about Asoka and his activities fall into two categories—Literary and Archaeological. Of these, the latter, consisting of Asoka's own inscriptions, constitutes the direct source of his history. In his inscriptions the king is styled as *Devānāmpriya Piyadasi rājā (lājā)*, i.e., 'King Priyadarśi, the beloved of the gods'. The identity of this king with Asoka, suggested long ago, has been proved beyond doubt by the discovery of the Maski version of the minor Rock edicts which substitutes the name Asoka for Piyadasi.

Inscriptions of Asoka have been found engraved on rocks, separate stone block, stone pillars and in caves. Except the last they have been designated as *dhammalipi* translated as "edicts of the law of piety (morality)". Those on rocks have been divided into three broad categories:

- (a) Fourteen Rock Edicts in seven or eight (if the Sopara version of the Edict VIII is taken to imply the existence of thirteen others, at that place) recensions.
- (b) Two Rock Edicts separately incised at Dhauli and Jaugada, each in two recensions.
- (c) One minor Rock Edict in ten recensions.

Of the inscription on stone block, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has the Calcutta-Bairat Edict enumerating the sacred texts of the doctrine.

The Pillar inscriptions fall into two groups:

- (a) Seven Pillar Edicts, the first six in six recensions with the seventh on the Delhi-Topra pillar.
- (b) Minor Pillar Edicts—
  1. One schism Edict in three recensions.
  2. Queen's Edict in one recension.
  3. Two votive or commemorative pillar inscriptions.

These inscriptions are of outstanding interest for a study of Asoka as herein we can trace the successive stages of the working and outpourings of the mind of Asoka, who has been regarded as 'one of the greatest personalities of world history.'

#### ASOKA'S PILLAR EDICT V

Asoka's Pillar Edict V, which shows his *Dhammaniyama* or regulation of piety, has been found without any textual variation from six places, namely, Topra (90 *kos* from Delhi on the direct line between Ambala and Sirsava); Mirat, U.P.; Radhia (= Lauriya), Champaran Dist., N. Bihar; Mathia, 15 miles N.W. of Betiya, Champaran Dist., N. Bihar; Rampurva, 32 miles N.W. of Betiya, Champaran Dist., N. Bihar and Kosam, Allahabad, Dist., U.P. It deals with the regulations for the protection of many varieties of animals and the following is its free translation after Hultzsch<sup>2</sup>:—

'King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:

(When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz. parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandī*—

<sup>1</sup> I wish to record here my sincere thanks to Mr. Saraswati for his help in elucidating several unintelligible points in the translations of Asoka's Inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Hultzsch, E.—Inscriptions of Asoka in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, p. 128 (925).

*mukha*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants, terrapins, boneless fish, the *vedaveyake*, the *Gaṅgā-puṇḍāka*, skate-fish, tortoises and porcupines, squirrels(?), the *śrīmara*, bulls set at liberty, iguanas(?), the rhinoceros, white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

Those (she-goats), ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

Cocks must not be caponed.

Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmasīs (and) on the Tishyā full-moon during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.

And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight, on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmasīs, (and) on festivals, bulls must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmasīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmasī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

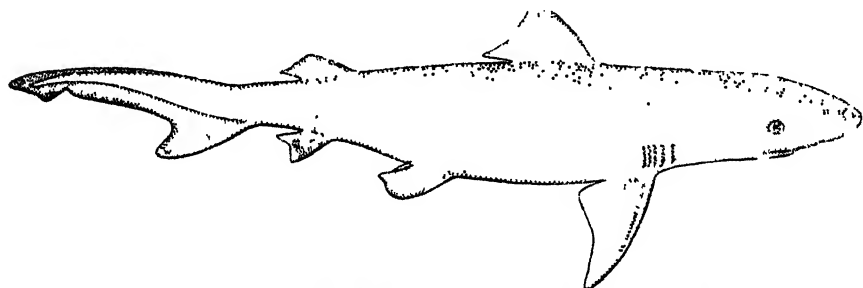
Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).'

Five varieties of fish or fish-like animals are included in this Edict. I shall discuss here the probable identity of these fishes as there is a considerable controversy among Oriental scholars on this point. Throughout this article, I shall refer to the translation and glossary as given by Barua<sup>1</sup>, the most recent work on the subject. The five species of fish in this Pillar Edict are (i) *Anathikamachhe*, (ii) *Vedaveyake*, (iii) *Gaṅgāpūṇḍake*, (iv) *Sam-kujamachhe*, and (v) *Kaphatā-ayake*. I shall consider each one of these separately, but as a general background it must be remembered that the ancient Hindus 'knew a great deal about the external features and habits of a variety of freshwater fishes of the Indo-Gangetic Plain' (Hora, *op. cit.*, p. 6, 1948).

#### IDENTIFICATION OF FISHES

##### *Anathikamachhe*

Literally meaning 'the boneless fish'. The Oriental commentators have surmised it to mean 'The prawns or shrimps, the jelly-fish, and the



TEXT-FIG. 1.—*Anathikamachhe*, the boneless fish = a Shark.

Lateral view of the Gangetic Shark, *Carcharhinus gangeticus* (Müll. & Henle).

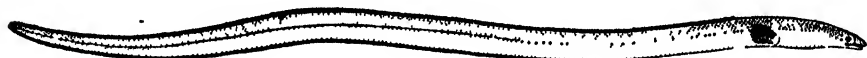
star-fish are typical examples of boneless or invertebrate fishes' (*Anasthika-matsya*). From a scientific point of view, there is lot of confusion of

<sup>1</sup> Barua, B. M.—*Inscriptions of Asoka*. Part II, Translation, Glossary, and General Index, pp. 358-374 (University of Calcutta, 1943).

thought in the above commentary. Vertebrates or broadly speaking Chordates, some of which are worm-like (*Balanoglossus*) or jelly-fish-like (Ascidians) animals, are distinguished from the invertebrates by the possession of (i) a dorsal tubular nervous system as opposed to a ventral solid nervous system, (ii) a dorsal supporting rod, the notochord, which is replaced by vertebrae in the vertebrates, and (iii) perforated pharynx for respiration. Among fishes, there are two main divisions, Cartilaginous or Boneless fishes (Elasmobranchii) and Bony fishes (Teleostei). In the former category are included the Sharks, Rays, and Skates. In their general appearance, Skates are not fish-like and are, therefore, mentioned separately in this Pillar Edict. Knowing the keen power of observation and precision of thought of the ancient Hindus, I feel convinced that in *Anāhikamachhe* reference is made to Sharks, some of which ascend rivers for considerable distances into fresh waters.

### *Vedaveyake*

According to Barua (p. 358), 'The name is a matronymic from *vedavā*, Sk. *vidravī*, meaning something "easily eluding the grasp" (Dr. B. C. Law informs me that 'some think of something without a hood, eel'). He comments that 'In the alternative, the name may be equated with *riṣajpilaka*, which means eels or eel-like fishes that live in mud (*paṁkagāḍakah*, *brahmī*), probably the cylindrical snake-headed eels prohibited in the law books'. His second comment is that 'Assuming that *Vedaveyake* is a scribe's error for *Chedaveyake*, the intended fish may be identified with (*hitravallikah* or *pāṭhina* (*silurus boalis*, a sheet-fish)).'



TEXT-FIG. 2.—*Vedaveyake*, something easily eluding grasp = an Eel.

Lateral view of the common estuarine eel of the Gangetic Delta, *Pisodonophis boro* (Hamilton).

When discussing the general implications of this law, I shall show that the *Boali* sheet-fish (*Wallago attu*), a prized food fish, could not be intended in *Vedaveyake*, but eels would correctly represent what may have been meant. These serpent-like fishes live in mud and are very slimy and, therefore, easily elude the grasp by slipping through the hand. There is an English proverb also to the same effect—'as slippery as an eel'. Those, who may wish to know more about the ecology and bionomics of eels, may see two articles<sup>1</sup> published in the *Journal* on the Boro-eel of the Sundarban estuaries.

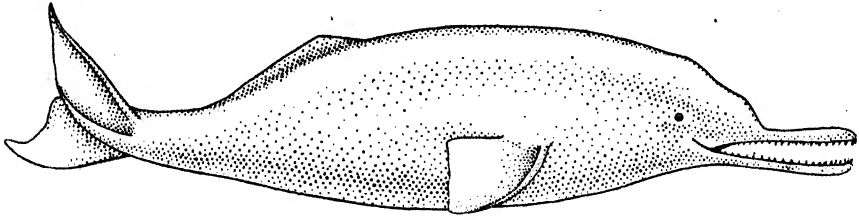
### *Gaṁgāpupūṭake*

Most of the Oriental scholars have not identified this fish but Barua (pp. 358-359) comments:

'The Sanskrit equivalent of *pupūṭaka* is either *puppūṭaka*, *kukkūṭaka* or *pipṭaka*. Presumably this is the name of a kind of fish. Had it been the name of a bird, it would

<sup>1</sup> Hora, S. L.—A note on the Biology of the Precipitating Action of the Mucus of Boro Fish, *Pisodonophis boro* (Ham.). *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.) XXIX, pp. 271-274 (1933); Raychaudhuri, S. and Majumdar, B.—A note on the Chemistry of the Precipitating Action of Slime Water obtained from Boro Fish, *Pisodonophis boro* (Ham.). *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.) XXIX, pp. 275-283 (1933).

have been easy to identify the *gaṃgāpupūṭake* with *gaṃgākukkūṭake*, *gaṃgāchillī*, *jala-kukkūṭī*, *gāṃgchīl* or black-headed gull. If it be the name of a fish, as it undoubtedly seems to be, there is nothing in Pali, Prakrit or Sanskrit to correspond to it. In



TEXT-FIG. 3.—*Gaṃgāpupūṭaké*, fish-like creature having a lumpy body = the Gangetic Dolphin.

Lateral view of the Freshwater Indian Dolphin, *Platynista gangetica*.

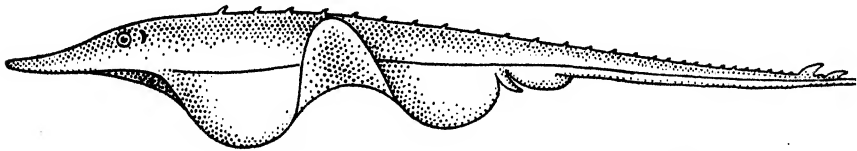
Sanskrit the name *gaṃgāṭeya* is applied to prawns or shrimps. The word *pupūṭaka* may be taken to mean a fish or fish-like creature having a swollen or lumpy body, and this may lead one to think of porpoises. And *gaṃgākukkūṭaka* may be taken to mean the flying fish. The word *pīṭaka* means something which is terribly hungry and thirsty. But this leads us nowhere.'

I think in the identification of this animal, the meaning of the word *pupūṭaka* as a fish-like creature having a swollen or lumpy body is very significant. In the general context of this law, I feel almost certain that it refers to the Indian freshwater porpoise, *Platynista gangetica*.

#### *Samkujamachhe*

The literal translation of the above name would be a 'Contracting fish : (Sanskrit: *Sam Kuc* or Contract), but Barua (p. 359) in his comments states'

'The appropriateness of this rendering is open to doubt. The Amarakosha-Tīkā applies the name *śamkocha* to an aquatic animal (*jala-jantu*) called *śaṅku* in the Amarakosha, Pātālavarga, while in Bengali the skate fish is called *sākach*. The skate is just a species of ray fish (flat and cartilaginous) allied to shark. In Chittagong dialect,



TEXT-FIG. 4.—*Samkujamachhe*, a contracting fish = a Skate.

Showing wave motion in the fins of a Skate (after Breder).

The fish is capable of moving by wave-like contracting and expanding movements of the fins themselves. The waves travel at right angles to the longitudinal axis of the body.

the name *hāṇach* (*sākach*) applies to a flat, circular, lumpy in the upper part and whip-tailed variety of ray fish. Monmohan Chakravarti draws attention to *śankuchi* in the Bhojprabandha.'

The movement of a ray is by the alternate contraction and expansion of its body as shown in the accompanying illustration and I think in this name reference is made to skates and rays, some of which ascend into fresh waters for long distances. The name indicates that the ancient Hindus were fully conversant with the mode of locomotion adopted by skates and rays in moving from one place to another.





found in our fresh waters. They possess a hide-like skin beset with porcupine like spines and when irritated or in danger swell up like a balloon and float upside down feigning death. Probably the fish referred to is the common Gangetic form *Tetraodon cutcutia* Hamilton.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF PROTECTION

From the above discussion, it seems probable that the species of fish referred to in the Pillar Edict V belong to the following kinds:—

1. *Anāthikamachhe* = Sharks, boneless fishes.
2. *Vedaveyake* = Eels, fishes easily eluding grasp.
3. *Gaṃgāpuputake* = Porpoise, fish-like animal with a lumpy body.
4. *Samkujamachhe* = Skate or Ray, fishes moving by contracting and expanding their bodies.
5. *Kaphaṭasayake* = Globe-fish, fish like a porcupine and feigning death when in danger.

These varieties of animals are declared inviolable under the law and we shall now seek the reason why. Barua (p. 355) gives the following explanation:—

'Although motivated by the spirit of *ahimsā* or *avahimsā*, Asoka's was not an idealistic or utopian scheme, which was not enforceable under the law. He was guided in this matter, particularly with reference to all quadrupeds, by this two-fold consideration: *ye paṭṭbhogaṃ no eti na chu khādiyati*, "that do not come into man's use, nor are eaten by men".'

It will be seen from the above that Asoka's purpose was to put a stop to unnecessary killing or torture of undesirable creatures. Even judged by modern religious beliefs among the Hindus, when several old traditional practices have crumbled down already, there is a strong prejudice against eating the flesh of the five varieties of animals enumerated above. There are, however, sound reasons in certain cases. For instance, Globe-fishes and their allies are poisonous and should not be eaten. Unless properly treated, the flesh of Sharks, Rays, and Skates is bitter to taste and gritty on account of the deposition of uric acid crystals in their flesh. The Gangetic Porpoise is revered among the Hindus of the Indo-Gangetic Plain and its flesh is not eaten. With the exception of certain parts of South India, eels are not eaten on account of their strong resemblance to snakes. It would thus appear that the present-day prejudices of not eating these fishes are as old as the Asoka period. The law seems to have been enacted to prevent people from eating these harmful or undesirable animals. It is absolutely correct, therefore, to say that those animals were declared inviolable which 'do not come into man's use, nor are eaten by men'.

Barua (pp. 362-363) gives general rules laid down in the law books of the Hindus for the guidance of the Brahmins in the matter of eating fish as follows:—

'As for fishes, Vasishtha and Āpastamba allow all but the *cheṭa*. Bodhāyana permits the eating of the *silurus boalis*, the fish called *chilichima* (popularly known as *vāliyā*), the *varmī*, the *maṣakari*, the *rohita* (*cyprinus rohita*), and the *rājiva*. In the opinion of Manu (V, 16), the *pāphina* (*silurus boalis*) and the *rohita* may be eaten, if used for offering to the gods or to the *manes*, while the *rājiva* (those marked with lines), the *śiṃhatuṇḍa* (lion-beaked) and the *saṣaṭka* (those having fins and scales) may be eaten on all occasions. The law-books prohibit the fishes that are misshapen. Āpastamba forbids also those which are snake-headed and those which live on flesh only.'

Even judged by the above-noted injunctions, Eels, Skates, Rays, and Globe-fishes should not be eaten as they are misshapen while Shark eats flesh only and, therefore, its eating is forbidden. •

## ASOKA'S FISHERY LEGISLATION

Having declared certain undesirable species as inviolable, Asoka then legislates for the conservation of the desirable species as a whole.

Hultzsch's <sup>1</sup> free translation of the relevant passage may be reiterated here for the sake of convenience: -

'Fish are inviolable and must not be sold on the three *Chāturmāsīs*, (and) on the Tishyā full moon, during three days, viz. the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the first *tithi* and invariably on every fast day.'

'And during these same days no other classes of animals which are in the elephant park and the preserves of the fishermen must be killed.'

Buhler <sup>2</sup> rendered this passage as:

'At the (full moon of each) of the three seasons and at the full moon of *Taisha* or *Pausha* fish shall neither be killed nor sold during three days, viz. the 14th, 15th, and the first of the following fortnight, nor constantly on each fast day.'

According to Buhler:

'*Chāturmāsī* is the full moon of each term of season of four months (summer, rains and winter) and it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant. They may be those of *Phālguna*, *Āshāḍha* and *Kārttika* or those of *Chaitra*, *Śrāvaṇa*, and *Mārgaśīrsha*.'

'The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of *Taisha* or *Pausha* (Dec.-Jan.).'

According to Barua (p. 367):

'Asoka's expression *tisu chāturmāsīsū* cannot but mean the three full moon days that occurred in *Āshāḍha*, *Kārttika*, and *Phālguna*, at the end of the three four-monthly seasons and were observed in the Middle Country as holidays.'

I have given a great deal of thought to the above translations and commentaries and have tried to equate them against our present-day knowledge of the fisheries of our rivers; but I cannot make any sense unless *tisu chāturmāsīsū* is translated as the third *Chāturmāsī* and not as three *Chāturmāsīs* as is evident from the plural number of both the words. It is not a scribe's mistake as in all the six Pillars the same words are repeated. In connection with Asoka's Inscriptions, Barua (Pt. II, p. 97, 1941) observed that

'Provided that the rhythm is maintained, the cadences are right, the sounds are sweet and appropriate in rhyming, and the caesuras come spontaneously, it is immaterial whether certain rules of number and gender are obeyed or infringed.'

I believe *tisu chāturmāsīsū* is also a case of the infringement of rules of number and in view of what I am going to state below, it should be taken to mean the third *Chāturmāsī*. Some support is lent to this view by Barua himself (p. 371), for he observes that

'Regarding these prohibitions, it is curious to note that they follow the lines laid down by Kautilya (XIII, 5): "the king (in a conquered territory) should prohibit the slaughter of animals for half a month during the periods of *Chāturmāsya* (from July to September), for four nights on the full moon days, and for a night to mark the date of his birth, or celebrate the anniversary of his conquest. He should also prohibit the slaughter of females and young ones as well as castration".'

In explaining *chāturmāsīye chāturmāsī-pakhāye*, Barua (p. 373) observes that

'In the third context the expression, *tisu chāturmāsīsū* (a 7th case, plural) (is substituted) by *chāturmāsīye* (a first, second, or fourth case singular). Even as a fourth

<sup>1</sup> Hultzsch, E.—'Inscriptions of Asoka' in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, p. 128 (1925).

<sup>2</sup> Buhler, G.—*Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 258-9 (1894).

case singular, *chāturmāsīye* means the continuance of the full moon of a four-monthly season, may be a particular season, say, the rainy. As a first or second case singular, *chāturmāsīye* may be equated with the Sk. *chāturmāsyaḥ* or *chāturmāsyam*, "during the period of the *chāturmāsya* (July–Sept.)".

According to Barua (p. 371), 'The fish and other creatures got relief for not less than seventy-two days in the year, calculated at the rate of 3 days in every lunar half-month, viz. the first, the eighth, and the full or new moon. The three *Chāturmāsī* and *Taisha* full moon days are all included in the list of full moon days throughout the year.'

Dr. B. C. Law has very kindly informed me that 'Asoka followed the popular Brahmanical practice which held the four days of the changes of the moon as sacred Sabbath days. The Jains and Buddhists also followed this practice. In fixing *uposatha* days they adopted Brahmanical usages'.

If my contention is correct that the catching of fish was prohibited during the third *Chāturmāsī* on the 14th and 15th day of the moon and the first day after the full moon, then the close periods are based on a remarkable insight into the breeding habits of the common food fishes of the fresh waters of India. The most important groups of fishes are the Carps, such as Catla (*Catla catla*), Rohita (*Labeo rohita*), Mrigal (*Cirrhina mrigala*), Calbausa (*Labeo calbasu*), etc.; Cat-fishes, such as Boal (*Wallago attu*), Silond (*Silonia silondia*); Pangas (*Pangasius pangasius*), Vacha (*Eutropichthys vacha*), etc., and the Hilsa (*Hilsa ilisha*). All these fishes breed in the rainy season when the rivers are flooded. Usually the heavy breeding occurs during July and August but, depending on the early or late rains, the breeding may start in June or may last up to September also. One further thing which has come to light in recent years, though it has not yet been firmly established, is that the breeding is influenced by the phases of the moon or in other words there is a lunar periodicity in the reproduction of the principal freshwater fishes of India. The principal fishery of Hilsa, for instance, is round about the full moon and the new moon periods and the breeding of Carps, so far recorded or observed, has also been round about the same periods and the eighth day.

Let us consider the information regarding the breeding of Carps first, bearing in mind that heavy rainfall in Chittagong starts in April and not in June-July as in the Gangetic Plain.

#### LUNAR PERIODICITY IN THE SPAWNING OF INDIAN CARPS

Majumdar<sup>1</sup>, while describing the spawning grounds of Carps in the District of Chittagong, observed that 'the spawning day generally falls within three days prior to or after the full moon or the new moon day during the months of April to July.' My own observations for the Chittagong area are as follows:—

1945—

12th April	..	Seven days after full moon and the same period before new moon.
10th May	..	One day before new moon.
26th May	..	One day before full moon.
10th June	..	New moon day.

<sup>1</sup> Majumdar, C. H.—Spawning Grounds and Hatcheries in the District of Chittagong, Bengal. *Sci. and Cult.*, pp. 735–739 (1940).

1946—

1st April .. Eight days after new moon.  
 30th April .. One day before new moon.  
 17th May .. One day after full moon.  
 10th to  
 12th June Full moon: 13th June.

1947—

23rd April .. Two days after new moon.  
 23rd May .. Three days after new moon.

Dr. Nazir Ahmad<sup>1</sup> has already referred to these dates of spawning.

The data for the Gangetic Plain are few but it was noted that in 1946 the fish bred on the 14th July, full moon day, and on the 30th September, 5 days after new moon.

In considering the above data, two factors of error may be borne in mind. Firstly, the data were supplied to me by the District Fishery Officers who had no idea of the object for which the information was collected. As they in turn depended on fishermen for information there was probably a time-lag between the day of actual breeding and the day information was received and transmitted to the Head Office at Calcutta. The second factor is the weather conditions prevailing during the breeding period. Such weather conditions as thunderstorms, lack of floods, heavy rains, cloudy days, etc., are known to influence spawning.

It is not to be presumed from the above that Carps bred only on the days specified above. Probably they breed throughout the rainy season but spawning is intensified during the full moon and new moon periods and on the Ashtami days.

#### LUNAR PERIODICITY IN THE SPAWNING OF HILSA

In the case of Hilsa, Majumdar<sup>2</sup> stated that in the Sundarbans the fishing is done during the neap tide periods. Prashad, Hora, and Nair<sup>3</sup> reported that on the Balasore Coast Hilsa fishing is done from the 11th day of the moon till to the 3rd day after the full moon and then from the 11th day after the full moon to a day or two after the new moon. A similar periodicity in the fishing for Hilsa has been observed in the Narbada River by Dr. C. V. Kulkarni of the Bombay Fisheries Department. He obtained fertilized eggs in plankton collecting on August 22, 1949, the fourteenth day of the moon.

The above data, inadequate as they undoubtedly are, indicate very clearly that (i) there is a lunar rhythm or periodicity in the breeding of the principal food fishes of Indian fresh waters and (ii) whereas new-moon and full-moon periods are most favourable for the spawning of the Carps and Hilsa, the eighth day after the full moon or new moon is also significant in the spawning of the Carps. If these inadequate data are now read with the injunctions contained in the Pillar Edict V, one must wonder at the

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad, Nazir—Methods of collection and hatching of Carp ova in Chittagong with some suggestions for their improvement. *Journ. Bombay Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XLVII, p. 595 (1948).

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar, C. H.—Foreshore Fishing in the Eastern Part of the Bay of Bengal. *Sci. and Cult.*, V, pp. 219–221 (1938).

<sup>3</sup> Prashad, B., Hora, S. L., and Nair, K. K.—Observations on the Seaward Migration of *Hilsa ilisha* (Hamilton). *Rec. Ind. Mus.*, XLI, pp. 409–418 (1940).

accuracy and deep insight our ancestors had regarding the fisheries in India, particularly of the Gangetic Plain.

#### SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF ASOKA'S LAWS

Having established that Asoka's injunctions regarding the catching of fish are based on true scientific principles, let us now examine these laws in greater details. Asoka's law was that—

1. No fish should be caught on the 14th and 15th day of the moon and the first day after the full moon during the period of the 3rd Chāturmāsī<sup>1</sup> (*Śrāvaṇa*, July-August; *Bhādra*, August-September; *Āśvina*, September-October, and *Kārtika*, October-November) = 12 days.
2. No fish should be caught on the 14th and 15th day of the moon and the 1st day after the full moon of the month of *Pausha* (December-January) = 3 days.
3. No fish should be caught on the fast days—*Amāvasyā* or the day before new moon and the *Aṣṭamī* or the eighth day during every fortnightly period of the moon =  $12 + 24 = 36$  days.
4. No tank fish (animals in the preserves of fishermen) should be taken during the above-noted days.

The total number of fish-prohibition days enjoined by Asoka would thus appear to be 51 unless there were other fast days besides the ones I have referred to above. Barua has counted 72 at the rate of 3 days in every half lunar month, the first, the eighth, and the full or new moon day. This is a point on which further co-ordinated research is necessary by Orientalists and Fishery Biologists. According to Dr. B. C. Law, Asoka prohibited the killing and sale of fish for  $24 + 32 = 56$  days.

#### FULL MOON PERIODS IN RELATION TO FISHERY CONSERVATION

The first injunction is not to catch fish during the 14th, 15th and full moon days falling during the period commencing from the middle of July to the middle of November. The peak breeding period of India's principal food fishes is July, August, and September but Asoka's prohibition period extends up to the middle of November. This extended period is also scientifically logical, because after breeding in shallow areas or up-river the spent fish fall back to their normal habitats in deeper waters or in the case of Hilsa to the estuaries and the sea. The young also move down to safer habitats after the rains are over and the flooded areas begin to contract. The young and the weakened spent fishes need protection and it is indeed remarkable that even this was thought of in the remote ancient age. It is perhaps significant to note here that in Bengal Hindus generally do not take Hilsa after the Durga Pooja (sometime in October) to the Saraswati Pooja (towards the end of January).

There is another great virtue in this law in so far as prohibition is restricted only to certain specified days and not to the entire season. The fecundity of Carps and Hilsa is well known, for a pair of spawners, under favourable conditions, can produce millions of young. So nearly 6 days restriction during each spawning month is ample for the conservation of

<sup>1</sup> Though at present the Hindu New Year begins in *Vaiśākha* about the middle of April, in ancient times the year commenced in *Agrahāyana* about the middle of November. It is on this basis that the third Chāturmāsī of the year will comprise the months of *Śrāvaṇa*, *Bhādra*, *Āśvina*, and *Kārtika*.

the fisheries, and does not interfere with the trade or the occupation of fishermen to any very great extent.

The significance of the second law whereby catching of fish is prohibited on the 14th and 15th day of the moon and the 1st day after the full moon besides the fast days of the month of *Pausha* (December-January) is not quite clear to me. This may be meant to protect the fishes during the height of the cold season, when the fish, particularly in the northern parts of the Gangetic Plain, are benumbed and lose much of their vitality and can sometimes be caught with hands. However, this point needs further investigation.

#### FAST DAYS IN RELATION TO FISHERY CONSERVATION

As regards prohibition on all fast days, there are many virtues in this injunction. Firstly, the trade will not be affected to any very great extent and fishermen themselves will be able to observe fasts. Secondly, besides the principal food fishes there are other varieties which do not breed during the rainy season but at other times of the year. Thirdly, by spreading prohibition in dribbles over the whole of the year greater respect for law is assured and no hardship could be felt by the public.

It may be worthwhile to record here that the principal food-fishes of the Gangetic estuaries, such as Mulletts, Prawns, Bhetki, etc., breed in March and April and the salt-water *Bheries* take in water containing the eggs and young-ones of these species during the spring tides of the new moon and full moon periods for stocking purposes. For further details reference may be made to the first Fishery Development Bulletin of the Government of Bengal by Hora and Nair published in 1943.

#### PROHIBITION ON TANK FISHING IN RELATION TO FISHERY CONSERVATION

The fourth law by which tank fishing is prohibited is perhaps the most ingenious of all, for it has nothing to do with the spawning of fishes. The Indian Carps and Hilsa do not breed in tanks and in spite of many efforts by different Governments in the recent past they have not been induced to breed in confined impounded areas. As the tank fishes are the same as are found in rivers, it would have been difficult to control their sale and at the same time prohibit the catching of fish in the rivers. It was indeed very wise, therefore, to prohibit the catching of all fish for the control of marketing.

#### EVOLUTION OF FISHERY LAWS IN ANCIENT INDIA

How the ancient Hindus came to frame such complicated laws in such a pleasant manner and how they came to the views embodied in the laws will perhaps remain obscure for a long time to come till science and oriental knowledge are brought together in a very close and intimate collaboration. There is some indication that Asoka's Pillar Edict V records an advancement of knowledge over what Kautilya had recommended in his *Arthasāstra* about 25 to 50 years earlier. He had recommended that the king should prohibit the slaughter of animals for half a month during the periods of *Chāturmāsya* (from July to September), for four nights on the full moon days, and for a night to mark the date of his birth, or celebrate the anniversary of his conquest. It will be obvious from what has been stated regarding the scientific basis of Asoka's laws that they are more perfect, humane, just, and easy to comply with.

## PRESENT-DAY FISHERY LEGISLATION IN INDIA

The conservation method usually adopted are:—

1. Restriction of mesh of nets and other approved method of capture.
2. Prohibition of wholesale destruction by poisoning or dynamiting, etc.
3. Prohibition of capture of brood fish and young ones.
4. Closure of sections of rivers to serve as sanctuaries throughout the year.

I am more familiar with the fisheries of Bengal than with that of any other part of India, so I shall give some of the fishery legislation in this part of the Gangetic Plain.

In reserved and protected forests rules made under the appropriate sections of the Forest Act prohibit poisoning of any river or other water, killing fish by explosives, damming or bailing water and use of any fixed engine, such as net, cage, trap or other contrivance to catch fish.

For other areas, the Indian Fisheries Act IV of 1897 forbids and penalizes the use of explosives or poison to kill fish in any waters including the sea within one marine league of the coast. It further gives power to government to make rules for regulating the construction and use, in waters which are not private waters, of fixed engines and weirs, and the dimensions of nets together with modes of using them. Fishing in any specified waters may also be prohibited for a period not exceeding two years.

The Private Fisheries Protection Act (Bengal Act II of 1899) penalizes catching or destruction of fish, without permission of the person who owns the right of fishing, by 'fixed engine' or 'any matter'. This act, it seems, is designed more for prevention of theft of fish from private fisheries than for the conservation of fish therein.

It will be seen that the existing legal provisions for the protection of fish and conservation of fisheries are defective and for want of any machinery for enforcing them they are almost a dead letter. There is no provision against selling or buying or offering for sale and this practically nullifies all protective measures. To remedy this defect the Imperial (now Indian) Council of Agricultural Research discussed the subject of 'Conservation of Inland Fisheries by Legislation' in 1944 and two or three subsequent years and even collected views of all the Provincial and State Governments but no finality was reached and the matter now rests in the archives of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

## CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

A comparison between the present-day laws and those promulgated by Asoka will show the following important differences:—

1. Asoka's laws were very simple, applicable throughout his kingdom, and the prohibition periods were evenly spread over the whole of the year thus entailing no hardship either on the consumers or on fishermen. The present-day laws are complicated, piecemeal in application and through total prohibition during certain seasons inflict many hardships both on the consumers and fishermen.
2. Asoka prohibited the sale of fish, even from tanks, on certain days and, therefore, the enforcement of his laws was very easy. In the existing laws, for securing conviction for a



wrong deed, unless caught red-handed with reliable witnesses round about, much time has to be wasted as the procedure is very cumbersome.

3. Asoka's laws were based on the proper understanding of the migratory and spawning movements of the principal food-fishes of India, whereas the present laws are based on presumptions, and scientific data are now being collected to improve upon them.

On a very careful consideration of the whole matter, I feel that the Indian Union cannot, under the present circumstances, think of any better legislative measures for the conservation of its inland fisheries than to enact the laws promulgated by the good king Asoka in 246 B.C. We would thereby build up the economy of India on ancient skill, which is our heritage, but would not overlook to enlarge this knowledge by a scientific understanding.

## A CRITICAL STUDY OF HISTORY OF BENGAL, VOL. II

By SYED HASAN ASKARI

(Communicated by Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah)

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Intensive regional studies have long been due for presenting a composite picture and comprehensive history of the sub-continent of India. It is necessary to realize how each of the great peoples of the past has contributed its quota to, and shaped the evolution of, Indian history. The great province of Bengal filled no small portion of the canvas of Indian history. It has had a geographical and political unity of its own sufficient to justify a separate treatment by the historians. It developed a distinctive civilization in the past and transmitted it to other lands; its fabulous wealth and abundance invited foreign adventurers and traders and it also proved a congenial soil for the activities of religious reformers and missionaries; its frontiers were often pushed far and wide and it had, on occasions, an existence independent of central control; and finally it not only influenced the course of events elsewhere but had much to do with changing the fate of the whole country. Such an important province could not but attract the attention of antiquarians and historical scholars. It was one of the great provinces of India regarding which besides what we find in almost all the general histories of the Delhi empire, we have some special volumes written by Muslim scholars, and as far back as 1813 Captain C. Stewart felt the need of furnishing his countrymen with one-volume history written on modern lines. Stewart's *History of Bengal*, however, was based chiefly on *Reyaz-us-Salat* written in 1788. Since then much research has been done and many a tangled web has been unravelled. The researches of Messrs. R. L. Mi'tra, M. N. Chakravorty, Blochmann and Stapleton, R. D. Bannerji and Bhattachali, represented laudable attempts to settle many disputed points and reveal many new facts. But the results had been scattered and not very widely known. The fairly voluminous histories in Bengali by two eminent scholars of the province could not satisfy the need of all and there was a widespread demand for an accurate, comprehensive, and a scholarly presentation, in English, of the results so far secured from historical studies.

It was a happy idea which led to the formation, in 1936, under the auspices of the Dacca University, of the history of the Bengal Publication Committee. As originally planned the first of the comprehensive collaborative volumes which was devoted to the Hindu period and was so ably edited by the veteran scholar, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, came out in 1943. The latter was sufficiently impressive and raised high expectations for the second and third volumes, undertaken by Sir J. N. Sarkar, the doyen of Indian historians, and covering the early Muslim and Moghul periods, one ending with the Moghul conquest of Bengal in 1571, and the other with the battle of Plassey in 1757. The work of editing could not have been entrusted to a more competent scholar. But unfortunately, as we read in the preface, the Editor had to modify the original scheme and owing to certain difficulties, he had to put all the political narrative of the two projected volumes in one and to publish it hastily in August 1947, reserving the treatment of the social and cultural history of the entire Muslim age to a final volume.

The period of five centuries and half (1200–1757) of the Muslim history of Bengal covered by the second volume was so full of stirring events and bewildering changes and the task of producing a fairly exhaustive work, on the subject, so vast and so complex, based on a minute and careful study of practically all the available sources and the materials accumulated by modern researches, was so arduous and stupendous that one cannot withhold the tribute of admiration for the pains taken, energy put in, and the success achieved, by the old and experienced Editor, in having made a wise choice of topics and titles and of his seven collaborators and for collecting together all that was available and revised it, amended it, supplying details where necessary so as to compress the whole of the complicated narrative within the limits of a single volume of 530 pages. Besides revising and sometimes recasting the work of some of the contributors so as to economize space and avoid repetitions and create a coherent and synthetic whole, the learned editor has himself written 12 out of the 28 chapters, covering more than 200 pages of the work.

In the list of contributors stand the names of some eminent historians and distinguished scholars, almost all of whom are sons of Bengal and reputed experts in their subjects. The book begins with the conquest of Bengal by Ikhtiaruddin Md. Bakhtiar Khilji and the first three chapters by Dr. K. R. Qunungo deal with the various phases of the Mamluk Sultaanate of Bengal. To these have been appended four valuable appendices on topography, coins, and chronology and the race and parentage of Bakhtiar, described as 'the maker of the medieval history of Bengal'. Then comes the chapter on the rise of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty, 2 out of the 8 sections of which have been contributed by the Editor and the rest is from the pen of Prof. N. B. Roy. This is followed by a short chapter, in which the problem of the intervening Hindu dynasty of Raja Ganesh has been discussed by the Editor and the two paragraphs at the end have been added by Dr. Qunungo. As regards the two succeeding chapters, in the first, Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah traces the history of the later Ilyas Shahis and of the Habshis Interregnum, and in the other, he provides us with a survey of the enlightened rule of Alauddin Husain Shah and his successors. The rise of the house of Sher Shah Sur and his contests with the Moghuls have been described in Chapter VIII by Prof. Roy and the house of Shamsuddin Mohammed Sur and the Kararani dynasty founded by the two brothers, Taj Khan and Suleman Khan, have been dealt with by the Editor in Chapter IX. There is an outstanding chapter entitled 'Transformation of Bengal under Muslim Rule', preceded by two others, also by the Editor, about first Moghul conquest of Bengal and the Viceroyalty of Raja Man Singh Kachawaha. The following four chapters about the state of Bengal under Jehangir, the conquests and the last achievements of Islam Khan Chisti, and 'the twenty years of stagnation (1613–1657)', were originally written by the late lamented Dr. S. N. Bhattacharya and were revised and abridged by the Editor. Excepting two out of the five sections of the Chapters devoted to Mir Jumla which have been written by Dr. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, one chapter on the Portuguese in Bengal by Dr. S. N. Sen, two on Shujauddaulah and Ali Verdi, contributed by Dr. K. K. Dutta, everything else, including a bibliography and chapters concerning regimes of Shahjehan, Shaista Khan, Murshid Quli Khan, Sirajuddaulah, and the activities of the Marhatas in Bengal, have emanated from the pen of the Editor. The conquest of Bengal by the English and the End of the Muslim Rule form the subjects of the concluding chapters. Such are actually the contents of the volume which ends with a twenty-five page Index prepared by Prof. N. B. Roy.

Though the work under review does not profess to tell the whole story and the detailed treatment of institutions and of economic and cultural aspects has been reserved for a separate volume, it is not devoid of interesting observations on conditions in different periods and of cultural odds and ends here and there. Ordinarily mere political annals form rather dull reading, but the Editor and his team of co-operative expositors have stimulated interest and tried to make the dry bones of history live. The value of the work has been enhanced by due emphasis being laid at the opening of several chapters, on the dominant features covered by them. There is, however, only one map giving a view of modern (pre-partition) Bengal and it is inadequate. It is difficult to have definite ideas as to the correct location of old routes and places with which important events were connected in the different periods in the past. One feels that this map should have included the adjoining regions of Bihar, Orissa and Assam.

Though the work is an outstanding contribution to the provincial history of India, it falls somewhat short of our expectations. Indeed it is bound to elicit a mixture of praise and criticisms. Of course one can have nothing but praise for the learned Editor for having brought out such a substantial work under adverse circumstances and also for having, as he claims, 'cleared the jungle and broken virgin soil in respect of certain periods and constructed the true history, piecing together a large number of stray hints in Persian Manuscripts and European Trade reports'. But the total impression created by the book on those who have had acquaintance with the original sources is that there is much in it of the paraphrase of the Reyaz, Isami, and Stewart with a few inscriptions occasionally thrown in, and for the Moghul period, it is a broad summary of Ferishta, Tabaquat-e-Akbari, Akbar-Nama, Baharistan, Seyar-ul-Mutakherin, etc. Such portions can hardly be called original accounts. Some may take the work to be uneven in quality and in the way of treatment. At places it is unnecessarily detailed and at others significant points have either been omitted or skipped over. Again, in view of the importance of the Province of Bihar, whose history was so inter-linked with that of Bengal, one seems inclined to think that Bihar has not received its due share of attention. When the need has been felt to give a list of the Governors of Orissa, what was the justification for not giving a connected history of the Governors of Bihar? One feels that the study though extensive has not been exhaustive for incidental references and scraps of evidence found here and there in literary and theological works cannot be justly brushed aside as merely trivial and 'pious frauds'. There are 15th century writings, non-political in motive but informative of contemporary social conditions, which have not yet been properly explored and are capable of yielding extremely valuable information. The Sufi saints who wielded so great an influence on rulers and masses of Bengal and elsewhere have left behind their Malfuzat and Maktubat or table talks and letters. A mere glance over the 3rd section of chapter V will suffice to show how our existing knowledge about certain things can be supplemented or corrected from information quarried from such sources. In the face of clear statements in the Maktubat of Hazrat Nur Qutub Alam and Hazrat Ashraff Jehangir Simnani the Editor should not have relied on a reference of Ferishta, whose place and date were so distant with reference to Raja Ganesh, and held that the latter was no oppressor of the Muslims and 'he left contented subjects and nobles behind him' (page 123). If Reyaz is a pious fraud, Nizamuddin and Ferishta are second-rate authorities for Bengal. Ferishta's estimate of Ganesh is unconfirmed even by Nizamuddin, who in many cases was Ferishta's authority as that of Reyaz also. Hindu names with

Kans suffix are not unknown. What about Kans Narayan of Tahirpur family? Besides the clear and unmistakable account of the alliance between Kans or Ganesh and the then Raja of Tirhut against Ibrahim Shah Sharqi while the latter was on his march to Bengal at the invitation of Hazrat Nur Qutub Alam, in the travel diary of Mullah Taquia of the days of Akbar and Jehangir, we have some references to the Jaunpur invasion in Arakanis chronicles. (JASB, 1844). Abdur Razzaq, the envoy of Shah Rukh and the author of *Matla-us-Sadain*, refers to another attack by Jaunpur on Bengal during Shah Ahmad's reign. Buchanan-Hamilton's manuscript history which he found at Pandua differs from Reyaz and it is not fair to call it a mere incorrect summary.

The reviewer cannot but respectfully register his disappointment when he finds a certain lack of sympathy with the achievements of Muslim rulers of Bengal. The assertion that 'the family of Alivardi did not produce a single son worthy to be called a man and the woman were even worse than men' is, unfortunately, too sweeping to be true. Does this remark truly apply to Zainuddin Haibatjung and his devoted wife, Amina Begam? Has any contemporary writer who really counts said anything disparaging to the latter? 'The sickly and imbecile Shahamatjung', besides being 'Governor of Dacca for many years before his death', had been entrusted with many other responsible works on the occasions of the Marhatta inroads in Bengal. As regards even his wife, Ghasiti Begam, she must have been too old in 1756 to have a 'lover and Captain' in Nazarali, for she was the eldest issue of her father who died in that year at the ripe old age of 82. Among the 'favourites' of Ghasiti Begam, Husain Quli Khan, who was murdered by Seraj, has been mentioned, but we also come across the expression of 'divine justice for the unjust murder of Husain Quli Khan'. Even in respect of Serajuddullah one feels that Sir J. N. Sarkar has relied too much upon the testimony of those who cannot be described as his friends. Had not the French, including Mons Jean Law, some grievances against the youthful Subedar of Bengal, who had at first left them in the lurch? Law's story of Seraj gloating over the agonies of the people, men, women and children, whom he caused to be drowned reads like the anecdote current in the bazar about the cruel pleasures indulged in by the infamous Jahandar Shah of Delhi. A rather unhistorical and not very relevant paragraph has been added at the section V of Chapter XI by the Editor making insinuation against Emperor Jehangir that he appointed Qutubuddin Koka to Bengal only to procure Mehrunessa for 'a man of honour' like Mansingh was not expected to do the service required. This story has been thoroughly exploded by sober historical research. The Portuguese have been praised for their 'purity of character' and for 'having enriched the stock of words in Bengali language', but one searches in vain for even a passing reference to the character of those who were responsible for the peaceful penetration of Islam in Muslim-ridden Bengal and but for a few observations of Dr. Habibullah we could have got nothing about the influence of Persian and Arabic and the part played by pre-Mughal Muslim Rulers in the evolution of the language of the Province. The Mughals have received some credit for having given peace to, and broken the 'narrow isolation' of, Bengal.

The disproportionate number of pages given to the Mughal period—nearly two-thirds of the book being devoted to it—is quite understandable for the materials regarding the earlier period are not so abundant and for want of modern research it still remains practically an unexplored ground. It is worth while to consider a few points regarding this period where it is possible to differ from the views of the writers. We are told on page 1 that 'it was about this time (i.e. 2nd half of the 12th century) that a fresh wave

of camel-rearing Turkoman tribes named Ghuzz and Khalji burst upon the Seljuk empire'. Actually the Khaljis had emigrated earlier, about 10th century, and dwelt in the Helmund valley of Afghanistan, when they figured in the Ghaznavite's army. It is but an arguable point to suggest that the invasion of India by Turkish tribes had anything to do with Islam. Islam does not sanction aggressive imperialism. There is no evidence about pre-planned expansion or colonization. Regarding Bakhtiar's capture of Bihar though the arguments for fixing its date as 1199 and not 599 A.H. or 1203 A.D. are convincing some known particulars about the political situation of the Bihar region, the inscriptional and architectural evidences published in Journals and Reports, should have been detailed. Bakhtiar founded no kingdom. What is the ground for assuming that he had the Kutba read and coins issued in his own name? No coin has yet been found and the solitary evidence of Nizamuddin cannot be taken as conclusive. Till the end Bakhtiar owned his allegiance to the Ghorids. Neither Tabaqat nor Reaz says that he assumed kingship. Again what evidence is there for saying that he pulled down idol temples and converted the infidels? Even the Tabaqat and Reyaz are silent on the point. As regards Bakhtiar's route on the 'invasion of Tibbat' there is no discussion as to the identification of this route. It is a serious omission because discussions have been published in Journals, the most successful identification being by Bhattashah in I.H.Q. Notice should have been taken of the Sanskrit inscription relating to this event which also gives the date of the disaster that overtook the 'Turuksha' invader. Bakhtiar's expedition began towards the close of the winter of 1206 and yet his death—three months after his return—is also dated in 1206 (pp. 10-11).

Such tales as that of Iwaz's early life and his encounter with the Fakir should find no place in sober history, at least in the text (p. 21). A very similar story is related in the Tabaqat of Iltutmush also. A whole para about Iwaz's conquest of Lakhnor is built upon flimsy arguments, unwarranted by the text. It has been mentioned that 'Muslim religious frenzy had to be stirred by Tazkirs exhorting people to Jihad, etc.' because of the reverse on the Lakhnor frontier. The reference to Hodiwala's correction to Elliot's translation of the passage is irrelevant, for even Hodiwala does not make that fanciful combination. The text mentions Tazkir by Imamzada Jalaluddin, but does not say it was to rouse religious frenzy. Tazkir is just a religious discourse. The text only refers to Iwaz's acquiring control over Lakhnor but this reference is not connected with this Tazkir (pp. 21-22). The Orissan inscription is undated, but it is likely that the reference is to Iwaz. What is the ground for saying that the campaign was protracted? Is it because the inscription is taken to be dated c. 1220? Even the Lakhnor campaign of Iwaz is undated, and is only conjecturally placed in 1215 and on these combined conjectures is it sober history to say, as has been suggested in the para, that Iwaz's Lakhnor campaign was preceded by Orissan victory over the regions. All that one can say on these evidences is that on the Lakhnor frontier border warfare was proceeding, as was the case, in fact, throughout the period of Muslim rule in Bengal. One feels that much of the space of this para could have been economized. Similar is the case with the next para about Iwaz's extortion of tribute from the Senas and others. The text could not mislead anyone in believing that these meant anything more than the occasional raids and capture of booty. As regards Iwaz's obtaining the caliph's investiture, a positive statement has been made about it though Minhaj is silent on the point. Thomas, who was the first to mention it, refrained from asserting this as a positive fact. His basis was the date on Iwaz's coin of 619 (and

also of 620, so that the earlier date is important), in which the Caliph Al Nasir's name appears for the first time and Iwaz calls himself 'Qasim-i-Amirul-Muminin' in place of 'Nasir-i-Amirul-Muminin'. The same date of the month is repeated on the issues of these years suggesting an anniversary. All these should have been detailed as an argument, instead of making such positive assertions. There is one more point about Iwaz. How can one positively state that he advanced his southern frontiers to Damodar and to the borders of Vishnupur? Katasin may be there, but Katasin does not figure yet in Iwaz's time as the frontier. When it does in Tughan's time, it is mentioned as in the interior of Orissa.

Let us now turn to pages 51-53. Is the evidence about Yuzbak's capture of Madaran all so very clear that a positive statement could be made without so much as discussion in the text or in the appendix, of the coin reading, which is the only source, besides the Tabaqat. In both the reading is disputable; at least the argument by which one arrives at this positive conclusion should have been detailed in a book which is meant for the experts also. Why should Bardhan Koti be called a mythical city? The place now called Bardhan Kot still exists on the eastern bank of the Karatoya in Bogra district. At the time of Mughisuddin's invasion, no centralized kingdom is said to have existed in Kamrup, but on page 109, such a state is said to have existed there 'from remote antiquity'.

Next we come to Balban's pursuit of Tughril and the latter's flight towards Jainagar. Apparently the popular tradition about Tughril's friendship with the Ratna-Fa of Tipperah has been taken from Rājmaḷa. But does the incident recorded in it give the date and mention Tughril by name? Jainagar towards which Tughril is said to have fled is emphatically identified with Orissa and he is said to have fled not towards the east but south-west. The arguments on pages 64-5 for the assertions are inadequate 'when Balban arrived within 30 or 40 kos of Lakhnowti, Tughril resumed his retreat in the direction of Jainagar (Orissa and not Tipperah)' and yet Balban 'passed the rainy season of 1281 at a place . . . perhaps in the vicinity of Sonargaon, and at a short distance from Loricol'. Why should Balban proceed to the East while pursuing Tughril who was journeying in the opposite direction towards Jainagar? Balban compacted with Dhanuj Rai against Tughril's flight down the rivers. A straight march would have brought Balban to Tughril's fort of Loricol where his family is stated to have been. Indeed, he goes to Sonargaon and parleys with Dhanuj and then pursues Tughril who had slipped from the fortress and was marching eastward to Jainagar. If the first campaign was also in pursuit of Tughril who was moving towards Orissa, why should Balban allow him time to go to the East and then make a pointless compact for intercepting him along the rivers, when he knew Orissa could not be reached by any of the Eastern Bengal rivers. In fact, the whole campaign becomes unintelligible if Orissa is understood for Jainagar. One may add here that Barani did have first-hand knowledge of the Bengal campaign, for his maternal grandfather was in charge of Lakhnauti when Balban was waging his campaign.

There are still other things which attract one's attention. In a long paragraph (p. 87) Ismai's unconfirmed statement about Nasiruddin Ibrahim joining Mohammed Bin Tughluk against Kishlu Khan in Multan is sought to be reconciled with numismatic evidence. Was it necessary? His coins which cease after 727 are conclusive. Surprisingly enough no notice has been taken of Bahadur's coins in his own name in 728—a far more authentic evidence of his rebellion than Ismai's statement. Besides, we have Ibn Batuta's testimony also which has not been referred to either.

There was no need to refute the statement in *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi* that Mohammad Bin Tughluk invaded Bengal in 741, for the text says nothing of the kind. The reference in the text is to Haji Ilyas

ملک الیاس حاجی بادشاہ شد و خود را سلطان شمس الدین خطاب  
کرد و در سنہ احدی و اربعین و سبعمایہ بقصد سنار گاون روان شد و ملک  
فخر الدین را زندہ بدست آوردہ مراجعت فرمود \*

Ibn Batuta's reference to contest between Ali Shah and Fakhruddin should have had a bearing on the question of Haji Ilyas's occupation of Lakhnauti. When did Ibn Batuta visit Sudkawan?

Ilyas is said to have occupied 'Kamrup Nagara'. Where was the city? More discussion is necessary to convince one how Kamrup came to be called 'Chawlistan' in the unique coin of Secundar. On page 110 we are told that 'for a century after Yuzbuk's invasion Kamrup was left to itself'. The celebrated saint of Bihar, Makhdum Sharfuddin, in one of his discourses, refers to Bahadur Shah, son of Sultan Shamsuddin Feroz as having been in charge of 'Kamrup' which he retained even after the death of his father, while one of his brothers, Hatim Khan, was the ruler of Bihar. It seems that much of the history of the period is wrapped in obscurity.

New light on the chronology of Shamshuddin Ahmad's reign has been thrown by Mr. N. B. Sanyal's article in N.S.J. 1947-48 by the discovery of a coin which would advance his accession to about 837 and give him a reign of one or two years. With regard to the Orissan campaign of both Barbak and Husain Shah we hear of Ismail Ghazi on both the occasions, although from two different sources, *Risalat-us-Shuhoda* and *Madla Panjika*. It seems not unlikely that both the accounts refer to the same persons, and the war, but the chronology has been confused.

The long account of Sher Shah's battle with Humayun at Chausa should have been left out or abridged, for it is strictly not Bengal's history and is found in similar details in other works of Moghul-Afghan History. Similar is the case with the note on pp. 169-70 regarding the battle position of the two forces and the topography thereof. These merely increase the bulk of the book without adding much to our knowledge. One should say the same of the detailed description of the battle of Bilgram on pp. 174-76. What is the evidence for saying that Mohammad Shah Sur raided Arakan (p. 178)? The closely packed account of Mir Jumla's achievements in the north-eastern regions of Mughal India is a model of wise and relevant compression of a crowded canvas characteristic of the great historian Editor. Compression, however, can be overdone. There is no mention of the Mughal mint established at Alamgirnagar, a name given to Kuch Bihar by Mir Jumla, and of the coin of which the legend is in Bengali characters but the language is Arabic. Again the Assam campaign was due to the initiative taken by Mir Jumla. It is true that Aurangzeb while appointing him Governor of Bengal, in June 1660, had directed him to conquer the Rajahs of Assam and Arrakan after disposing off the affairs of Shuja. But Mir Jumla postponed the Arrakan campaign and assumed the offensive against Kuch Bihar and Assam.

There are certain errors of facts and typography and transliterations which it is worthwhile to mention in the hope of getting a better and more improved edition. The treatment is clear and marked by a felicity of expression. But there are certain queer expressions, such as 'archaeological imagination' (p. 24) and 'superstitious affections' (p. 468). Historical



genuineness is marred by certain factual errors. It is not a fact that Aliverdi had three daughters (p. 468). The 'She of Purnea', the wife of Saulatjung, was not his first cousin. Stewart is the only writer to say so and he has misled many modern scholars. Alivardi was not a 'beggarly adventurer from Persia' nor was so 'Jafar Ali Khan'. Alivardi was not an Arab by descent but an Afshar Turk, nor is it a fact that his grandfather was a foster brother of Aurangzeb (p. 436). Mir Mohammad Amin of Nishapur, the founder Viceroy of Oudh, was entitled Saadat Khan Burhanul Mulk and 'Saadat Ali' was a grandson of his daughter. Murshid Quli Khan never asserted his independence and it was not he but Alivardi who founded a Shia dynasty in Bengal. 'The admission of his utter defeat' by Alivardi, at the hands of the Marhathas, is at best an arguable point (p. 468).

Firoz Khan, son of Nusrat Khan, has been called Amir-i-Koh (I-jud) (p. 90). Actually the Mobarak Shahi has Amir-i-karrah. This is correctly rendered by Prof. N. B. Roy elsewhere. Aba Baqr (p. 296) should be Aba Bakr. Āga Mohammed Syed (p. 437) and Mirza Sayyid Ahmad (p. 427) should be Sayeed Ahmad Khan, which was the name of Saulatjung. In fact in spite of diacritical marks mistakes of transliterations are pruruse. It is horrifying to find such marks on words like Iwāz (p. 1) and on the first letter of the too many personal names such as Ārsalan, Āshraf, Āsad, Ānwar and also on Āhkam, Ākhbarat, etc., whereas there are no marks on words like, 'Ihtimām, Sālūr, Shahbāz, Bahārīstān, etc., in many places. It is wrong to write Muhasil for Muhassil (p. 441), Kishwars Kasha for Kishwar Kushā (p. 70), Nīsār for Nazar (p. 73), Mukarramat for Makramat (p. 409), Sahana for Shalina (p. 69), Jajair for Jazāir (p. 108), Havladar for Havaladar (p. 914), Hishamuddin for Husāmuddin (p. 64), Nawwarah for Nawarāh (p. 342), Dīlawwar for Dīlāwar (p. 379), Māwālī for Mawālī (p. 76), Ek for Yak (p. 218), Girshasp or Kirshasp for Gurshāsp (p. 53), Tughral for Tughril (p. 49), Nakhs for Nakkhas (p. 12), Nauumed for Nā-umed (p. 65), Mahatarām for Muhtaram (p. 62), Ābul Fauz for Abul Faiz (p. 336), Āhad for Ahd (p. 65), etc. The list is by no means exhaustive. There are also misprints such as fathr for father (p. 73), Dath (p. 99) for death, hardly (p. 398) for hardy, change (p. 313) for chances, bur (p. 339) for but. Isami's couplet, quoted on page 31, becomes discordant by 'Nairu' being written as 'Nairavi' and 'O' being written as 'Wa'. 'Wa-al-Musalmāin' and 'wa-al-Salātīn' 'Abul-Fatha Toghral' in the Bihar inscription should be corrected as 'wal Muslemeen' and 'was-Salātīn Abul Fath Tughril' (p. 47). Similarly 'waaldin' on page 52 should be 'waddin'. The word 'Nāmahram' on page 421 has been wrongly translated as 'untrustworthy'. It really means a stranger who is not permitted to enter the woman's apartment. The word 'Auliya' is itself plural and does not require 's' after it (pp. 224 and 68).

To conclude, though opinions may differ on the point whether the Dacca University of which this volume is a production may well be proud of it, one should not forget that the Editor—a scholar of international fame and well known for his wide outlook and long and varied experience—had to work under great difficulties and there was an evident danger of the long-promised work not being published at all. By his indefatigable energy he has filled a conspicuous void in the historical literature, and though this second volume of the history of Bengal has not appeared as we would have wished it to appear, it may be doubted whether this stout volume will be superseded for many years as a standard work.

## THE WOODEN SCULPTURES OF KAFIRISTAN

By ROLF HENKL

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The word Kafir (in its various spellings Kaffir, Caffre, Caffor, Kaffer, etc.) seems to be of Arabic origin and has come to mean to the modern Arab an infidel. The educated in the west mostly know it as the name of an African Negro race of the Bantu family. Etymology is obscure, especially the question whether it wandered from the Bantu dialect into Arabian, or the opposite way. When the Near East was Mohammedanized, all pagans in the bordering countries were termed Kafirs (thus distinguishing them from the infidels in the West, the Faringhi or Franks). A 'black Kafir'—as the word is used in the *Arabian Nights*—is simply a black slave of any Negro race not converted to Mohammedanism. (In Europe, 'Kaffer' is a word of abuse synonymous with ass.) When Mohammedanism extended to Afghanistan and India, the conquest took its usual paths along the great rivers and highways, and for centuries the inaccessible recesses of the Hindukush (or, as in modern Persian, Hindu Koh) remained untouched. The inhabitants practised their own religion and became known to the surrounding Mohammedan civilization as the Kafirs of the Hindukush. Their racial composition is obscure, too. Inaccessible mountain valleys often shield aboriginal populations, and in some cases preserve rests of invading waves; in the valleys of Friuli (Venezia Giulia) i.e., a flax haired, blue eyed strain has survived, evidently descendants of the Goths, who preserved their characteristic intact as if there would not be any Roman traits. But while the very sparse population of the northern and north-eastern slopes of the Hindukush is definitely Mongolian, the larger and more prosperous valleys to the north, south and west (especially those which benefit by the monsoon and are forested, which is rare in these regions) harbour tribes which probably represent a branch of the ancient Aryan invaders of India, mixed—but to a small degree—with unknown aboriginal inhabitants. The language of the Kafirs of the Hindukush was investigated by a Norwegian philologist, Morgenstiern, in his 'Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan' (Stockholm, 1935) and more thoroughly by the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan, which left in autumn, 1949, for Denmark; their findings are not edited yet. As far as I could make out, the racial composition of the Kafirs still awaits scientific investigation.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, news reached circles interested in anthropology in the west about strange wooden sculptures in the Hindukush valleys, present in the villages of the inhabitants in masses, such as were observed elsewhere in the statuo-covered Easter Island only. The late Dr. Joseph Hackin, before the second war Director of the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan, published a paper in French on these sculptures in 1926 in 'Artibus Asia', IV, Avalun-Verlag, Hellerau, a publication which has now become extremely rare. At that time, expressionist art was the great new fashion in Europe, and primitive art, which supposedly works along purely expressionist lines, met with the same interest.

Hackin writes:

'Some thirty years after the Hegira, Islam and Buddhism were at loggerheads in ancient Bactria and the valley of the Kabul river. This historical conflict had naturally to end with the triumph of the Musulman invaders. But although Islam easily triumphed over the last descendants of the warlike Kušanas and progressed step by step towards India, the Mohammedans could not rally to their cause the pagan tribes well entrenched in the northern and southern part of the Hindukush, in the valleys between the Alingar and the Kunar, tributaries of the Kabul-rud, and in the valley of the Kokchan or Minjan, a river flowing into the Oxus (Amu-Darya). Tamerlan tried twice to turn this regions into a dependency (1399 A.Ch.). There was even a marble pillar erected, not far from the fortress of Najil, to commemorate the victory of the conqueror over the Seyah Posh Kafirs. Ahmed Shah unified Afghanistan, Dost Mohammed completed his work by annexing ancient Bactria (1851); but Kafiristan remained practically independent.

Attempts to convert the inhabitants of these regions continued, however, very actively, and missionaries travelled through the length and breadth of the land, but without great success. It was a massacre of the Mollahs by the Seyah Posh Kafirs, which brought about an intervention by the Emir Abdur Rahman. The punitive expedition, organized in 1896, rapidly overcame the last resistance of the natives. The children of the notables of the region were taken to Kabul for instruction in the Mohammedan religion, and the land of the Kafirs, now entirely subdued by the Emir, became officially the province of Nuristan (the Country of the Light).

Among the spoils of war brought home by the Emir Abdur Rahman were some primitive sculptures, vestiges of the religious art among the Kafirs. As these documents are very rare, we wish to publish them.

"The religion of the Caufirs (Kafirs)", writes Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, "is quite unlike any other religion.<sup>1</sup> They believe in one god, whom they call Imrā, or Tsokooee-Dagouri; but they also worship masses of idols which, according to them, represent heroes of old; they hope to attain divinity by their intercession."

These idols are made of stone or wood; they represent male or female deities, afoot or on horseback.

A certain Mullah named Nujeeb has seen in the public hall of the village of Caumdaish (Kamdesch) a wooden column on which was seated the figure of a man holding a lance in one hand, a commander's baton in the other. This idol represented the father of one of the old village chiefs, who had acquired the right of erecting this statue to himself by feasting repeatedly the whole village. This is not the only case of such apotheoses known among the Kafirs. Indeed it seems easy to enter their paradise by practising hospitality, which is one of the virtues which they value most.<sup>2</sup> Their paradise they call Burry-le-Boola, while the evil ones go to hell, called Burry-Duggur-Boola.' (Translated from the French original.)

So far Dr. Hackin. As to the pronunciation of the Kafir words quoted by him, I have not been able to make out whether the spelling is always supposed to be according to French phonetics or is partially a direct quotation from Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone.

<sup>1</sup> Quite a mistake as we shall see later. The quotation is from his book: 'An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, etc., by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, (etc. etc.) . . . late envoy to the King of Caubul (=Kabul)', London, 1815.

<sup>2</sup> Note that such feasts (and apotheoses) are frequently reported of the old Nordic heroes.

Veritable forests of sculptures were observed in the Bashgul and Dungul valleys. It is possible that some of the figures survive in remote places; perhaps there is a happy hunting ground for future explorers.

Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone had no opportunity to see the valleys of the Hindukush himself. More information—and authentic one—is contained in the reports from Sir George Scott Robertson, political agent in Gilgit. As Britain consolidated her political position in the North-West of India, attempts naturally followed to penetrate into the mysterious border regions. In 1886, Colonel Lockhart attempted an expedition on a small scale, but was unsuccessful. In 1889, Sir Scott Robertson, incredibly intrepid, set out, accompanied only by a few native porters and some inhabitants of the region to be visited, with whom he had established friendship in Gilgit. He managed to reach Kamdesh, and to stay there for some time, benefiting by the hospitality of the natives, which—as we heard before—is one of their chief virtues. He came again in 1890, and travelled through the surrounding country, collecting valuable information about the costumes and religious beliefs of the Kafirs. He could freely sketch the villages and shrines. He was the last westerner who saw the wooden images in situ, and who could collect information as to their meaning and worship, although he was not permitted to witness ceremonies or to see the inner recesses of the shrines. What he saw, incidentally, confirms the informations furnished by the Mullah Nujeeb to Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone. Sir Scott Robertson published a book on his voyages (*The Kafirs of the Hindukush*, London, 1896).

The sculptures brought home to Kabul by the Emir Abdur Rahman, the largest being an equestrian statue (pict. I), found asylum—first a rather precarious one, as their presence scandalized the Mullahs, but now a scientifically established refuge—in the museum in Kabul, where they fill the room known as 'Kafiristan Hall' (the ending 'stan' meaning 'country of . . .'). Some of them are also in the museum in Peshawar. They are roughly done sculptures in wood, made probably with use of no other tools but axes and knives. Sir Scott Robertson reports that the biggest of them were hewn in the forest into the approximate shape, and then transported to the villages where they were completed. Some of them are of superhuman size, and there were also some very large ones. Their size prevented their being taken along by the conquering Afghans, who had to destroy them on the spot, in order to exterminate idolatry, thus depriving posterity of a sight of these works of primitive art. They were not different in their characteristics from the smaller or undersized pieces which have come down to us. We cannot agree, however, with the first and only encountered opinion about their artistic value, expressed by Dr. Hackin in his above-mentioned paper. Hackin's judgment about them was based on the golden rules of graeco-roman art. We know better nowadays. An enormous progress has been made in the world, silent and little noticed by the public, but all-pervading, in the appreciation of art. While all former generations considered art as either civilized (mostly their own one) or barbaric, we have, for the first time in human history, reached some sort of unbiased outlook, and possess a capacity of judgment which we could euphemistically term an absolute or near-absolute meter for value in the arts. This great advance has come to us since expressionism is in the world, and the Nazi tried in vain to retard it by declaring all modern art degenerate. The same opinion was expressed by Dr. Hackin on the Kafiristan sculpture; but degeneration cannot take place unless it is preceded by high artistic values, a development, of which, in Kafiristan, there is no trace. On the contrary, we must see in them an original contribution to art, without a precedent; and neither can,

in my opinion, European expressionism—which now finally has reached also the Americas, and flourishes there at present—be rightly called a degeneration by its adversaries, because, although its introduction has followed a certain historical pattern—classicism under the empire, impressionism, pointillism, expressionism—it breaks away too widely from its precedents to be confounded with them even under the term of degeneration. Primitive art is a fresh departure, based on no layer of previous artistic (but may be religious!) tradition. Whether 'primitivity' also means freedom from outside influences, and what is the relationship of primitive art to expressionism, we shall presently investigate.

What does Dr. Hackin say about the artistic value of our figures—(the first writer to express an opinion about, as Sir Scott Robertson's book is purely descriptive)? He calls them 'grossly schematic, void of original composition, false primitives'. We shall investigate these charges.

The first reproach—being schematic—looks indeed grave. It sounds as if such works would be deprived of any individuality and thus represent real emptiness. But I am afraid we are too much anchored in the classic European viewpoint. Our present independent meter, with which we measure art, will help us to remove the star in a therapeutic way not unlike that of the modern school of philosophy, which aims at clearing up semantics by splitting the meaning of conventional words very deeply; explaining, f.i., that there is by no means an entity called the ego on the only ground that we all know how to use the first person singular. (A language of philosophy seems needed using pure symbols.) Has the idea of individuality in artistic representation formed a part of art from its earliest beginnings? By no means. Art was always very schematic. Egyptian pharaohs in stone—Buddhas from Ceylon to Tibet and Japan—Byzantine paintings of Christ and the saints—Gothic kings in the crypts—Alaska totem poles—the patterns in Chinese silk and Flemish tapestries—where do we find anything else but schematic representation, with the only exception of græco-roman art and its offshoots, a great individualistic world, no doubt, which has come to be overrated, though, with the expansion of European political and cultural influence into the world. And even Hellenistic sculpture is not void of a certain schematism. Gods are represented as certain types, in a certain age, with certain attributes, and referring to certain myths. Thankful as the world has to be to the great occidental idea of individualism, one of the most liberating ideals the world has seen, we cannot but admit that the representation of gods, saints, heroes, myths, kings, ancestors, has always and in all countries and periods been greatly schematic. And little chance seems to be that the world will get more idealistic. Look at the schematic monumental sculpture of the Soviets, or the abstract sculptures of the most modern, like Picabia, Brancusi, Moore. Thus the utter schematic appearance of the Kafiristan plastic work cannot be interpreted as depriving them of artistic value.

As to the second reproach, void of original composition, the problem of originality is intimately connected with the question of outside influence. What exactly does originality mean? Does it mean that every original work ever produced must be entirely different from all its predecessors in history, in style, form, appearance, contents, if it is to enjoy a good press, and must it be free from any influence whatsoever? Manifestly this cannot be true, and a postulate of this kind must be considered as overgrowth of our individualistic tendencies. Greek art is not inferior or showing weak spots, because it took from the Aegean world; and neither is a Khmer Buddha less beautiful because he is made after Indian patterns. Nowhere in the biological world is anything found without signs of mutual influence which

rules the world of appearance. Never a species has suddenly sprung up, showing no relationship to other kinds. I am afraid we cannot entertain the second reproach either, although Hackin points out a definite influence of ancient Persian art f.i. in the headgear of the statue shown at the left side of plate I, pict. 2. The empire of the Achemenidae reached thus far, and royal or hieratic statues might have survived till the Kafir artists saw them. Also Islamic influence is undoubtedly present, as f.i. in the turban-like formations. Our sculptures are evidently not only primitives, but also members of the ancient world and the world of the middle ages. As to originality in the ordinary sense, I think all of you, or at least those of my listeners who saw the pictures for the first time, were struck with the great originality of these entirely schematic statues; I personally have made a study of primitive art all over the world from Tenochtitlan to Bali, and must confess the art of the Kafirs possesses a very special aura found nowhere else. Also from a purely technical viewpoint, there is no lack of original ideas. A round construction like the arms in the statue in the center (plate I, lower picture), which recalls the Ahir sculptures of Bihar, is something striking; the representation of 'double sexed' women with beard recalls the Ainu custom of tattooing women with beard and moustache (the Ainus are said to be Aryans). The sexual symbols, breasts and female genitalia (the sculpturing of which is unheard of in Central Asia) seem to point to influence from Oceania or Africa. The woman images (like the one shown on the right side of plate I, lower picture) are blackened by thick layers of blood from sacrificial animals.

A wooden pole (pict. III) showing two embracing warriors, represents a motive apparently entirely new. We had a sketch made of it, as photographs did not turn out well owing to the darkness of the room. The statues in the museum of Kabul cannot be moved, they are cemented to their base; but the sketch represents them quite well.

Some of the statues (picts. IV, V) show not the slightest difference from the fetishes of the Negroes. It is, of course, highly improbable that there was any real intercourse between regions as remote and inaccessible as the valleys of the Hindukush, and Oceania or Africa, in the historical past, not to speak of modern times, and theories like common branching off from prehistoric wandering masses of humanity and racial memory are too disputed to enter into our consideration. The only explanation is multiple relationship of all primitive art, not arising from practical contacts, but from equality of psychological sources.

There is a great number of other seemingly foreign influenced traits in our sculptures, which supports the above statement. In the museum of Peshawar, a woman is seen astride two horses, which recalls to me a performance of this kind, in gallop, of Kossak woman (in uniform very schematic) which I have seen in a Russian movie, as performing before the Czar. The neck of the horses is definitely Roman-Byzantine. On the back of the horseman in picture I is seen an ornamental wheel, not unlike the Buddhist wheel of rebirth with the running feet, or the wheel of the pure law (of Aśoka) which in turn seems to stem from the ancient Aryan sun wheel. But the most interesting background to our statues is provided by Sir Scott Robertson's chapters on the religion of the Kafirs. The report of the writer, who seems to have written without knowing the true importance of his discoveries, makes it most probable that we are, in the Kafir plastics, and religion, confronted by a layer of Aryan thought, delivered to us in Persian and Mohammedan stylish disguise, but rooting in times considerably older than the first Aryan immigration into India. Indeed, the mythology of the Kafirs reads like the Edda. The religious scope of our sculptures is

hero worship during life as well as after death; the sculptures were either erected on graves or as monuments, thus ancestral, or for successful warriors during their lifetime; rich people—as mentioned above—even bought the right to have some made for them by feasting the priests and co-villagers. Our rider in the first picture is not armed, but Scott Robertson saw a huge figure on a grave mound wielding a spear. Who would not think at once on the manner of burial among the old Nordic nations, of Alarich, King of the Ostrogoths, buried in the Busento in full armour, on horseback, lance in hand? The world of the Kafir is, like that of the ancient Teutons, divided into three realms, Urdesch (Urd, the norne), Mischdesch (clearly Midgard, the middle realm or earth) and Shtondesh (the Greek chthonic gods, those below the earth, who, in the Aegean world, also received bloody sacrifices like our statues, even sacrifices of small children, which is proved by the uncouthling of toy figures of clay in Greece published in the *London Illustrated*, archaeological page, some years ago, showing priests of the chthonic gods, one holding the sacrificial child in his arms ready for the slaughter). The Kafirs sang hymns over the graves called lalu (λαλεω Greek) preserved in such words as coprolal. They thought the soul conserved in the breath (atmān, atmen, to breathe). A tree, 9 years high and 18 years large, in which the goddess Dizane was born, is the World-Tree Yggdrasil. Imrà, one of their highest gods, endowed his prophets Moni, (monos, the only one, to which others later accrued, like Gish and Sataram), with his breath, like the clay man in the Bible. Dizane sprang from Imrà's right breast like Athena from the head of Zeus. Moni slays a demon by decomposing him (like a robot!), and seven demons arise from his fragments (the heads of the hydra). Waters form a wall right and left of him like for the Hebrews fleeing through the Red Sea (that is the saving of the selected ones from the deluge, a story quite common to most mythologies). In the sacred precincts of the Kafirs were holes into the earth, into which nobody was allowed to look, lest death overtake him (at the bottom being, doubtlessly, the Basilisk of ancient Aryan tales). Totem poles with animal heads (pict. I, dimly visible) were erected, and there were Tabus, as f.i. fields, belonging to the gods, which nobody might work, which points to the connection of tabus with fertility and agriculture discovered by Freud. Thus our mythologic features are either general or pronouncedly pre-Vedic Aryan.

Finally, as to the question of right or false primitivity, if we disregard the question of tools and technique, the primitive artist is one who transports into matter his thoughts and feelings (no matter how they came to be or from where they were influenced or what purpose they served) in the so-called direct way, that is, without regard to visual reality or any principle to base artistic representation on exact replicas of objective life. His *phantasy* is as creative as nature. Expressionists are, according to J. P. Hodin, artists who 'possess a collective unconscious whose contents and functions are of an archaic nature', that is, not imitating the archaic, but having mythological parallels (quite unrecognizable to the untrained mind in the modern western artist, but clearly present in the uncivilized religious sculptor). 'Hence the expressionist artist is associated with the myth-building force, that truly creative, spiritual force, out of which the symbols were created that gave form to men's conception of life and the world.' In this sense, the artists from the Hindukush are both true primitives and expressionists.

Referring again to the sketch of the two warriors in embrace,—perhaps it symbolizes blood-brotherhood, a custom prevalent among all Aryan peoples of old (but also among the North American Indians and among

other cultures). When looking at the arms, seemingly *glued* together. I could not help thinking on the Magic Incantations from Merseburg,—

Bên zi Bêna	(Bone to Bone,
Bluot zi Bluoda	Blood to Blood,
Lid zi Geliden	Limb to Limb,
Sêse gelîmida sîn	As if they were glued together).

This is the oldest piece of Aryan poetry discovered in writing so far. But perhaps this is more conjecture than science, though parallels are striking.

Finally let us compare the rectilinear Kafir style with pure cubistic art (Picasso and Bracque, pict. VI). Cubism is the introduction of purely intellectual principles into painting; the dissolution of all forms (but not colours!) into cubic shape; it could have been round disks or triangles, for that matter, but the cube or square was evidently chosen as being the most forceful of all geometric patterns. The straight lines and corners of the Kafir artist have, of course, something to do with his tools; but this need not necessarily be the case, as the work of other primitives (f.i. in Oceania) shows beautiful round forms in abundance. The Kafirs thus represent a case of 'natural' cubists. The forcefulness of the cube simply appealed to them as it did to Picasso and Bracque. They choose it freely; if they reflected, they thought perhaps on the four corners of the earth (quadrangle of the geomancer) and similar shapes in ancient shrines, sacred tents, etc.

The primitive style (according to J. P. Hodin) has symmetry in the grouping; the structure is simple; the colour is even and strong; the distribution in space parallel or radiating; the extension two-dimensional, the line continuous, the rhythm established by repetition, symmetry and parallelism. The element of movement is supplied by the narrative content. Among primitive peoples the formative will is governed by the magic and the hypnotic . . . All these elements seem to be present in the Kafiristan sculptures, including the last two mentioned qualities; the magic, of course, only inasmuch as the old Nordic tribes, whose influence we have perceived in Kafiristan, believed in it (and that was quite to a large extent), as we are still ignorant, and perhaps shall for ever remain, of such additions as the Kafirs probably made through the spoken word; the presence of the hypnotic we can clearly see in the attitude of the figures.

The linear development, which we observe, e.g. from the Primitive to the Classic and on to the Romantic (and its refinement into Rokoko) and again back to primitive elements, is, of course, not undisputed. ' . . . experience has warned us against any assumption that a grosser form necessarily precedes a more refined one; humanity moves by zigzags, in cycles, by way of complication, and indeed degeneration quite as often as, if not more often than, by advance' (C. C. Martindale). Admitting the truth of this statement (which refers to religions), we cannot but pay heed, in the realm of the arts, to evidence. Until anything new will be unearthed in Kafiristan, its sculptures must be regarded as aboriginal forms, influenced by nothing else than the traceable descendancy from the Aryan Olympus, in a strange transvestment of gobbled-up Persian and Mohammedan attire, assumed visually at a time when the spirit of these cultures was by no means absorbed by the local artists. Regarding any other parallel features we might be inclined to see, we must, with Martindale, recognize, supported by introspection and observation of contemporary psychology, 'the extreme improbability of the minds of races other than that of the student (in time, origin or culture) acting as his does, save in what can be proved to be fundamental in human nature. When this is found, the probability of

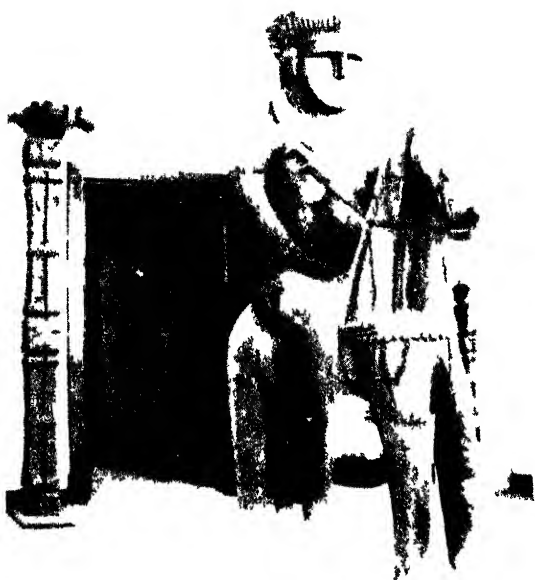


similar parallel consequences always take precedence over the theory of loans between one cult or another, when these cannot historically be proved.'

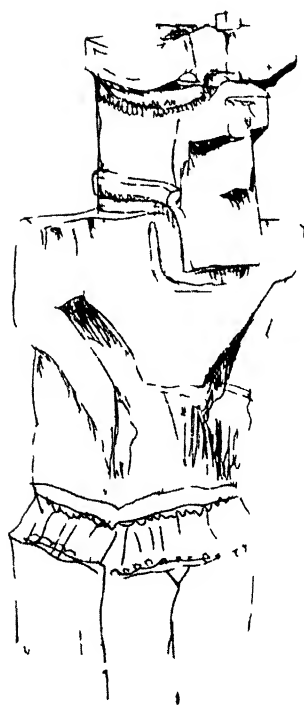
Summing up, we have come to perceive a multiple relationship of all primitive art, arising not from contacts over land and sea, but stemming from the same psychological sources; we have convinced ourselves that the artists from the Hindukush have given to posterity some of the very few remaining primitive sculptures in Asia (of which other continents are so rich; but in Asia advanced civilization arose very early and obliterated them); we perceive in our sculptures examples of expressionist work before expressionism was cast into contemporary theories, existing, however, as a symbol-creating force today as it was in the remotest past.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the Society on 7th January, 1950.









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**KRISHNA DVAIPĀYANA VYĀSA AND KRISHNA VĀSUDEVA**

By DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London), F.R.A.S.B.

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**ANCIENT INDIAN CIVILIZATION—A COMPOSITE THING**

It is now generally admitted that like most other civilizations, the ancient civilization of India is also a composite affair, being the result of the commingling of diverse elements contributed by peoples who originally belonged to different races, spoke different languages and possessed distinct types of culture (religion, mythology and traditions included). The ancient Indian, i.e. Hindu people also did not represent a single race in all its purity, but, like most other peoples, it was the result of the fusion of different racial groups which by the accident of history happened to have settled down side by side within the same geographical area of India, and inter-influencing and intermingling among whom were inevitable owing to this contiguity. At least four distinct types of peoples with their distinct languages and their original cultures connected with these languages form the basis of the present-day people of India and its distinctive civilization, which became characterized some 2,500 to 3,000 years ago. These distinct peoples can be labelled as *Nishāda*, *Drāviḍa*, *Kirāta* and *Ārya*, largely following ancient Indian nomenclature; respectively Austric or Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan or Indo-Mongoloid, and Indo-European or Indo-Aryan, to give the current European names or equivalents. The language of the Aryan section of this composite people (as it was being fused into that chemical compound the ancient Indian Hindu people from a mechanical mixture of various elements just happening to come and live side by side in North India), became the official vehicle of this new and ever-expanding Hindu nation, as Sanskrit. Sanskrit as the exponent as well as symbol of Hindu culture became responsible for giving to the Aryan element a predominance which was more than its due. It was believed, thanks to the general acceptance of Sanskrit all over Hindudom, that Hindu civilization was Aryan civilization, and Hindu philosophy and religion were but later phases of Aryan religion and philosophy; and the component non-Aryan elements were lost sight of, or were not understood, and just a few things were looked upon as survivals from a pre-Aryan barbarism. The assumption was that the pre-Aryan peoples of India were not at all civilized, and whatever was great and noble and of abiding value in the civilization of India was the gift of the Aryans.

But all that estimate does not hold good any more. A large number of evidences have made a restatement of the situation a necessity. We have now realized, or are slowly realizing, that some of the fundamental things in Hindu civilization, including both material and social and intellectual aspects of life, are of non-Aryan origin. The Aryan language itself, including the most important form of it in ancient times, viz.: Sanskrit, had come to be profoundly influenced by the non-Aryan languages, both *Drāviḍa* and *Nishāda*. Although the position of the Sanskrit language in the history of Hindu civilization, as being the vehicle through which its highest achievements in the intellectual side have been given to humanity for over twenty-five centuries, has given an outward Aryan *cachet* to Hindu civilization, we

may say, talking in the Indian way, that 12 to 14 annas in the rupee in Indian culture and religion are of non-Aryan origin. The Indian way of life, including food and raiment (some grain staple, rice or millet or wheat, eaten with peas or lentils; and two pieces of unsewn cloth as a lower garment and an upper one, with a third piece for men to tie round their heads as a turban), social order (with the institution of caste), and general mentality (the idea of tolerance, and acceptance of the policy of 'live and let live'), is either of non-Aryan origin or developed within a mixed *milieu*. Indian philosophy (the Vedānta, and Yoga) and Indian religious practices (the *pūjā* ritual, as opposed to the Aryan *hōma* or fire sacrifice) as well as the later Puranic pantheon and the Puranic myth and legend cycles were similarly the product of a fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan elements.

#### THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS: NISHĀDA, DRĀVIDA, KIRĀTA AND ĀRYA

The Aryan advent into India was unquestionably the most important event in the evolution of a composite culture like the Hindu. The peoples who came to India with their different languages, cultures and mentalities represented, according to the latest anthropological pronouncement which can be accepted as authoritative on the subject, six different races in their nine variations. We are more interested in the languages they brought and the cultures we can associate with them than in the racial types they represented. It is not yet possible to give with any amount of certitude (although we may feel inclined to think that our guess furnishes the most reasonable hypothesis, under the circumstances) the datation of the arrival of peoples belonging to these different races into India. India is believed not to have been the place of origin of any kind of man: no type of the *homo sapiens* evolved from any kind of anthropoid ape on the soil of India, and all her human inhabitants originally came from outside.

The oldest people to come to India were a race of Negroids who came from Africa along the coastlands of Arabia and Iran. They survive in one or two insignificant tribes in South India, where they speak some debased forms of the Dravidian speech, and they are found (in a few hundreds only) in the Andaman Islands where they have preserved their language and a good deal of their old ways. Survivals of these Negroids are found among other peoples, notably the Austriacs who came after them, and among the Indo-Mongoloids in the Naga Hills. The Negroids belonged to the eolithic stage of culture, and were wandering food-gatherers, not settled food-producers. It would appear they had died out (at least in Northern India) when the Aryans came after 1500 B.C. The arrival of the Negroids might have taken place some 7,000 years from now: it might have been earlier still.

Next to these Negroids came a very early offshoot of the primitive Mediterranean people—the Proto-Australoids. These came from the West, and made India their centre of dispersion. From India they passed on to Ceylon, and through Malaya and Java to Australia. The Proto-Australoids who stayed on in India became modified as the Austric or Austro-Asiatic people, who furnish a prominent element among the lower classes throughout the whole of India. As Austriacs, they spread into Indo-China and Malaya and the islands of Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, mingling with the Mongoloid, Negroid and other racial groups in those lands far away from India. The Indian Austriacs are believed to have developed the primitive Austric speech which is represented at the present day by the Kol or Munda languages of India (Santali, Mundari, Ho, Bhumij, Korku, Gadaba, Savara, etc.), by Khasi of Assam, by Mon or Talaing and

other dialects of Burma, by Khmer or Cambodian and other allied speeches of Indo-China, and by Nicobarese, on the one hand, and by Malay and other Indonesian languages, by Fijian and other Melanesian languages, and by the various Polynesian languages on the other. The Indian Austriacs were a long-headed, straight-haired, flat-nosed people. The Aryans first knew them as *Nishādas*, and then as *Bhillas* and *Kollas* (particularly in their primitive state in the hills and jungles of Central India). They supply one of the basic elements in the formation of the Hindu people.

Next we have the Dravidian speakers, who are believed to be members of a civilized Mediterranean race who came to India with a highly advanced civilization, and who were in three distinct groups. The city cultures of South Panjab and Sindh, remains of which have been discovered at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro and other sites, are believed to have been their creation. These Dravidian-speakers (who appear to have been known to the Vedic Aryans as *Dāsas* and *Dasyus*) formed, after the Aryans, the most powerful of the various elements in the Indian population. They were strong in Western and in Southern India particularly, but they had spread through the Ganges Valley also, where they were evidently living side by side with the Austriacs (much as the Dravidian Oraons and the Austric Mundas are doing in Chota Nagpur at the present day). The Dravidian contribution to Indian civilization has been exceedingly important. Dravidian advent took place over 5,000 years ago: the Sindh and South Panjab culture goes back to some 3000 B.C.

The third pre-Aryan element in India is the Mongoloid one. The ancient Aryans knew them as *Kirātas*. Mongoloid tribes speaking languages or dialects of the Sino-Tibetan family appear to have arrived into India as early as the end of the second millennium B.C. They might even be earlier in India: a Mongoloid head in *terra cotta* has been found in the Sindh city remains. The *Kirāta* people are mentioned in the Yajur Veda and in the Atharva Veda as living in the caves and hills. They became established in Nepal and other tracts to the south of the Himalayas, and in North Bihar, North and East Bengal, and Assam. Their influence was not as powerful in the formation of Hindu civilization as that of the Dravidians, the Austriacs and the Aryans, as they did not spread over the whole of India: the *Kirātas* just touched a fringe of the Hindu world. But in Himalayan India, in North Bihar, in North and East Bengal and in Assam, they had a very great importance.

The Aryans came to India during the second-half of the second millennium B.C. They were a section of the Indo-Iranian branch of the primitive Indo-European people whose passage into India, after centuries of sojourn on the way, was through the Caucasus, Eastern Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Iran, from their original homeland in the Eurasian plains to the south of the Ural mountains. A semi-nomadic people who moved about with their herds and flocks, they did some agriculture, and came to India from Iran in quest of new homes. Not very much advanced in material culture, they were nevertheless an organized and a disciplined people, imaginative and adaptive, whose language with the mentality behind it was their greatest asset. They found India to be a land shared among the Dravidians and the Austriacs—at least in the Panjab and in the western Gangetic plains; and this diversity of language and culture among the original inhabitants of the land was their great opportunity, to set themselves up as conquerors and to get their own speech accepted. The Aryans in the Panjab and in Upper Gangetic India were not long in mixing with the non-Aryans, and a racial fusion started which resulted in the final formation of the Hindu people in Northern India by 1000 B.C.



## CONSCIOUS LEAD GIVEN TO RACIAL AND CULTURAL FUSION

It may be confidently asserted that the Aryan-non-Aryan racial and cultural admixture had started even before 1000 B.C., as soon as the Aryans settled down in the country and were soon under the necessity of modifying their life and ways both according to the climate and to the *milieu* of corporate existence presented by the large already-settled pre-Aryan populations. The approximation to pre-Aryan life and ways and habits of thinking was generally an unconscious process, particularly when inter-marriage among the Aryans and the Dravidians and Nishādas began to be easy with ever-increasing groups of the latter adopting the Aryan speech abandoning their own.

But it would appear that this cultural fusion was not entirely an unconscious process, the result of merely the blind forces of racial miscegenation operating themselves and making cultural mixture an inevitable corollary. It seems that mankind here, as in many other contexts, was not a passive pawn in the game of destiny, but had some notion of what was going on, and through the agency of a few of its thought-leaders participated consciously in this mutual acculturation, and even sought to direct it along channels which appeared to it to be inevitable and at the same time which promised to be beneficial for all concerned.

Two such thought-leaders and men of action appeared in Northern India when the racial and cultural fusion was well under way, and they sought to give the direction to the process at work. That they were successful in their objective would appear to be clear from two things—firstly, the orientation that Hindu thought and the Hindu attitude to life took up for all subsequent time; and secondly, the veneration with which these two great leaders of the Hindu world at its inception *quā* Hindu world have been regarded all through. These two greatest personalities—for as such they can be described without any travesty—in the ancient Hindu world (and among the greatest in the history of mankind as well) were *Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva Vārshṇeya*, Krishna the son of Vasudeva of the Vrishni clan, and *Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa*, Krishna the Island-born One, the Arranger. They were contemporaries, the latter being the elder of the two; they were connected with the *Mahābhārata* heroes, and were among the principal participants in the historic events underlying the great epic.

## VYĀSA AND KRISHNA: 10TH CENTURY B.C.

The *Mahābhārata* epic may be said to centre round these two personalities. Of the two national epics of India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, which took something like their present shape during the first few centuries after Christ, the former was a veritable *kāvya*, an artistic narrative poem which was the work of a single poet, and was on a theme—a composite plot of many parts—on the life and adventures of the hero Rāma whose historicity has not been admitted by any serious student of ancient Indian history, notwithstanding the fact that the work as it stands has been of very great cultural and moral significance in the Hindu world for centuries. Vālmiki is the *Ādi-Kavi*, the first conscious poet of a narrative story: his characters are true in spirit, though not in history. But the *Mahābhārata* is on quite a different footing. Behind the huge poem which took its present shape by 400 A.D. was a series of historical ballads narrating a primitive *saga* about the adventures of the *Pāṇḍavas* and their final fight at Kurukshetra with their relatives the sons of Dhritarāshtra, and this *saga* is believed by most students of Indology to possess an actual historical or

factual basis. Krishna Vāsudeva and Krishna Dvaipāyana unquestionably both belong to the historical kernel of the epic.

The probable age of the historical events underlying the *Mahābhārata* has not been decided or accepted unanimously by all scholars, and the dates proposed range from a traditional (but far from historical) 3000 B.C. to 950 B.C. This is not the occasion to discuss the question *in extenso*. The present writer is inclined to regard the period tenth century B.C. (between 1000 and 900 B.C.) as the most likely date for the historic events underlying the *Mahābhārata*—the time when Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva, and the five Pāndava brothers, and other personalities who have a vital place in the story, and in so far as they are historical, lived and died. This date has been arrived at by totally different lines of investigation by two scholars, the Englishman F. E. Pargiter and the Indian Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri. The former, Pargiter, pinned his faith on the *Purāṇas* (although they are post-Christian in their present form) as being genuine repositories of the Kshatriya tradition, refusing to rely on the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upanishads* and other post-Vedic literature as being sacerdotal and biased in spirit; and the latter, Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, has treated the evidence of the *Purāṇas* as but ancillary and corroborative, and has relied on incidental references to the *Mahābhārata* characters and to the chronology suggested by the generations of teachers which occur in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* as being of far greater value (since they are nearer in time to the *Mahābhārata* period) than the *Purāṇa* accounts, in which an irresponsible spirit of poetry and romance has distorted sober history.

With regard to the date of Krishna, the following observations from Dr. L. D. Barnett are *à propos*, and form a confirmation, from the Jaina side, of the tenth century B.C. suggested as the date of Krishna:

‘One of the main foci of Ksatriya traditions is the Bhārata War, which with Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Law I regard as an historical event, though much obscured by fable. In connection with it I would venture to point to a fact which hitherto, I believe, has not received the attention it merits, namely the corroboration supplied by Jain legend. As is well-known, the Jain Tīrthaṃkara Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna was preceded by the Tīrthaṃkara Pārśvanātha, whose predecessor again was Ariṣṭanemi, whom Jain traditions represent as a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa (Kanha) Vāsudeva. If we may assume an interval of 200 years between each of these Tīrthaṃkaras, as seems on general grounds most suitable, we bring Ariṣṭanemi’s date up to about 1000 B.C., which very nearly corresponds with the date assigned on other grounds by Mr. Pargiter to the Bhārata War, in which according to tradition Kṛṣṇa took part, namely 950 B.C.’—(Foreword to *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, by Bimala Churn Law, Calcutta, 1924.)

We are quite content to follow F. E. Pargiter and Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett in accepting the tenth century B.C. as the time for Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva, as this accords very well with one or two other important considerations.

#### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF KRISHNA DVAIPĀYANA VYĀSA : THE INAUGURATOR OF THE LITERARY HERITAGE AND TRADITION OF INDIA

We may begin with Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as the elder contemporary of Krishna Vāsudeva first. In the *Mahābhārata* story, his position can be well-understood when we find that he was the grandfather of the Pāndava and Kaurava heroes, having begotten Dhritarāshtra and Pāndu on the wives of his step-brother according to the custom of the levirate. He was like Bhīshma a Nestor among *Mahābhārata* heroes, and at times

behaved like a *Deus ex machina*. He was one of the first to appreciate the greatness of his younger contemporary Krishna Vāsudeva. But Krishna Dvaipāyana is important in the history of Indian culture for another great reason. According to tradition, he is at the head of Indian literature—he did a two-fold service by compiling the four Vedas, and by compiling the 18 Purāṇas, in addition to composing the *Mahābhārata* epic. That is, he is credited with collecting the mass of oral religious literature in the shape of hymns to the deities, of charms and incantations and of ritualistic formulae which was current among the Aryan-speaking community of his day, and compiling them into the four Veda books; and he is further credited with having been a great antiquarian and lover of literature, who collected the mass of myths and legends and old tales about princely heroes and religious men which were current among the people of the Aryan pale, of mixed Aryan-non-Aryan origin, and his collections formed, we may reasonably deduce, the nucleus or basis of the *Purāṇas* of later times. *Veda* and *Purāṇa*, the oldest things in Indian literature, thus traditionally owed their literary shape to the labours of Krishna Dvaipāyana. For his service in compiling the Vedas, he came to obtain the sobriquet of *Vyāsa* or the Arranger—or *Veda-Vyāsa*, the Arranger of the Vedas.

The service rendered by Vyāsa to the Indian people at a crucial juncture in their formative stage was analogous to that performed by Homer when the Greek people of history was similarly being formed through a fusion of the Indo-European speaking Hellenes arrived from the North and the pre-Indo-European Aegean peoples. Of course, it is understood that Vyāsa Krishna Dvaipāyana is probably only typical of a number of other Vyāsas, collectors, compilers, and arrangers of oral literature and oral or written myths and legends, who doubtless ante-dated and post-dated him: just as Homer is only typical of the various poets and singers who composed and sung lays about the heroes relating to the Trojan and other cycles. The service done by Vyāsa, however, far exceeded that done by Homer. For Vyāsa compiled both a mass of religious literature and a mass of heroic legend and poetry for the Aryan-speaking Indians, whereas Homer gave only a mass of heroic legends (framed no doubt in most enduring and truthful poetry) for the Indo-European speaking Hellenes. Yet in spite of the largely secular character of his compositions or compilations, Homer stands at the head of both the literary and the religious traditions of the ancient Greek people.

The four Veda books, then, were compiled by Vyāsa in the tenth century B.C., during which century the Kurukshetra battle was fought. Collections of traditional myths, legends, and history or semi-history began also to be made in the Aryan language in India. Both these literary innovations or inaugurations could be possible only through the adoption of a system of writing for the Aryan tongue. The Aryans had no alphabet or script of their own, whereas the Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro people, who were in all likelihood primitive Dravidian speakers, had a script of which we can see three stages from the seals and other inscriptions themselves. The Aryans can only be expected to get the idea of reducing their language to writing from what they observed among these pre-Aryan Dravidians. The oldest system of writing associated with the Aryan language in India, the Brāhmī, is found to be quite a well-established and a finished system of writing by the fourth century B.C. An ultimate Phoenician origin for the Brāhmī alphabet was suggested at one time by Bühler and other eminent Indian archaeologists. But that opinion requires revision, and it seems more likely that the Brāhmī originated on the soil of India from the latest form of the Mohen-jo-Daro script. It was thus a pre-Aryan system modified and adapted to the Aryan language in India. Now, in the fourth

century B.C., Brāhmī was not yet a perfected script—it was still hesitating in its orthography and did not as yet know how to indicate all the sounds in combination (e.g. the double consonants were all written singly). The beginnings of Brāhmī of the fourth century B.C. as a *Proto-Brāhmī* may very well go back to the tenth century B.C. This would accord very well with the compilation of the Veda books and of the primitive Purāṇas in the Aryan language, as soon as it got an alphabet of its own.

Tenth century B.C. for Veda-Vyāsa would give a lower limit for Vedic literature, roughly the time when it was compiled, or rather, *when it started to be compiled*. Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri has shown how even for some centuries after the actual compilation of the four Vedas, the Vedic (*Samhitā*) Canon still remained open and was far from being finally sealed or closed. The Vedic texts indicate the situation for the Aryan language in India in the tenth century B.C., and the Indo-Aryan Vedic speech is very close in form and spirit to Old Persian of the Cuneiform inscriptions of the sixth century B.C. and to Avestan (Gāthā speech) of about the same or slightly earlier date. Ray Chaudhuri would give the eleventh century B.C. as the date for the *composition* of a good deal of the Rigveda. But it is quite possible that the oldest hymns go back to some centuries earlier still, and then at that time the language was not Vedic, or Rig-vedic, but it was the earlier phase of it, which may be called late *Indo-Iranian* or late *Aryan* (taking *Aryan* in the narrow and specialized sense to mean the hypothetical speech that is the immediate source of both Vedic and Avestan).

#### VEDIC AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE STARTED BY VYĀSA A UNIFYING FACTOR IN INDIA, THE ALL-INCLUSIVE REPOSITORY OF INDIAN LORE AND THOUGHT

The Vedic hymns, those of the Rig and the Atharva Vedas, and the ritualistic formulae of the Yajur Veda, refer specifically to the Aryan heritage of the Aryan-speaking people of North India (Panjab and West Ganges Valley people) among whom existed a very large submerged non-Aryan element. The Aryan worship by means of burnt offerings (*homa*) was the officially recognized religious rite among a people who were being ruled over by scions of Aryan conquerors and by priests of Aryan origin; but the religion, cults and traditions of the linguistically Aryanized non-Aryan groups were there. And non-Aryan or pre-Aryan traditions and semi-history as well as myths and legends, as current among the *Drāviḍas* (*Dāsas* and *Dasyus*) and the *Nishādas*, were becoming interlinked and interwoven with Aryan traditions and myths and legends, particularly when the Aryan ruling houses became the inheritors of the pre-Aryan ones, whether by conquest or by inter-marriage. The non-Aryan heritage in religion and tradition, particularly in tradition, myth and legend, got inextricably mixed with the Aryan ones. There was a certain amount of resistance at this fusion, doubtless: we get echoes of this resistance from the Aryan side (e.g. in the *Vṛṣākapi* hymn, Rig-veda X, 86; and in the opposition to both Krishna Vāsudeva as a rival of Indra, and to Śiva as a deity who had no Vedic status, which we find in the *Purāṇas*); and from the non-Aryan side there would be, as we can easily understand as being the case of a conquered people, far less of opposition when a synthesis would be in the air: in fact, we may suspect that the synthesis would be supported by the generality of the non-Aryans, and supported most eagerly by the mixed people which was coming into being as the inheritors of both the worlds of the Aryan and the non-Aryan.

The Aryan conquest of North-Western India was posterior to 1500 B.C.—it might have been even a couple of centuries later. But non-Aryan traditions of their kings and rulers go back to centuries before 1500 B.C. And it is these traditions that are largely the *Purāṇa* traditions. We may recall the situation in nascent Greece. It was largely the traditions, legends and myths of the pre-Hellenic Aegeans which were rendered into the Indo-European Greek language, and which combined with those of the Indo-European invaders and became the national heritage of the mixed Aegean and Indo-European Hellenic Greeks of classical times. Mycenaean artifacts have recently been discovered which have demonstrated how the story of Oidipous, and the myths of Artemis the huntress and of Persephoneia's descent into Hades (typical of other similar ancient Greek stories and myths) are really pre-Hellenic.

Dvaipāyana Vyāsa compiled the Aryan heritage in sacred or religious lore into the Veda books, and he also gave the great impetus towards collecting and disposing in handbooks or literary treatises (to which evidently he himself gave an appropriate name—*Purāṇa*) the mass of myths and legends (of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin) which were current among the Aryan-using or Aryan-speaking people of c. 1000 B.C. We should remember in this connection his antecedents: he was a half-caste, or, rather, a quadroon, according to universally accepted Puranic testimony, narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Purāṇas*, being the son of a Brahman and a Rishi—an Aryan priest and sage—Parāśara (who himself is said to have had a *Caṇḍālā* woman as his mother) and of Satyawatī (*Matsyagandhā*) the daughter of a *Dāsa* (probably Dravidian-speaking) chief whose people followed the calling of fishermen. His mother who was then unmarried later became the queen of the proud Aryan Kshatriya King Śāntanu of the Kuru tribe; and her son by Śāntanu dying childless, Vyāsa by the law of levirate which was practised by the Indian Aryans raised sons on his step-brother's wives. These and scores of other incidents narrated as a matter of course in the *Mahābhārata* show how much of this racial miscegenation was being carried on in practice, at a stage of social evolution when the *anuloma* and the *pratiloma* connections (in the former of which the man was of the superior race, in the latter the woman) both were regarded as quite common-place.

The position of Vyāsa as the first gatherer of myths and legends so tremendously caught the imagination of the mixed Hindu people that he was looked upon as the *fons et origo* of all traditional lore relating to myths and legends of the past in any part of India. The voluminous 18 *Purāṇas*, and the numberless other similar works like the *Upa-purāṇas*, were all fathered on him in later times. Vyāsa appears to have belonged to the Kuru-Panchāla country, but other centres of *Purāṇa* compilation like Naimishāranya came also to be associated with his name or with that of his disciples. Moreover, he was credited with composing the story of the Kauravas and Pandavas in an *ādi-Mahābhārata*, an original poem with the title *Jaya* or 'Victory', giving an account of the final victory of the Pāṇḍavas over the Kauravas. This itself is not an impossible thing—like Ossian in the Irish legend, Vyāsa as an old, old bard and seer could very well have poetized on the fortunes of his grandsons after they lived and strove and loved and fought and passed away. But it is equally likely that the first draft, or the first series of ballads on the Kuru-Pāṇḍava strife was composed by the son of a Sūta or professional bard Loma-harshana or 'the Hair-raiser' (a fitting name for a story-teller!), whose own personal name was Ugrasravas; and an exaggerated respect for Vyāsa did not tolerate any other authorship for the most popular story which became the epitome of ancient Hindu life and history and the national epic of India.

Krishna Dvaipāyana was thus a Bishop Percy on a really stupendous—one may say, a Himalayan scale, who gave a cultural cohesion to a mixed people of Nishāda, Drāviḍa, Kīrāta and Ārya origin, making them feel as one people, by giving them a national literature in the Aryan's language which had become acceptable to the other three groups. This national literature he gave by gathering relics of religious poetry, folk poetry, legendary and historical lore, and *saga* of all sorts. We cannot insist too urgently on this great contribution of his to Hindudom racially and culturally: apart from other aspects of his personality or career as a thinker and philosopher.

Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa remained after all a man and a sage—a divine sage who may be called the Official Founder of Brahmanical Hinduism by giving it its scriptures (if it is permissible to use this expression in connection with a religion which has no set dogmas attributable to a single individual and no historical event or personality as its fundamental pivot, and is more a federation of religions and cultures than a single faith with its single distinctive creed or *cachet* or attitude).

#### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF KRISHNA VĀSUDEVA : HIS HISTORICITY AND PERSONALITY

But with regard to Krishna Vāsudeva, it has been quite different. From a very human personality, he has become a divinity, an incarnation of the Godhead, nay, even the Divinity itself. The process of Euhemerism could not go any further. Legends and wonder-tales, heroic achievements and romantic deeds, and supernatural doings before which the imagination staggers, combined with a religious exaltation of the most intense and intimate type, have transformed Krishna into a veritable god whom it would be at first sight impossible to bring down to his original human character and environment. Yet this attempt has been made several times, and for the first time probably by the great novelist and thought-leader of Bengal and India, Bankim Chandra Chatterji (in his *Krishna-Caritra*, in Bengali, Calcutta, second edition, 1892). The most up-to-date and at the same time the most reasonable essay in restoring the historical Krishna has been from Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri (in Lecture II—'the Life of Krishna Vasudeva and the Early Progress of Bhagavatism', pp. 62-118, in his *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, second edition, Calcutta, 1936). It is not necessary to recapitulate what Ray Chaudhuri has said. It can only be mentioned that Krishna was a member of the Satvat or Vrishni (*Vṛṣṇi*) sept of the Yadu clan of Kshatriyas; that his father was Vāsudeva, and his mother Devakī was in all likelihood a non-Aryan princess, the sister of King Kamsa of Mathurā; that from fear of his uncle he had to be sent immediately after his birth to a settlement of wandering herdsmen; that later on he slew his uncle and set his maternal grandfather (whose seat was usurped by his son Kamsa) on the throne once again; that he led a migration of the Yadu clan from the Upper Ganges Valley to Saurāshtra; that he was a friend and relation of the Pāndavas and a particular friend of Arjuna who had married his sister Subhadrā; that he was a great religious teacher and leader who in a way propounded a new philosophy of absolute surrender to God's will and of disinterested performance of one's duty in life, cultivating at the same time certain high moral virtues, and he gave but a secondary place to ritualistic worship such as the Aryan priesthood inculcated; and that he was one of the first to recognize that different rituals of worship were but different paths which all led to God, so long as there was sincerity, and desire to do good through one's actions.

Another positive fact about his life seems to be that he was a disciple of the Sage Ghora Āngirasa from whom he obtained the germs of his future philosophy that a moral life and the cultivation of virtues like truth, self-restraint, sincerity or honesty, non-injury to all living creatures, religious penance, renunciation and maintenance of clarity of thought are more important than following the Vedic sacrifices and rites.

We can arrive at precious little in the way of positive facts about the life of Krishna the Man. We can see the stages by which he has been set up on the high pedestal of a God. How he was transformed into or identified with the Vedic Sun-God Vishnu, and how Bhagavatism or faith in a personal Divinity became a part of the Vishnu-Krishna cult, has been discussed in a most able and convincing manner by Ray Chaudhuri in his book mentioned above. The Vedic Sun-God Vishnu would appear to have merged into a non-Aryan (Dravidian) Divinity of cosmic significance, a Divinity which pervaded the universe typified by the blue sky (cf. Tamil *Viṇ* = 'Sky', and Prakrit *Viṇhu*, *Veṇhu* = *Viṣṇu*) and which was full of solicitude for the welfare of man. As the centuries passed, Krishna Vāsudeva as an incarnation of Vishnu-Nārāyaṇa gathered round him fresh legends, and old human stories or events connected with his mundane existence as a human being were transformed into marvellous and supernatural adventures. Thus in the Pali *Jātaka* we are told that Krishna (Kaṇha), wise man though he was, was captivated by the charms of a pretty Chandāla or non-Aryan girl of the lower classes and married her, and this girl Jambāvati became one of his wives. (The *Mahāummagga Jātaka*, no. 546, and the Commentary to it.) But in the later Purāṇa legends Jambāvati became Jāmbavati, the daughter of the King of the Bears, and Krishna's marriage with her was narrated as the *finale* of an adventuresome story in which a miraculous gem (the *śyamantaka-maṇi*) and a court intrigue featured. The romantic Rādhā legend with all its ramifications and local variations was developed during the second half of the first millennium A.D., over 1,500 years after the days of the historical Krishna, from the earlier story of his sojourn as a child and a youth with the nomadic herdsmen of *Vṛndāvana* and likely petty love affairs with their girls during the period of his asylum with them. The earlier *Jātaka* stories, in the main pre-Christian, give us glimpses of a very human Krishna, some of which have been noted by Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, and these give the impression that there was an actual human teacher and hero behind the transformed divinity. Jaina sources also give us glimpses of a similar human Krishna.

#### ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN IN INDIAN RELIGION AND THOUGHT :

##### ĀGAMA AND NIGAMA, PŪJĀ AND HOMA

Nomadic Aryanism was being transformed by the wider worlds of the advanced city civilization of the Dravidians and by the village culture and jungle lore of the Austrians. The racial intermixture which had set in loosened the foundations of the idea of a *Herrenvolk*—the *Conquistador* spirit—which the Aryans had brought. Men of Aryan origin, pure or mixed were already questioning the use of the elaborate Vedic sacrifices to the Gods. According to the Puranic legend, Krishna while he was living among the (possibly non-Aryan) cowherd people refused to give honour to Indra, the Aryan god *par excellence*, and gave his support to a cult of the Govardhana hill which was more in accordance to the non-Aryan mentality.

Indian tradition has all along admitted two strands in Indian religion, philosophy and ritual—the Vedic, and the non-Vedic traditions—the *Nigama* and the *Āgama* respectively, to give the Indian names. The non-Vedic

*Āgama* tradition is 'that which has come down' from time immemorial: it embodies the special teaching of Śiva imparted to Umā, and the Tantric doctrines and ritual and Yoga notions and practices come under it. The *Āgama* tradition is non-Aryan in origin, and it is exceedingly likely that it is very largely Dravidian in origin, although Austrie and Sino-Tibetan elements later on were engrafted in it. The *Nigama* tradition is 'that which has come inside' as a later cultural imposition, the Vedic fire-ritual of the *homa*, from outside. One would suspect that the names *Āgama* and *Nigama* were first given by a supporter of the *Āgama* or Tantric system who believed in this doctrine to be the one older for the people and the country. However, the Vedic ritual and Vedic ideas loomed very largely in the life of the Aryan settlers, particularly the Aryan aristocrats; and the pre-Vedic, i.e. the pre-Aryan ritual and ideology were ignored, naturally enough, by the Vedic priests. But among the masses, particularly of the growing masses of Mestizos, the offspring of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among the Aryans and non-Aryans, the older ideas and ritual can only be expected to persist, openly or surreptitiously according to the predominance or power of the protagonists of Vedism or Aryanism.

To unite the Aryan and the non-Aryan into one people, it was necessary that the *Nigama* should be combined with the *Āgama*, that the thirty-three Vedic gods, forces of nature with a slight amount of anthropomorphism or humanization should form members of the same pantheon as the great non-Aryan divinities of a cosmic significance who represented the stupendous physical as well as the subtle moral forces operative in the universe and were at the same time very human in their personified conceptions, divinities who later became Śiva and Umā and Vishnu and Śrī, among others, in a combined Aryan-non-Aryan or Brahmanical *Sudharmā* or Pantheon. It was necessary also that the Vedic ritual of the Fire Sacrifice, the *homa*, was to be on an equal footing with (or at least make some room for) the non-Aryan (both Dravidian and Austrie) rituals of the Flower Offering and Blood Offering.

Among other vital things, enduring things in the spiritual uplift of man, Krishna Vāsudeva, as a great teacher who stood for sincerity and faith and not for any particular type of ritual, was probably the first to give formal recognition, in an Aryan-speaking society during the formative period of the North Indian Hindu people, to the non-Vedic, Agamic, Tantric or Puranic ritual of the *pūjā*, with all its ideology behind it: as much as he gave a formal and a full recognition to the mystic cult and ideology of the Yoga, also pre-Aryan in origin.

*Homa* or the Fire Ritual, and *Pūjā* or the Flower Ritual, represent two distinct worlds of religious thought or perception. The Flower Ritual of the *pūjā* is unknown to the Vedic religion: there the ritual is everywhere *homa*. The idea behind the *homa* is this. The gods are 33 in number. They are in Heaven. Agni or Fire is their messenger. The worshipper is not conscious of any immanent divine force or *mana* pervading the Universe: he knows only some individual gods and goddesses who are humanized forms of natural forces, like Fire, Wind, Sun, Dawn, Thunder, Rain, the Sky-Vault, Earth, etc. who are potent in giving or withholding their bounty in the shape of riches (cattle, horses, flocks and harvest in plenty), sons, and victory over enemies. They are approached in a spirit of friendly reliance; their attitude in worship is that of *do, ut des* (*dadāmi, uta dadāsi*), 'I give, so that you may give in return'. He gives as offerings the food he himself eats—meat and fat of a sheep or goat or cow or horse which he kills, barley bread, milk and butter, and an intoxicant (the *soma*), which he burns in fire kindled on an altar. The gods feel the savour of the burnt offering,



and are pleased, and give in return what is prayed for: the worship is done. The idea is simple and very primitive. It is the old Indo-European ritual of worship. It was the ritual current among the extra-Indian kinsmen of the Aryans—the Iranians, the Slavs, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Celts and the Germans. The Germanic word for the Divinity, *God* (as in English) meant only the libation to be poured into the fire itself personified (Indo-European \**ghutóm* = Sanskrit *hutam*). Where they got it from is not known. The Sumerians, and following them the Semites, had a similar ritual of burnt offerings, but not the Egyptians, nor again the Aegeans who simply made offerings of food before the images of the gods, offerings which were placed on raised stands or altars. The Indo-Europeans knew no images.

The *pūjā* ritual stands on quite a different footing. For the worshipper, the whole universe is filled with a cosmic force or divine spirit, and the worshipper wants to have a personal communion or touch with it. For this purpose, he is taught that a magic ritual calling the divine spirit is potent enough to make it (or a portion of it) come and be installed within some symbol prepared to represent it—an image, a pot, a pebble, a tree or a branch of a tree, a picture, a design. By means of this ritual, the spirit comes into the symbol, and then it at once becomes a Living Presence for the worshipper endowed with faith; and it is after that treated as an honoured guest, even as a king on a visit to a subject of his. Water is poured over the symbol; flowers, leaves and fruit, and grains of rice or other corn as produce of the earth are offered to it; and cooked food, delicacies of all sort, are placed before it and offered, to become consecrated food with special sanctity. Dress and ornaments and jewellery are used to bedeck the symbol, particularly if it is an image. The divinity present in the symbol is regaled with music and dance and drama. Lights are waved before it after worship, in token of homage. When the divinity is worshipped under a terrible aspect, animals are sacrificed before it by decapitating (the Vedic or Aryan method of sacrifice was mostly by strangulation), and the blood of the victim is either placed before the image or symbol on a flat cup, or it is smeared over the image. Red sandal paste and vermillion were sometimes used, and these are doubtless substitutes for the red blood of the victim. Sandal paste as something cooling is applied to the image or other symbol. Then, after this ritual, the worshipper is at liberty to come to a personal relationship with his god by prayer and appeal and meditation. The image or symbol may be made, according to the wishes of the worshipper, a permanent or a temporary abode of the divine spirit, so to say. When the latter idea is in view, another magical ritual may be performed, and the spirit releases itself from the symbol, which becomes forthwith a useless material object with no further spiritual or religious potency.

The ideas of *homa* and *pūjā*, as it is apparent, had their birth in different *milieus*. The mixed Hindu people, and the Brahmanical faith of mixed origin, inherited both. The *homa* was exclusively Aryan, to which non-Aryans had no right as it was the special privilege of the Aryan. But everybody was welcome to the *pūjā* ritual. *Homa* was a rite in which ordinarily animal sacrifice was a necessary part: it was known also as *paśu-karma*. In *pūjā*, flowers are essential: it was, so to say, a *puṣpa-karma*. Now, on this basis, the word *pūjā* of Sanskrit has been explained by Mark Collins as a Dravidian word—*pū* meaning 'flower', and the Dravidian root *cey*, *gey* meaning 'to do' giving a compound form, in Primitive Dravidian of Vedic times, \**pū-gey* = *puṣpa-karma*, 'the flower ritual' (Jarl Charpentier suggested another derivation for the word *pūjā*, as being

from a Dravidian root *pusu* or *pucu* 'to smear', anointing with sandal-paste or vermilion or blood being in his opinion the basic element in the *pūjā* rite).

TOLERANCE, UNDERSTANDING AND ACCEPTANCE, KEYNOTE OF THE  
INDIAN SPIRIT, TAUGHT BY KRISHNA VĀSUDEVA

In the *Bhagavad-Gītā* section of the *Mahābhārata*, which as a finished work may belong to the period round about the birth of Christ, but which preserves the fundamental teachings of Krishna Vāsudeva (particularly along some of the lines of the teaching of his master Ghora Āngirasa as indicated in the *Chāndogya Upanishad*), we find in Chapter IX Krishna Vāsudeva giving his views as to the utility of formal worship as a means of attaining to the Ultimate Reality, which is here identified (doubtless by some later editor who believed in the divinity of Krishna) with Krishna himself. The Supreme Spirit, the Ultimate Reality, is to be known in its proper nature as the final Source of Existence as well as the Demiurge. Some try to know this Ultimate Reality through the path of knowledge, others try to approach it through faith. Those of no intellect form a lower conception of it. There are those who follow the Vedic (or Aryan) way—they perform the usual sacrifices, and as a result of which they obtain a period of sojourn in heaven, and again come down on earth—they do not obtain the final release from the bonds of existence. According to their own ideals and ideas, they attain to what they consider to be the *summum bonum* of existence. In Verses 22ff. of this IX Chapter of the *Gītā*, we have what may be called the Great Charter of Tolerance and Acceptance which became the fundamental characteristic of Brahmanical Hinduism (English translation by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood):

ananyās cintayantō mām yē janāḥ pary upāsatē,  
tēṣāṃ nityābhiyuktānām yōga-kṣēmaṃ vahāmy aham (22).

(But if a man will worship me, and meditate upon me with an undistracted mind, devoting every moment to me, I shall supply all his needs, and protect his possessions from loss.)

yē' py anya-dēvatā-bhaktā yajāntē śraddhayānvitāḥ,  
tē' pi mām ēva, Kāuntēya! yajanty avidhi-pūrvakam (23).

(Even those who worship other deities, and sacrifice to them with faith in their hearts, are really worshipping me, though with a mistaken approach.)

aham hi sarva-yajñānām bhōktā ca prabhur ēva ca:  
na tu mām abhijānanti tattvénātas cyavanti tē (24).

(For I am the only enjoyer and the God of all sacrifices. Nevertheless, such men must return to life on earth, because they do not recognize me in my true nature.)

yānti dēva-vratā dēvān, pitṛn yānti pitṛvratāḥ,  
bhūtāni yānti bhutējyā, yānti mad-yājino' pi mām (25).

(Those who sacrifice to the various deities will go to those deities. The ancestor-worshippers will go to their ancestors. Those who worship the elemental powers and spirits will go to them. So, also, my devotees will come to me.)

patram puṣpam phalam tōyaṃ yō mē bhaktyā prayacchati,  
tad aham bhakty-upāhṛtam aśnāmi prayatātmanaḥ (26).

(Whatever man gives me in true devotion: fruit or water, a leaf, a flower: I will accept it. The gift is love, his heart's dedication.)

yat karōṣi, yad aśnāsi, yaj juhōṣi, dadāsi yat,  
yat tapasyasi, Kāuntēya! tat kuruṣva mad-arpanam (27).

(Whatever your action, food or worship; whatever the gift that you give to another; whatever you vow to the work of the spirit: O Son of Kuntī, lay these also as offerings before me.)

samō' haṃ sarva-bhūtēṣu, na mē dvēṣyō' sti, na priyaḥ\*  
yē bhajanti tu mām bhaktyā, mayi tē, tēṣu cāpy aham (29).

(My face is equal to all creation, loving no one, nor hating any. Nevertheless, my devotees dwell within me always: I also show forth and am seen within them.)

Verse 26 as above is of utmost significance in the history of Hinduism: it is the admission of the non-Vedic rite of the *pūjā* as something which is perfectly legitimate in religious worship. This is perhaps the oldest reference to the *pūjā* ritual as having an efficacy comparable with the orthodox Aryan *homa*. This was Krishna Vāsudeva's great achievement—he had the vision to give an honoured place in the religious life of his day to a practice which was undoubtedly widely prevalent but which was viewed askance by Vedic Aryandom, and particularly by the Aryan priesthood. This attitude of exclusiveness did not die in one day: we find echoes of it in the *Manu-saṃhitā*, in which Brahmins who worship images in temples are looked upon as being heterodox, as compared with the stricter Brahmins confining their ritual of worship to the Vedic sacrifices only.

The admission of the *pūjā* ritual was symbolic of the general acceptance of the Dravidian and Austric and the Mongoloid religious experience within an ever-expanding Brahmanical Hindu religion and practice, which was only partly based on the world of Vedic religion. In this and in other matters of very deep spiritual significance, Krishna Vāsudeva was the innovator of a new epoch.

#### **VYĀSA AND KRISHNA, SHAPERS OF INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL DESTINY OF A GREAT PART OF HUMANITY THROUGH INDIA**

This aspect of Krishna Vāsudeva's personality, as a conscious supporter of the forces at work for a cultural fusion of the Aryan and non-Aryan worlds, presents him in a new light. He, and Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as the greatest name in Indian literature who gave to India and the world the nucleus at least of the Veda collections and the collections of ancient Indian myths and legends, and perhaps also gave his *imprimatur* to the *Mahābhārata* epic in its pristine form, therefore merit the grateful homage of India and the world as presenting a great cultural synthesis,—the one valuable intellectually and esthetically, and the other equally so socially as well as morally and spiritually. In their basic characters, their historicity is quite legitimately admissible. We may visualize them as they probably actually were in their life-time, with the Madhyadeśa or Midland, or what is now Western U.P. and Eastern Panjab, as the centre of their activities, living and moving about in the stirring period of the *Mahābhārata* war in the tenth century B.C., when another great people of classical antiquity, the Hellenic people, was similarly having its birth in the west, in Greece. We

may imagine Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as a dark-skinned person, not over-pleasant to look at, with the unkempt hair and long beard of a Brahman priest, his hair done in a top-knot, dressed in two pieces of woollen or cotton cloth, or with a deer skin flung on his shoulder and a tall stout bamboo stick in hand, moving about from village to village, meeting Brahman priests and obtaining Vedic hymns from them and listening to the panegyrics and narratives of kings of yore from the professional bards, and preparing his drafts of the four Vedas and of the Puranic compilations. Krishna Vāsudeva we might also imagine as being equally at home in the courts of princes and the hermitages or settlements of Brahmans and priests, very much in demand everywhere, listening and speaking with force his well-thought out and well-reasoned sentiments. Later legend has also dwelt upon some aspects of Krishna Vāsudeva's personal looks, and his dress: he was dark-skinned, too, as his name suggested, but he was a very handsome person; his hair was 'up-standing' (*Hṛṣī-kēśa*, as L. D. Barnett has suggested the meaning of the word); and he preferred to dress in yellow garments, and loved to stick peacock's feathers in his hair or turban or helmet. As charioteer of Arjuna he can also be visualized, driving with skill the four white horses harnessed abreast to the two-wheeled chariot, with a long flag pole with the image of a monkey on it, a vehicle on which both fighter and charioteer would take their stand: we can visualize him trying to induce a reasonable attitude in Arjuna on the eve of the great battle, and the arguments he used then may be found in part at least in the immortal *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

And the effect of the orientation given by Krishna Vāsudeva and Vyāsa to the civilization of India at its formative period was not confined to India alone. It made Hinduism (both as Brahmanism and Buddhism) one of the most important forces for the mental and spiritual uplift of man over a great part of the world, not only in ancient and medieval times, but also in the modern world. Vyāsa and Krishna through the Vedas and the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* have a message for India; they have also, directly or indirectly, a message for the whole world, wherever things of the spirit have an attraction for man.

Historically seen, we can have no hesitation in saying that Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva, both of mixed Aryan and non-Aryan origin, were the two first of the long series of great men who were born in India and who had a message for India as well as for humanity: Krishna, Vyāsa, Buddha, Mahāvira, Pāṇini, Aśoka, Patañjali, Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa, Māṇikka-vāchakar, Harsha-varḍhana, Śaṅkarācārya, Kabīr, Chaitanya, Nānak, Tulasī-dāsa, Akbar the Great, Dārā Shikoh, Ram Mohun Roy, Rāmakrishna Paramahansa, Swāmī Vivekānanda, Rabindranath Tagore, Rāma Maharshi, and others. And their greatness has been admitted in India in the traditional way, by conceiving of them as manifestations of the Divinity, following the spirit of the great lines of the *Gītā*—

yad yad vibhūti-mat sattvaṃ  
 śrīmad ūrjitam ēva vā:  
 tat tad evāvagaccha tvam  
 mama tējō'ṃśa-sambhavam. (X, 41.)

(Whatever in this world is powerful, beautiful or glorious, that you may know to have come forth from a fraction of my power and glory.)



## THE PAINTED GREY WARE OF THE UPPER GANGETIC BASIN

### AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE DARK AGE

By B. B. LAL

(Communicated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, O.B.E., Ph.D. (Cantab.))

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Little is known of the material remains which can be placed within the vast interval, of about 1,500 years, between the Indus Valley Civilization of the third-second millennia B.C. and the cultures of the early historical periods ascribable to *circa* fourth-third centuries B.C. The picture of this gap is indeed a very hazy one and the few light-spots that we have are mutually disconnected. At Harappā, the cemetery H culture, known from its urn-burials, overlies the remains of the Harappā culture itself.<sup>1</sup> The Jhūkar and Jhāngar cultures, characterized respectively by buff ware with black and red paint and incised grey ware, are both post-Harappā, as revealed by the excavations at Chanhū-daro.<sup>2</sup> In southern Baluchistan there is another post-Harappā culture, namely that of the Shāhi Tump burials, having buff or grey ware with designs executed in black but sometimes also in red.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the remains of these four cultures which are more or less localized, we have the various copper hoards of the Gangetic basin—the ‘antennae’ swords from Fatehgarh, chisels and harpoons from Rājpur, etc., etc.—which may also be ascribed (though not with absolute surety) to a period somewhere in this Dark Age.<sup>4</sup> But beyond these few scraps of evidence there is nothing more to go by—and to think of producing a connected story of this gap is simply out of the question in the present state of our knowledge.

Then what to do? No doubt extensive exploration and intensive excavation at selected sites are the only ways to solve this problem, yet a little bit of planning seems imperative. We have two known points in the chronological scale, namely, the Indus Valley culture on the one hand and the cultures of the early historical periods on the other. Now if we can get a single site which may have the remains of the former culture at the bottom and of the latter towards the top, with an uninterrupted occupation between the two, our problem would be solved in no time. But since such a site seems to be more of a dream than of reality, we shall have to work out a series of sites to complete the story. We should look for two groups of sites, one, which may have the remains of Indus Valley culture at the bottom and of some further continuous occupation above them, and another, in which the remains of the early historical periods may be at the top and

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<sup>1</sup> M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappā* (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1940), I, pp. 203ff. and II, pls. XLIII ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhū-daro Excavations, 1935-36* (New Haven, 1943), pp. 23ff. and 103ff.

<sup>3</sup> A. Stein, *An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 43, Calcutta, 1931), pp. 88ff.

<sup>4</sup> V. A. Smith in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIV, 1905, pp. 229ff.; and Stuart Piggott in *Antiquity*, no. 72, December 1944, pp. 173ff.

of the successively preceding cultures underneath. Thus, with these two fixed points, one in the early part of the scale and another higher up, and working from the one towards the other, it would, it is hoped, be possible for us one day to bridge this gap.

The present paper deals with a typical class of pottery, the painted grey ware of the Gangetic basin, which calls for consideration while one is looking for the material remains of the period which preceded the early historical times, i.e., c. fourth-third centuries B.C.

This ware has a fine to medium-grained, light grey core, with the surface varying in shade from ashy to darkish grey. The grey colour of the pottery is apparently due to its being fired under reducing conditions in the kiln. The pots are usually wheel-turned, but instances of hand-made specimens are not wanting. The commoner types represented in this ware are bowls with slightly convex or, as in a few cases, round profile, and shallow dishes with sagger or flat base. The painted designs, which are invariably in black, seem to have been executed before firing. They include: simple bands round the rim, both outside as well as inside (pl. 5, 1; fig. 1, 1 and fig. 4, 5); oblique or vertical or criss-cross lines, generally on the outside but sometimes also on the interior (pl. 5, 2-6, pl. 7, 5 and pl. 8, 9-11; fig. 1, 2-6 and fig. 3, 5, 9-11); concentric circles, usually on the inside of the base (pl. 5, 11 and pl. 7, 6-7; fig. 1, 11 and fig. 3, 6-7); groups of concentric semi-circles on the outside profile (pl. 5, 10; fig. 1, 10); parallel rows of dots or dashes or dots alternating with simple lines (pl. 5, 9 and 13 and pl. 6, 26-27, 29-31; fig. 1, 9 and 13 and fig. 2, 26-27, 29-31); and sigmas either on the outer profile (pl. 7, 1-2; fig. 3, 1-2) or on the interior of the base (pl. 7, 8; fig. 3, 8); horizontal chain of short spirals (pl. 7, 4; fig. 3, 4), etc. It may be noted that in a couple of examples an additional colour, red, has also been used (pl. 5, 25 and pl. 8, 17; fig. 2, 25 and fig. 3, 17).

Hand in hand with the above-detailed grey ware there seems to have gone another class of pottery which has a medium-grained, grey core, but brownish-red slip. The designs on it are also executed in black (except in one case where cream colour has been used); but they do not show many a variety as in the case of the grey ware.

Up-to-date, this painted grey ware (including the brownish-red ware) has been recovered only from two sites in India, namely, Ahichchhatrā in District Bareilly and Hastināpura in District Meerut, both in the United Provinces (now called Uttara Pradesh). There would, it is expected, be many more sites containing this class of pottery but since not much exploration-work has been done in this direction, we do not know the correct position.

Before discussing the chronological horizon of the painted grey ware at Ahichchhatrā, it would be worthwhile to recapitulate the main results of the excavations conducted there during 1940-44.<sup>1</sup> The entire site, enclosed by a fortification-wall measuring about 3½ miles in perimeter, was divided into several convenient plots for the purpose of excavation. One of them, ACIII, served as the key-plot to the entire site, since the excavation over here was fairly well-stratified. In it were encountered nine structural strata, I-IX, from the top downwards, whose dates have been worked out as follows:—

Stratum IX: before B.C. 300.

Stratum VIII: B.C. 300 to 200.

Stratum VII: B.C. 200 to 100.

<sup>1</sup> A. Ghosh and K. C. Panigrahi, 'The Pottery of Ahichchhatrā, District Bareilly, U.P.', *Ancient India*, no. 1 (Jan. 1946), pp. 37-59.

Stratum VI and V: B.C. 100 to A.D. 100.

Stratum IV: A.D. 100 to 350.

Stratum III: A.D. 350 to 750.

Stratum II: A.D. 750 to 850.

Stratum I: A.D. 850 to 1100.

The first defensive wall at Ahichchhatrā consisted of an earthen rampart and is ascribable to c. 100 B.C. A little later, another earthen rampart was added on to its top. During the fourth century A.D., a brick fortification-wall was erected on the top of the second earthen rampart. Three-four centuries later, a long partition-wall was constructed, dividing the fortified area into two parts, eastern and western. The occupation of the site continued till about A.D. 1100.

Turning to the provenance of the painted grey ware at Ahichchhatrā, we find that it was obtained only from two plots, namely, ACV and ACXV.<sup>1</sup> In ACV it lay in a heaped-up deposit, presumably a part of the earthen rampart, which incidentally also contained the 'northern black polished' ware. This heaped-up material must have doubtless been procured from elsewhere for the construction of the rampart. The evidence from this cutting therefore does not conclusively show that the painted grey and the black polished wares were co-eval, since they cannot be regarded to have been here in their real stratigraphical position.

In ACXV, it was the lowest levels that produced the painted grey ware. In the same cutting the earliest examples of the 'northern black polished ware' were recovered from deposits a few feet higher up. A doubt has been expressed as to whether the evidence from this cutting can be depended upon in view of the limited extent of the dig. True, that deep digging in ACXV was not carried out in an extensive area, yet the evidence from a trench as many as 30 feet long and 20 feet wide cannot be altogether discarded. As things stand at present, in ACXV the N.B.P. ware appears to have come later than the painted grey ware. But to be absolutely sure about it, it would be desirable to check up this evidence by means of a fresh, well-stratified excavation somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present cutting in ACXV.

The negative evidence from ACIII is also of great interest. Herein even the lowest stratum, IX, was devoid of both the painted grey ware and the black polished ware.<sup>2</sup> According to the datings mentioned above, stratum IX itself is ascribable to a period prior to 300 B.C. Thus if the negative evidence from ACIII has any meaning, both the painted grey and the N.B.P. wares should be regarded as still earlier.

To come to the evidence from Rājghāt, near Banaras. It has been stated that at this site the painted grey ware was found in the same levels as was the N.B.P. ware.<sup>3</sup> I have looked into the available material from Rājghāt but have not been able to find in it anything like the painted grey ware of Ahichchhatrā under discussion.<sup>4</sup> It seems to me that another

<sup>1</sup> Ghosh and Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, pp. 58-59.

<sup>2</sup> Information from Messrs. A. Ghosh and S. Mukerji. A few bits of the black polished ware were, however, obtained from a road-consolidation of stratum V which for obvious reason cannot be regarded as being in their proper context. Similar negative evidence was obtained from almost all the plots in the western part of Ahichchhatrā.

<sup>3</sup> Ghosh and Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> I have also made enquiries from Mr. S. Mukerji, the officer-in-charge of the rescue-dig at Rājghāt, who says that he had not seen anything like this painted grey ware from the Rājghāt excavations. Enquiries made from Shri Vijayakrishna of the Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Banaras, where the Rājghāt antiquities are now lodged, also confirm my statement.



class of pottery—a fine, red polished ware with designs executed in black—has been confused with the painted grey ware. Under the circumstances, the Rājghāt evidence, supposed to be showing that the painted grey and the N.B.P. wares were co-eval, loses all its weight and, I am afraid, has to be discounted.

As already stated above (p. 90), the only other site known so far to have yielded the painted grey ware is that of Hastināpura. Here the ancient mound, locally known as *Ultā kherā* (meaning a topsy-turvy mound), rises some 40–50 feet above the surrounding ground-level.<sup>1</sup> It is situated on an earlier bank of the Ganges, the present course of the river being nearly 7 miles further east.<sup>2</sup> The writer had an opportunity of visiting these ruins in October 1949 but could not stay there for more than a couple of days. During this short halt not much exploration could be carried out, yet some rain-gullies and other exposed sections of the mound were examined and some of them partially scraped too. It was revealed that the painted grey ware lay in levels roughly between 25 and 30 feet below the highest point of the mound. It was not clear as to what sort of pottery and other antiquities preceded the painted grey ware since in a couple of scrapings only clean mud, several feet in thickness, was encountered below these levels. It is probable that this clean mud forms a part of the natural terrace of the river on which stood the first town of Hastināpura. However, leaving these uncertain earliest levels aside, we find that the painted grey ware was fairly low in the mound, as stated above. From the levels containing this painted grey ware were also recovered sherds of plain grey pottery with thin section and also a few examples of the painted brown ware of the type described above (p. 90; for the Hastināpura examples, see pl. 5, 22–24; fig. 2, 22–24). These lower levels appeared to be devoid of the northern black polished ware, which was obtained a few feet higher up. From the levels still higher came a relatively coarser grey ware, above which was encountered a different class of medium-grained red ware with black decoration. The uppermost structures on this mound and the brick fortification-wall on the south may be fairly late, possibly of the medieval times.

No doubt the results from this short exploration cannot be taken as final and wholly conclusive yet there is a point which deserves notice, namely, that in the few exposed cuttings that could be examined the painted grey ware was found in levels which preceded those containing the northern black polished ware. Now, while on the one hand it is difficult to say that such a relationship between the two wares existed all over the site, it would, on the other, be also too much to argue that in the cuttings that were examined it was a sheer accident that the northern black polished ware was absent from the lower levels which contained the painted grey ware. Ordinarily, one would not have taken much cognizance of the Hastināpura evidence without a proper excavation of the site, but the fact that a similar sequence between the two wares was obtained from the excavations at Ahichchhatrā (above, p. 91) puts the Hastināpura evidence also in a bold relief. It is, however, probable that towards the later part of the career of the painted grey ware there may have been an overlap between it and the N.B.P. ware, but that the former was earlier in origin looks rather reasonably clear from the evidence available at present both from Ahichchhatrā and Hastināpura.

<sup>1</sup> There are a few more mounds in the neighbourhood which may also be fairly ancient but they could not be examined even to the extent as the one discussed here.

<sup>2</sup> The low-lying area between the earlier and the present banks of the river is known as *khadar*. In it but nearer the earlier bank one comes across a thin streamlet locally known as the *Būrhi Gāṅgā* (i.e. the old stream of the Ganges).

With this as the relative position of the painted grey ware, we may now attempt to work out its date. But, as is true of most of the proto-historic and in some cases even of the early historical datings in India, the dating in the present case also will have to depend largely on inferential rather than direct or absolute evidence. And this brings us to an obvious question as to what is the lower date-limit of the N.B.P. ware and whether that lower limit can also be applied to the Hastināpura and Ahichchhatrā examples. The available evidence regarding the date of the N.B.P. ware has been thoroughly discussed by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler and Mr. Krishna Dev elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Of the various sites which have yielded this ware, Taxila (Bhir Mound) provides the main bulk of datable evidence. At that site the N.B.P. ware was obtained mainly between 7 and 13 feet below the surface, while an average depth of 6 feet below surface could be assigned to *circa* 300 B.C. (coins of Alexander in mint-condition). 'In origin', they conclude, 'it (the N.B.P. ware) can well go back to fifth century B.C. and it is unlikely to have survived later than the early part of the second century B.C. The central point in time and space for the ware are thus (a) fourth century B.C., and (b) the Gangetic plain'.

The recent excavation at Kauśāmbī has also a similar story to tell. Here the N.B.P. ware has been recovered chiefly from levels ascribable to a period between the fifth-sixth and second centuries B.C.<sup>2</sup>

As has already been emphasized above, without an excavation at Hastināpura and fresh examination of the eastern sectors of Ahichchhatrā it would not be possible to date the painted grey ware finally; yet the evidence available at present cannot be altogether shelved. Thus, even if the central point of the N.B.P. ware, i.e. *circa* 400 B.C. (see above), is taken for the lower limit of the same ware at Hastināpura and Ahichchhatrā we see that the painted grey ware was still earlier in origin. It is needless to argue at this stage of our knowledge for an absolute date for this ware, but it would be perhaps reasonable to assign to it a date somewhere in the first half of the first millennium B.C.

Selected examples of painted grey and brownish-red wares from both Hastināpura and Ahichchhatrā are listed below:—

(a) *From Hastināpura*

(Pls. 5-6 and figs. 1-2)

1. Fragment of a bowl of grey ware; painted in black with a simple band round the rim, both inside and outside.

2. Fragment of a bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with oblique lines presumably running up to the rim-band.

3. Fragment of a dish or bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with a band round the rim, and alternate groups of oblique lines meeting near the rim-band.

4. Fragment of a deep bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with a group of oblique lines running up to the horizontal rim-band.

5. Fragment of a deep bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with vertical lines below the rim-band.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient India*, no. 1 (Jan. 1946), pp. 55-58.

<sup>2</sup> Information from Mr. G. R. Sharma.

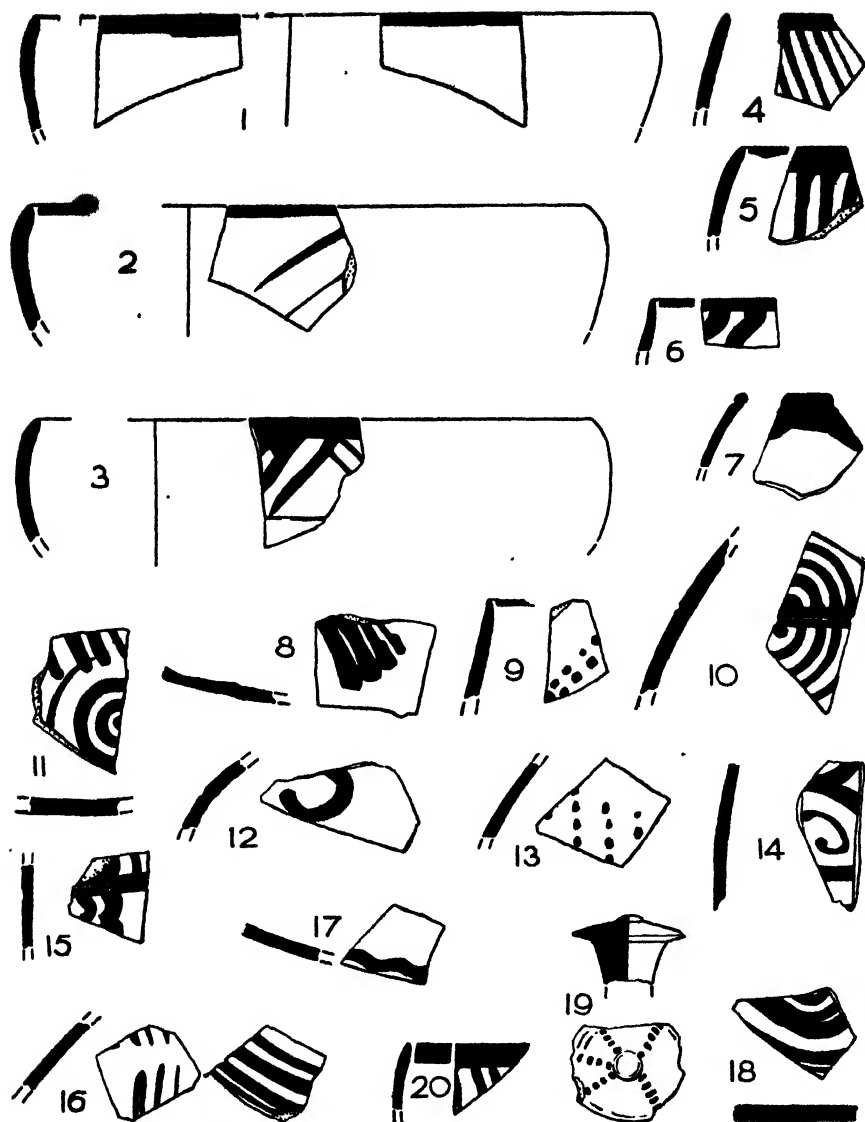


FIG. 1. Hastināpura : painted grey ware.  $\frac{1}{2}$

6. Fragment of a deep bowl of grey ware with sharpened rim and presumably straight sides; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with wavy lines below the horizontal rim-band.

7. Fragment of a vase of grey ware with slightly undercut rim; painted in black on the outside with an indeterminate design.

8. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a group of parallel bands.

9. Fragment of a partially straight-sided bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with oblique rows of dots.

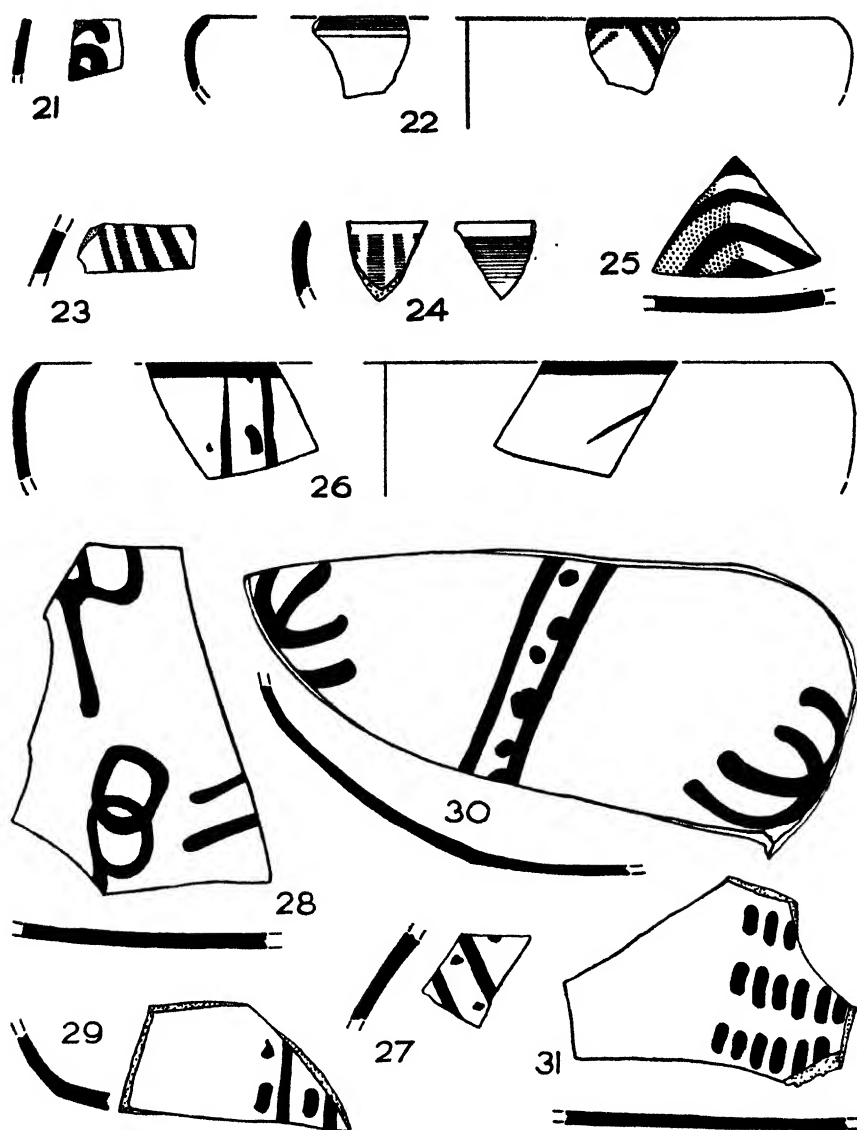


FIG. 2. Hastināpura : 21, 25-31, painted grey ware; 22-24, painted brownish-red ware. †

10. Fragment of a vase of grey ware with medial groove; painted in black on the outside with two sets of concentric semi-circles, one on either side of the medial groove.

11. Base-fragment of a vase of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a set of concentric circles, the outermost being cut by a group of roughly parallel lines.

12. Fragment of a vase of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with an indeterminate curvilinear design.

13. Fragment of a vase of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with vertical rows of dots.

14. Fragment, possibly of the mid-portion of a vase, of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with an indeterminate curvilinear or foliate design.

15. Fragment of a vase of grey ware with medial groove; painted in black on the outside with a design now incomplete but possibly consisting of rows of sigmas on either side of the medial groove.

16. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with groups of roughly vertical strokes and on the outside with a set of oblique bands.

17. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with some wavy line design.

18. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a set of cursive lines, looking like concentric circles.

19. Knob, possibly of a lid or stopper, of grey ware; painted in black on the top with radial rows of dots.

20. Fragment of a dish or bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with a set of slightly oblique lines below the rim-band.

21. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with some indeterminate curvilinear design.

22. Fragment of a dish with brownish red slip on the outside; painted in chocolate on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with alternate groups of oblique lines meeting near the rim-band.

23. Sherd of red-slipped ware; painted in chocolate on the outside with parallel oblique lines.

24. Rim-fragment of a dish or bowl with brownish-red slip; painted in chocolate on the inside with vertical bands and on the outside with a much wider horizontal band. It is probable that the entire outside had a wash.

25. Base-fragment of a dish or bowl of grey ware with black slip; painted on the inside with black bands forming a rough chevron pattern interspaced with ochre-red bands (shown here by dots). The piece is to be noted for its bichrome painting.

26. Fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with vertical lines alternating with rows of dots, below a rim-band, and on the outside with oblique lines presumably running up to the rim-band.

27. Sherd of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with oblique lines alternating with rows of dots.

28. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with indeterminate curvilinear designs.

29. Base-fragment of a carinated dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with vertical lines alternating with rows of dots and dashes. The design seems to be similar to no. 26, above.

30. Part of the base of a bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with (i) a row of dots within two parallel lines, presumably passing through the centre, and (ii) sets of intersecting couple of loops higher up the body.

31. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with parallel rows of dots.

(b) *From Ahichchhatrā*

(Pls. 7-8 and fig. 3)

1. Partially straight-sided bowl with a groove near the base; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with a

horizontal row of sigmas between two bands, one along the rim and another along the groove. The sigma pattern is of interest since it also occurs on the chalcolithic pottery of several Indus Valley sites in Sind and Gedrosia. Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 48 (Delhi, 1934), pl. XXV, 4 and 5; and A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 43 (Calcutta, 1931), pl. I, Z.W. 1 and pl. II, B.R. 3.

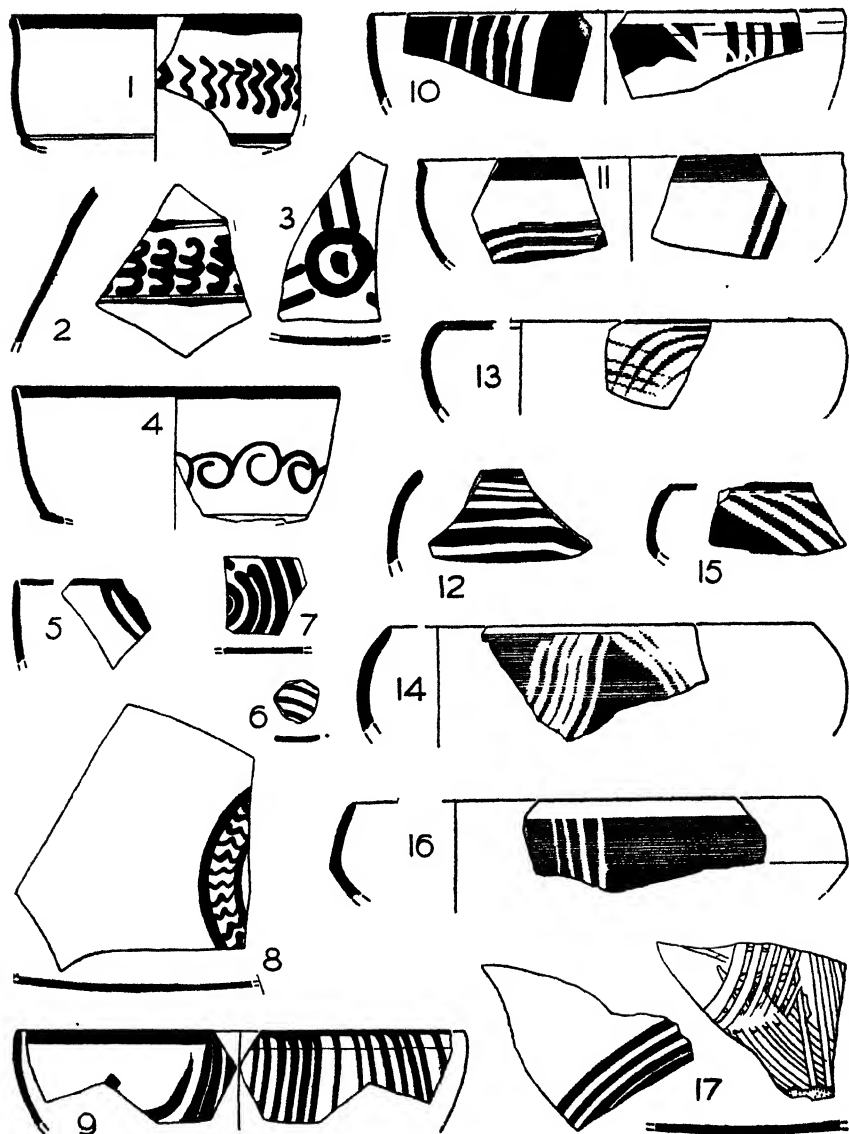


FIG. 3. Ahichchhatra: 1-11 and 17, painted grey ware; 12-16, painted brownish-red ware.  $\frac{1}{2}$

2. Fragment of a vase of grey ware; painted in black on the outside with a horizontal row of sigmas (of three loops) between two bands, one each along the upper and lower grooves.

3. Fragment possibly of the base of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a circle and radial lines in twos running up to its circumference.

4. Bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band along the rim and on the outside with a horizontal chain of short spirals, in addition to the rim-band.

5. Fragment of a bowl of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with oblique lines running up to the rim-band.

6-7. Fragments, presumably of the base of dishes of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with a design resembling concentric circles.

8. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with two concentric circles enclosing a row of sigmas within the annular space.

9. Bowl of grey ware with rounded profile. painted in black on the inside with a rim-band and below it a set of what appear to be crescents with a central dot, and on the outside with vertical lines in groups of six, the groups being separated from each other by another vertical line.

10. Bowl of grey ware; painted in black both internally and externally with vertical as well as oblique bands.

11. Bowl of grey ware with brownish surface; painted in chocolate on the inside with a band round the rim and cursive bands lower down the body and on the outside with oblique lines below the rim-band.

12. Fragment of a dish of red ware; painted in chocolate on the outside with roughly horizontal bands.

13. Fragment of a dish of brownish-red ware; painted in chocolate on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside with a criss-cross design below the rim-band.

14. Fragment of a dish of red ware; painted in creamy-grey on the outside with alternate groups of oblique lines meeting near the rim-band. The inside is treated with the same creamy-grey wash.

15. Fragment of a dish of brownish-red ware; painted in chocolate on the inside with a band round the rim and on the outside in the same colour in such a way as to leave out the original brown surface in the form of oblique bands.

16. Slightly carinated dish of brownish-red ware; painted in thin black on the outside in such a way as to leave out the brown surface in the form of vertical bands.

17. Base-fragment of a dish of grey ware; painted in black on the inside with what looks like a set of concentric circles and on the outside with a criss-cross design in ochre-red. (Note: the ochre-red colour is similar to the one used in Hastināpura sherd no. 25, above.)

Fig. 4

In this figure are illustrated some more pottery-types from Hastināpura and Ahichchhatrā, which do not appear in the half-tone blocks.

(a) *From Hastināpura*

1. Large-sized dish with bevelled rim, of the 'northern black polished' ware.

2. Dish of thick grey ware with carinated waist.

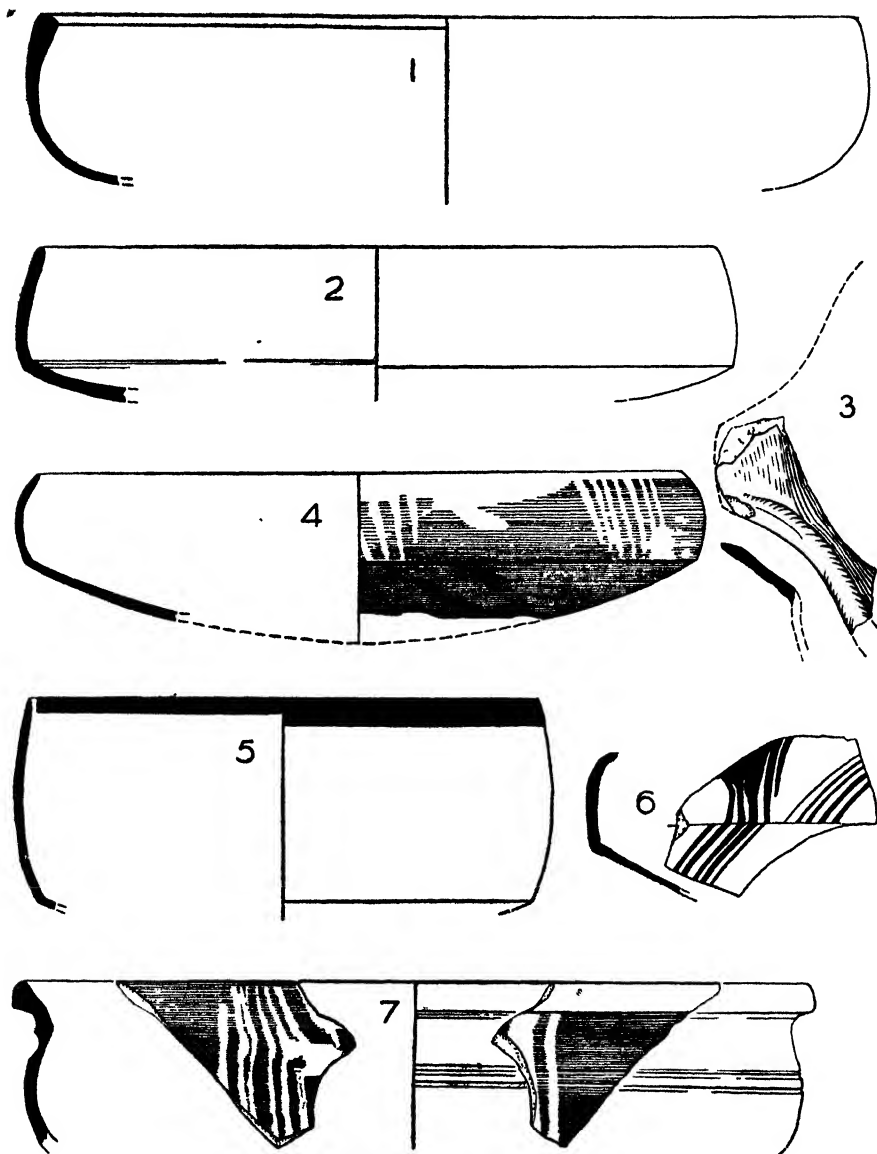


FIG. 4. Hastināpura : 1, 'northern black polished' ware ; 2-3, grey ware. Ahichchhatrā : 4 and 7, painted brownish-red ware ; 5-6, painted grey ware. ‡

3. Fragment of a lipped bowl of grey ware. Similar bowl of grey ware has also been recovered from one of the early levels of Kauśāmbi. (1948-excavations; information from Mr. G. R. Sharma.)

(b) From Ahichchhatrā

4. Dish of brownish-red ware with sagger base; painted in black on the outside in such a way as to leave out the original brown surface in the form of vertical bands.



5. Partially straight-sided bowl of grey ware; painted in black with a simple band round the rim, both internally and externally.

6. Sharply carinated dish of grey ware; painted in black with oblique and vertical bands on the outside.

7. Basin of reddish brown ware; painted in black both internally and externally in the technique of no. 4 above.

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It would perhaps be worthwhile to discuss here in brief the lines on which archaeological research to 'open up' the Dark Age between the Indus Valley Civilization and the cultures of the early historical period can be planned. For the present, I believe, two sets of programmes can be embarked upon. In the first instance, it is necessary for us to know as to how far east did the Indus Valley Civilization penetrate into India. We have, in the foot-hills of the Himālayas in Ambala District of the Punjab (I) the site of Rupar where remains of the Harappā culture have already been recognized.<sup>1</sup> Again, the ruins at Rangpur in Limbdi State, Kathiawar, have also yielded evidence of settlements of a late phase of Indus Civilization in that area.<sup>2</sup> If we draw a straight line between these two points it passes through the heart of Rājasthān. The area between this line on the east and the Indus-Sutlej rivers on the west requires to be thoroughly examined. Even out of this, it is the northern part, encompassing the dry bed of the Ghaggar river (ancient Sarasvatī), which deserves special attention. The late Sir Aurel Stein had, in 1940-41, discovered settlements of the Harappā culture at Sandhanāwālā and a few other places in Bahāwalpur State (Pakistan).<sup>3</sup> Now if the Indus culture-sites could exist in Bahāwalpur State, there are chances of their having extended into the adjoining territories of Bikaner and Jaisalmer States in India. It is, therefore, obvious that a high priority be given to exploration-work in these areas. This will help us not only to ascertain the extent of the Indus Valley Civilization on the east but also to find out what other culture or cultures immediately overlay the Indus Valley ruins.

Secondly, but in no way less important than the above-mentioned work is a thorough exploration of the Gangetic Valley itself. We may not expect to find remains of the Indus Civilization in this area, but we do certainly expect to get here the traces of a post-Indus culture, namely, that of the Aryans. No doubt the earliest settlements of the Aryans in India must have been in the Pūnjab (the land of the seven rivers of the *Vedas*), yet the subsequent scene of their action was decidedly the Gangetic basin.

In this basin are several sites which are already known to be fairly ancient, e.g. Kauśāmbi in Allahabad District, U.P., and Rājgir in Patna District, Bihar, and the like. These sites have an additional advantage inasmuch as there are certain known points in their top-levels which can provide a good datum-line. Thus, it should not be far too difficult to work out a rough, if not accurate, culture-sequence of the early levels of these sites.

Then there is another set of sites, namely, Rājpur, District Bijnor; Fatehgarh, District Farrukhābād; Bithūr, District Kānpur; Bisauli, District Badaun—all in Uttar Pradesh; Gangeria, District Bālāghāt, C.P.; Pālāmau, Ranchi, Hazāribāgh and Mānbhūm Districts of Bihar, etc. etc.—

<sup>1</sup> M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappā* (Delhi, 1940), I, pp. 476-77.

<sup>2</sup> M. S. Vats, in *Annual Report Arch. Surv. India*, 1934-35, pp. 34-38, pls. XII-XV.

<sup>3</sup> *Geographical Journal*, XCIX, No. 4 (1942), pp. 173-82.

which have yielded 'antennae' swords, harpoons, chisels, axes and 'anthromorphic' figures, etc. of copper. From the very fact that even swords and harpoons were made of copper and not of iron, which certainly would have been a more suitable material, it looks rather likely, though not proved, that these implements were manufactured in a pre-iron period. It has been suggested that they were associated with a phase of the Aryan migration from the Punjab to the Gangetic plains.<sup>1</sup> If that is so, then we have in these sites a great amount of archaeological wealth awaiting the spade; and surely, it should not be allowed to wait too long.

Again, we are very often asked whether the battle of the Mahābhārata or, for that matter the very existence of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas is a mere myth or are there any grains of truth about it. As matters stand at present, we have no definite answer to the question from a purely archaeological point of view.<sup>2</sup> And the reason obviously is—lack of exploration in the areas which are likely to yield an answer, be it negative or positive.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Hastināpura was the capital of the Kauravas. Then, in the course of the negotiations that preceded the great battle, the Pāṇḍavas are said to have informed the Kauravas that if they (the Pāṇḍavas) were given five villages they would feel satisfied and no war would be fought. The names of these villages, however, vary from text to text. According to one they are Avisthala, Vṛkasthala, Mākandī, Vāraṇāvata, and one more (not named),<sup>3</sup> while according to another they are Kuśasthala, Vṛkasthala, Āsandī, Vāraṇāvata, and an unnamed one.<sup>4</sup> In the *Veṇiśamhāra* they are stated to be Indraprastha, Vṛkaprastha, Jayanta, Vāraṇāvata and one more (unnamed).<sup>5</sup> When the Kauravas did not agree even to this request, the battle was fought at Kurukshetra.

Of the places mentioned above, scholars have identified (i) Hastināpura, (ii) Indraprastha, (iii) Vṛkaprastha, (iv) Vāraṇāvata and (v) Kurukshetra respectively with (i) Hastināpura (location already given above), (ii) Indrapat, the site of Purāṇā Qila in Delhi, (iii) Bāghpat, about 20 miles north of Delhi on the eastern bank of the Jamuna, (iv) Barnāwā, about 19 miles north-west of Meerut in U.P., and (v) Kurukshetra, a railway station on the Delhi-Ambala line of the E.P. Railway.<sup>6</sup> According to the local tradition, however, the five villages requested for by the Pāṇḍavas are identified with (i) Indrapat, (ii) Bāghpat, (iii) Tilpat, about 16 miles south of Delhi, a little to the east of the Delhi-Mathura road, (iv) Sonapat, and (v) Panipat, railway stations again on the Delhi-Ambala line.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the references already appearing in foot-note 4, p. 89, please see R. Heine Geldern, 'New Light on the Aryan Migration to India', *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, V (1937), pp. 7-16; and the same author's 'Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, IV, No. 2 (1936).

<sup>2</sup> The occurrence of the painted grey ware at Hastināpura does, no doubt, lend a great antiquity to the site, but since the date of the ware itself has not been thoroughly worked out, it would perhaps be worthwhile to wait for more evidence (both from Hastināpura and elsewhere) before an identification of the present mound with the town mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* can be attempted.

<sup>3</sup> T. R. Krishnacharya and T. R. Vyasacharya, *Sṛīmanmahābhārataṁ* (mainly based on South Indian Texts) (Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1907), Udyogaparva, Chap. 31, Verse 19.

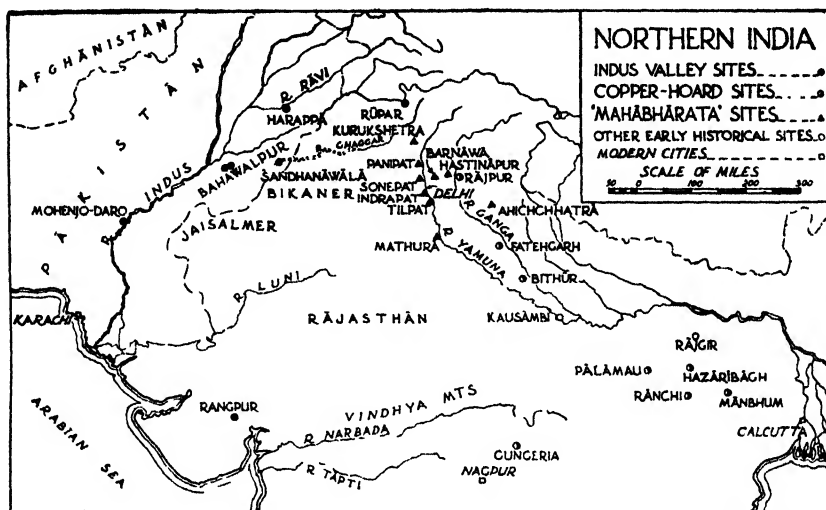
<sup>4</sup> V. S. Sukhtānkar, *The Mahābhārata*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona, 1937), Udyogaparva, Chap. 31, Verse 19.

<sup>5</sup> K. N. Dravida, *Veṇiśamhāraṁ* (Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Poona, Second Edition, 1922), p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (Luzac & Co., London, Second Edition, 1927), pp. 74, 77-78, 42, 25 and 110.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148, under the sub-head 'Pāṇiprastha'.

It is not at all suggested here that these places should be taken to be the same as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* just because they happen to bear those very names, but it is certainly desirable that an exploration of these sites and the surrounding areas should be carried out, since at most of these places there are mounds which may perhaps turn out to be fairly ancient.

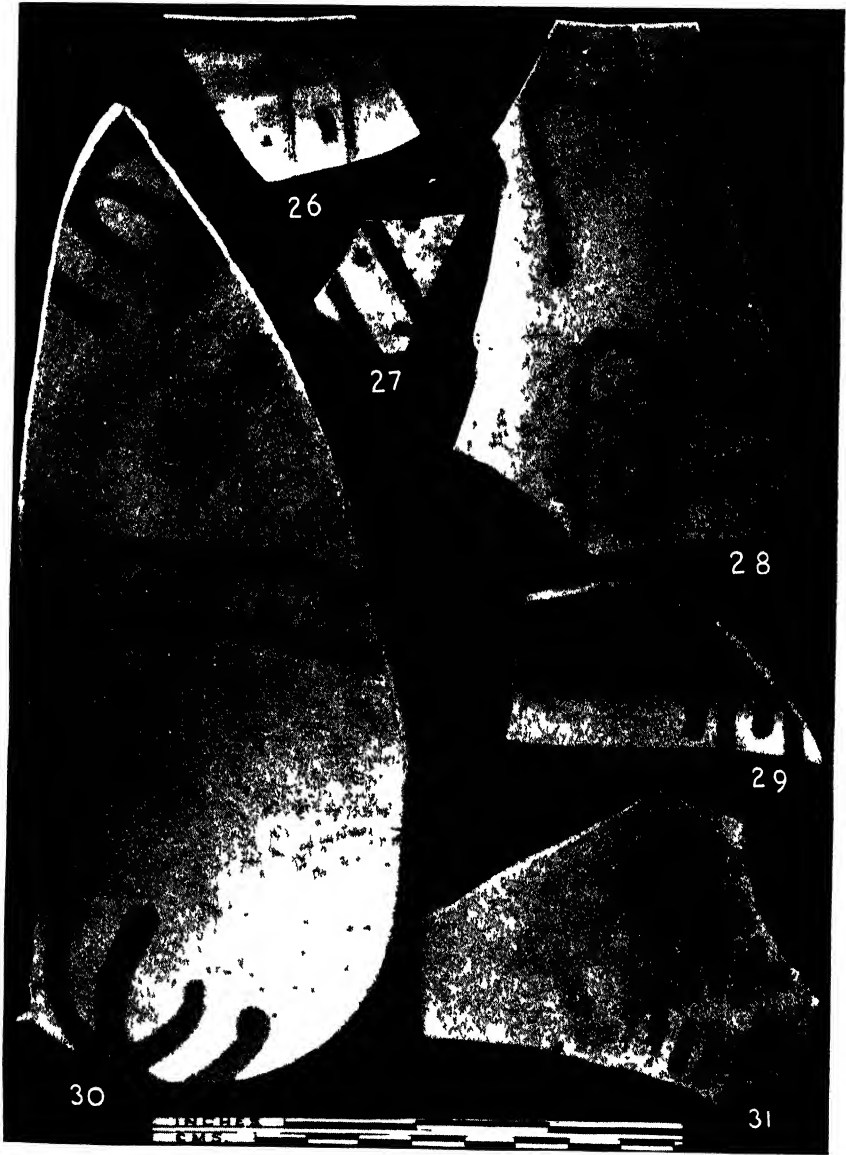


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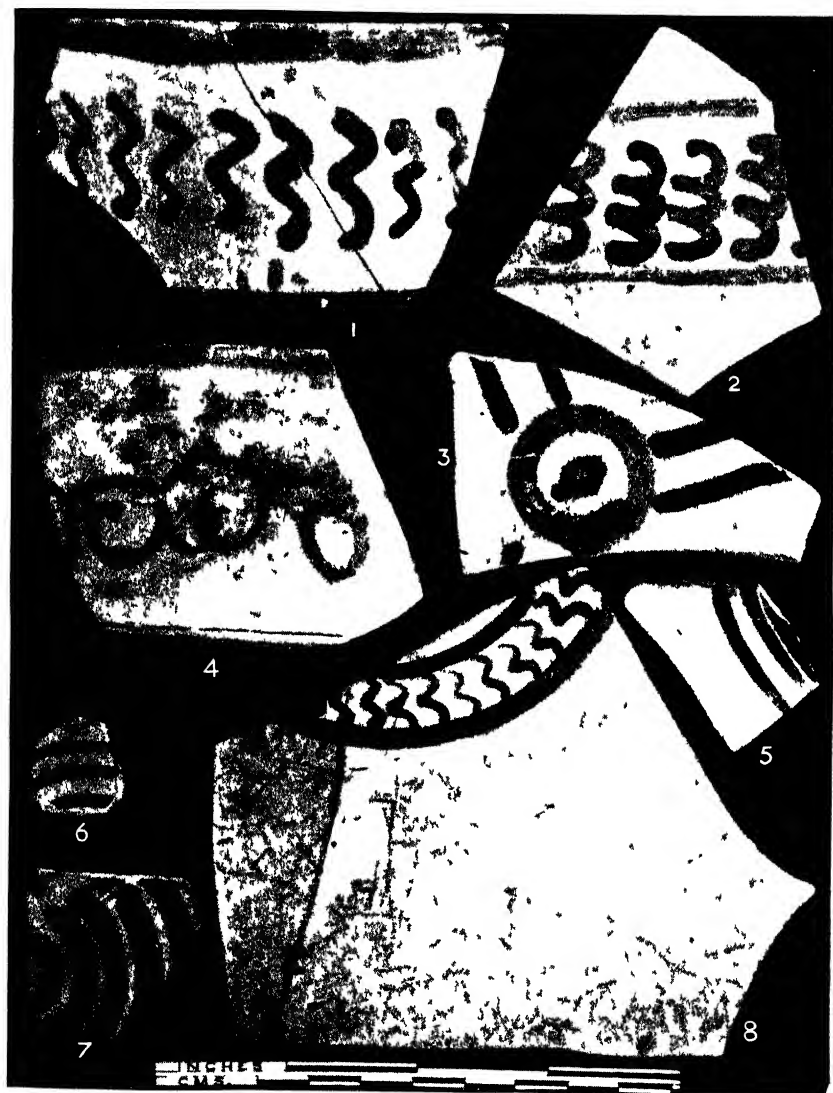
While this article was in the proof-stage, the writer carried out some trial excavations at Tilpat and there also discovered the painted grey ware under discussion. It was further noted that this ware well-preceded the northern black polished ware, though there was a subsequent overlap between the two. As to the origin of the painted grey ware, it is very difficult to say anything final since unknown feet of occupational deposits still remain to be explored below the sub-soil water which obviously has risen up since the first occupation at Tilpat. However, it was clear that it was in use at Tilpat as early as 6th-5th centuries B.C. (cf. *The Statesman*, Delhi Edition, July 5, 6 and 9, 1950).



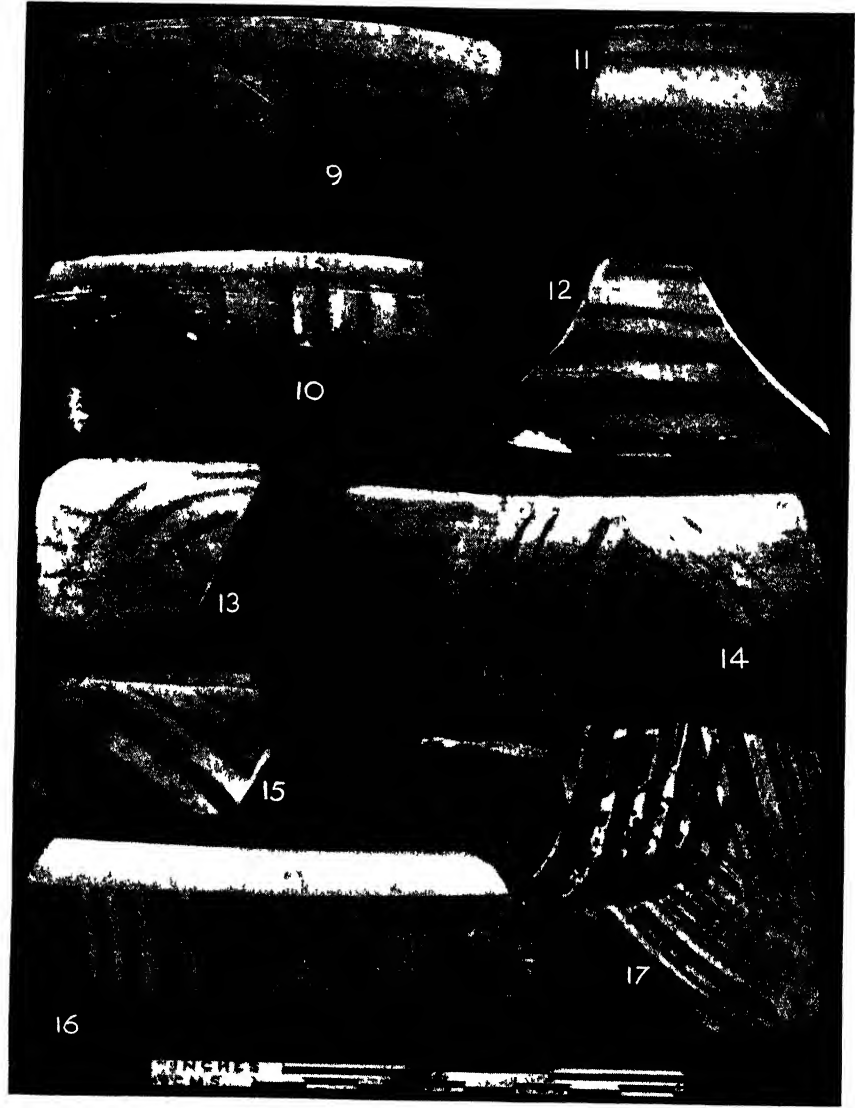
Hastnapur. 1-21 and 25 painted grey ware. 22-24 painted br wash-red ware.



Hastināpura painted grey ware



Amichhitrā - painted grey ware



Mix. h. bl. tra. 9-11 and 17 painted grey ware 12-16 painted brownish red ware

## VEDIC ELEMENTS IN NEO-BRAHMANISM

By PRIYATOSH BANERJEE, *Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

(Communicated by S. K. Saraswati.)

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Neo-Brahmanism or Hinduism as it is ordinarily called is a multiform structure consisting of polygenous religious ideas. It is a synthesis or a combination of the Vedic and non-Vedic, hieratic and popular, native and foreign. The orthodox and popular elements are so intimately mixed up that we can only separate them 'by an act of abstraction'. The process of synthesis of which Neo-Brahmanism is the result began from a very early time, but it was intensified perhaps from c. 500 B.C. when the dissenting religions like Jainism and Buddhism were spreading fast on Indian soil. The *Brāhmaṇas* showed a great alertness in adjusting their religion to existing circumstances. 'Notwithstanding the zeal' with which they threw themselves into popular theosophy and devotional systems of worship, they were careful enough to preserve the old traditions and hieratic elements. It is true that as the time went, the sectarian and theistic forms of worship gained a wider popularity but the orthodox traditions and ceremonies continued (and in fact are still continuing) in the framework of expanded Brahmanism or Neo-Brahmanism, however, limited their influence might have been. If the Epics and the *Purāṇas* were devoted mainly to popularizing the worship of personal gods and deities, the *Dharmasūtras* and *Śāstras* were written to preserve the popularity of the Vedic practices. An attempt has been made in this paper to show from relevant archaeological data the continuity of hieratic elements in the framework of Neo-Brahmanism (the chief characteristics of which are however the worship of personal gods like Viṣṇu-Krishna and Śiva) in the period between 200 B.C.-300 A.D.

Among the patrons of old Brahmanic traditions in the period under review, the name of Pusyamitra Śuṅga deserves a special mention as he is one of the early rulers known to have performed a Vedic sacrifice namely the *Aśvamedha* during the historical times. Pushyamitra seems to have performed this sacrifice after his victorious wars with the Greeks, which is referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*<sup>1</sup> of Kālidāsa. Patañjali perhaps officiated as a priest in the sacrifice as would appear from the passage in the *Mahābhāṣya*, '*iha Pushyamitram Yājayāmaḥ*'.<sup>2</sup> The Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva informs us that Pushyamitra performed not only one but two horse-sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> According to Jayaswal there is a reference to Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice in the *Harivaṃśa*.<sup>4</sup> In Book III, Chapter II of this text there is a significant dialogue between Janamejaya and Vyāsa on the future of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. On Janamejaya's enquiry Vyāsa told him that after his *Aśvamedha* the Kshatriyas would no longer perform it. Being distressed on hearing it Janamejaya anxiously enquired if there was any hope of its being performed in future by anybody else. In reply,

<sup>1</sup> See Act V.

<sup>2</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. X, pp. 202-208; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 300.



Vyāsa observed: A certain Brahmin *Senānī* (commander-in-chief) of *Kāśyapa* family will suddenly rise into power and perform the horse-sacrifice in *Kali* Age (*Audbhijjo bhavitā kaśhit Senānīh Kāśyapodvijaḥ/Āsvamedham Kali yuge punaḥ pratyāharishyati*||<sup>1</sup>).

Jayaswal and R. P. Chanda think that the *Audbhijja* (upstart) *Kāśyapadvija* (*Kāśyapagotra* Brahmin) *Senānī* (commander-in-chief) refers to none other than Pushyamitra. Pushyamitra was no doubt an upstart as he could not claim any royal descent or heritage. Regarding the title *Senānī*, we know that he is represented as such in the *Purāṇas*, in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and in the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva. The difficulty, however, lies with the *gotra* name (*Kāśyapa*). Pushyamitra who was a *Suṅga* should have been described as a *Bhāradvāja* and not as a *Kāśyapa*. Jayaswal thinks that he is wrongly represented as of *Kāśyapa gotra* in the *Harivamśa*. His original *gotra* seems to have been forgotten when the tradition of his horse-sacrifice was recorded therein.<sup>2</sup>

Jayaswal and many other scholars consider the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra as marking the revival of Brahmanism, which fell into disuse, in their opinion, in the time of the Mauryas, specially in the reign of Aśoka who put a stop to the animal sacrifices. This view has no foundation on facts. It is true that Brahmanism did not find much royal support in the Mauryan age, as its rulers were followers of dissenting faiths, but that does not mean that Brahmanism was out of vogue in Maurya times. Again, it is difficult to prove that Aśoka's prohibition of animal sacrifices was based upon any anti-Brahmanical motive. Even in orthodox community there arose, long before Aśoka, rational thinkers who decried the efficacy of sacrifices and recorded strict injunction against animal slaughter. With the growth of Upanishadic thought the idea of efficacy of elaborate ritualism was discarded and emphasis began to be laid on rational contemplation. The *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad* prescribes that instead of a horse-sacrifice the visible universe is to be conceived as a horse and meditated upon as such.<sup>3</sup> 'Kṛishṇa, son of Devaki, was taught by his teacher Ghora Āngirasa that sacrifice may be performed without objective means; that generosity, kindness and other moral traits are the real signs of sacrifice. . . .'<sup>4</sup> In the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>5</sup> it is laid down that no animal should be sacrificed in the *Kṛita* age. There are references also in the *Rāmāyaṇa* regarding the observance of strict non-violence in certain orthodox *āśramas*. We read in *Aranyakāṇḍa* that when Rāma proceeded from the *āśrama* of Śarabhaṅga to that of Sutikshṇa and expressed his desire to stay with the latter, the latter (i.e. Sutikshṇa) described his *āśrama* as 'resorted to by the *Rishi Saṅgha*, who did not allow any animal to be slain there'. At this Rāma said that his habit of hunting would undoubtedly cause pain to Sutikshṇa and so he could not stay there for long.<sup>6</sup> Taking vegetarian diet for a night Rāma proceeded next morning to other *āśramas* of the *Daṇḍaka Rishis*.

From the above it is clear that the prohibition of animal sacrifices or animal slaughter as introduced by Aśoka was in no way a novel measure. Hence it is not safe to suggest that Brahmanism fell into disuse in Mauryan times for Aśoka stopped animal sacrifices. The history of Brahmanism,

<sup>1</sup> *Harivamśa*, Book III, Chapter II, v. 40; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad*, I.1.

<sup>4</sup> Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 465.

<sup>5</sup> XII, 340, 82.

<sup>6</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, Book III, 7, 17-22, *Educational Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, by Dr. S. C. Sarkar, pp. 137-8.

though full of additions and omissions, is one of continuity. That Brahmanism including its hieratic and orthodox aspect was in vogue even during the reign of the Mauryas is evident from different sources. The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya who is considered by many scholars to have been a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya refers to the Brahmanical deities and practices. The edicts of Aśoka show that there was an orthodox Brahmanical community in his time and he paid reverence to them as he did to the Buddhists, Nirgranthas, and Ājīvikas. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali throws significant light on the uninterrupted prevalence of Brahmanical rites on a very large scale in the society. Mention has been made by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* of various sacrifices including *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya*.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the *Pañchamahāyajñas* he states that they must be performed by every householder.<sup>2</sup> That the observance of sacrificial rites was an usual and traditional affair on the part of the Brāhmaṇas in Patañjali's society is evident from such instances in the *Mahābhāṣya*, as *Gārgyo yajate*, *Vātsyo yajate*, *Dākṣheḥ pitā yajate*, so on and so forth. Patañjali refers to animal sacrifices in connection with the worship of Rudra<sup>3</sup> (*Paśunā Rudraṁ yajate*). He explains *yūpa* as a wooden post for binding sacrificial animals and says that it should be made of *Bilva* or *Khadira*.<sup>4</sup> He mentions both sacrificial lands and priests specially competent for conducting Vedic sacrifices.<sup>5</sup> There is no doubt that he himself was a distinguished *Brāhmaṇa* and Vedic scholar. He refers also to the practice of drinking *Soma*<sup>6</sup> which formed an important part of Vedic sacrifices.

All this would show that there were in Patañjali's time many Brahmin orthodox families and Vedic scholars, Patañjali himself being one of them, and the orthodox rituals and practices were largely observed in the society. This presupposes the existence of orthodox practices in preceding generation also. If orthodox Brahmanism fell into disuse in Mauryan times there would have been no Patañjali in Śuṅga period. All that the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra shows is that he was a champion or patron of Brahmanism and it will be erroneous to describe him as a reviver of Brahmanism when there is no ground to show that Brahmanism was non-existent in any preceding generation.

Like the Śuṅgas, their successors also, the Kāṇvas, and others observed orthodox rites and practices as prevailing in their time. Pārāsarīputra Sarvatāta, a king of the Kāṇva family as D. R. Bhandarkar points out, performed a horse-sacrifice, though he is known also to have built a stone enclosure round the hall of worship of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa.<sup>7</sup>

Among the followers of orthodox Brahmanical rites mention may be made here of one Vishnudeva whose coins (first century B.C.) have been found at Kanauj.<sup>8</sup> On the reverse of one of his silver coins there appears a horse before a sacrificial post or *yūpa* from which it can be reasonably inferred that he claimed to his credit the glory of having performed a horse-sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> Not much is known about him. He can be placed, however, in

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 268ff., 475ff. Keilhorn, *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 357.

<sup>6</sup> Keilhorn, *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 248, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 268ff., pp. 475ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 203-205, *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Allan, *Cat. of Indian Coins (Ancient India)*, p. 147.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xciv, Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 97.

the first century B.C. on the basis of the palaeography of his coin-legends.<sup>1</sup> Before we proceed, it may be stated that one of the obverse types of early Yaudheya coins (first century B.C.–first century A.D.) is a bull before a *yūpa*.<sup>2</sup> This device can be explained as associated with the *Śūlagava* sacrifice,<sup>3</sup> i.e. the offering of a bull to Rudra, as mentioned in the *Grihya-sūtras*. From this it is clear that some of the early Yaudheyas were performers of Brahmanical rites.

Next we may come to the Bhāraśivas and the Vākātakas, who though personally devoted to Saivism, took keen interest in orthodox Brahmanical rites. The former who flourished at about third century A.D. are credited in the Vākātaka inscriptions with having performed ten *Āśvamedhas* and are said to have obtained sovereignty through the satisfaction of lord Śiva as they carried a *Śiva-Liṅga* on their shoulders.<sup>4</sup> The Vākātakas, we know, were staunch patrons of orthodox rites. King Pravarasena I who flourished in the latter part of the third century A.D. celebrated four *Āśvamedhas* and other Vedic sacrifices such as *Agnishṭoma*, *Āptoryāma*, *Ukthyu*, *Shoḍaśin*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapeya*, *Jyotishṭoma*, and *Brihaspatisava*.<sup>5</sup> The personal faith of the Vākātakas seems to have been Saivism as it is the case with the Bhāraśivas. According to Jayaswal they (i.e. the Vākātakas) had Mahābhairava as the royal deity up to the time of Rudrasena I.<sup>6</sup>

During the period under review orthodox Brahmanical rites and practices were widely prevalent in southern India also. The Sātavāhanas and their successors were all followers and patrons of Brahmanism like their northern contemporaries. In the Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣyamāvi,<sup>7</sup> Gautamīputra (Sātakarṇi), a celebrated Sātavāhana ruler is described as a great warrior, equal in prowess to Rāma (Balarāma), Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, etc. and also as *Ēka bamhaṇa* <sup>8</sup> ('a unique *Brāhmaṇa*') who stopped the intermixture of the four *Varṇas* and strictly observed Sastric rules in his ways of life. He was an 'abode of traditional lore' (*āgamānām-nīlaya*) and he 'properly devised his time and place for the pursuit of the triple object (of human activity)' <sup>9</sup> (*suviḥbhakta trivarga deśakāla*). This will show that Gautamīputra was a zealous Brahmanical ruler observing Sastric rules. The influence of Vedic *Karmakāṇḍa* in early Sātavāhana period is abundantly proved by the Nānāghāt inscription<sup>10</sup> of Queen Nāganikā (first century B.C.), which refers to the performance in the Sātavāhana court of various sacrifices with lavish gifts such as *Agnyādheya*, *Anārambhaṇīya*, *Bhagāla daśarātra*, *Gargātirātra*, *Gavāmayana*, *Āptoryāma*, *Āṅgirasāmayana*, *Śatātirātra*, *Saptadaśātirātra*, *Rājaśūya*, *Āśvamedha* (two *Āśvamedhas*) and *Āṅgirasātirātra*,<sup>11</sup> etc.

Next to the Sātavāhanas the other Brahmanical rulers of Southern India during the period under review were Ikshvāku prince Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla, the Pallavas and Kadambas. In Prākṛit inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikonda (belonging to the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur

<sup>1</sup> Smith does not seem to be correct in considering the scripts on Vishnudevya's coins as early as those of Aśoka's time.

<sup>2</sup> Allan, *Cat. of Indian Coins (Ancient India)*, pp. xcii–xciv.

<sup>3</sup> J. N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1, pp. 121–22.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 236ff., No. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Jayaswal, *History of India (150–350 A.D.)*, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler, *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 108ff., Senart, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60ff., No. 2.

<sup>8</sup> For Bhandarkar's interpretation of the term *Ēkabamhaṇa*, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 32–36.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 61ff.

<sup>10</sup> Bühler, *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 60ff., Lüders, list No. 1112.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, pp. 189–90.

district of the Madras Presidency), Śrī Śāntamūla is described as a performer of the Vedic sacrifices such as *Agnihotra*, *Agnishtoma*, *Vājapeya*, and *Āsvamedha*.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the patronage of Brahmanism by the Pallavas we know that Śivaskandavarman, one of the early rulers of his line,<sup>2</sup> belonging to first part of the fourth century A.D. celebrated the *Agnishtoma*, *Vājapeya*, and *Āsvamedha* sacrifices as we read in his inscriptions. The allegiance of the Pallavas to ancient Brahmanical rites is evident also from one of their official charters which describe them as *yathāvadhārila-aneka-āśvamedhā-nām Pallavānām*.<sup>3</sup> As to the Kadambas it may be noted that they were a Brahmin family and their first ruler was Mayūraśarman. The Tālagunda inscription of the time of Śāntivarman informs us that the Kadambas kindled the sacred fire, performed manifold Vedic rites and drank *Soma* according to the prescribed rules, and Mayūraśarman himself was adorned with Vedic knowledge, right disposition, and purity.<sup>4</sup> All this clearly testifies to the fact that the Kadambas were ardent followers and supporters of sacrificial Brahmanism.

The increasing popularity of the orthodox rites and practices during the period under review is further attested to by the discovery of the Brahmanical finds in Besnagar, and of several inscribed *yūpas* in Mathurā, Kuśāmbī and Rajputana regions. While excavating a small mound in the close vicinity of the pathway leading from Udayagiri to Khambābā at Besnagar, Dr. Bhandarkar exposed two brick structures<sup>5</sup> which in his opinion resemble the sacrificial *Kuṇḍas* of the *Brāhmaṇas*. 'The resemblance,' observes Dr. Bhandarkar, 'is observable not only in respect of the sloping sides but also in respect of the offsets which distinguish them. These offsets are a peculiar feature of *Kuṇḍas*, and are technically called *Mekhalā*'.<sup>6</sup> These structures, it may, therefore, be well presumed, represent the old sacrificial *Kuṇḍas* or pits.

Besides the above two, one more pit was found almost at the same level and according to Dr. Bhandarkar it represents a *Yonikunḍa*.<sup>7</sup> At about the same level in which the *kuṇḍas* were exposed a silver coin of *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta (early part of third century A.D.) and some *Nāga* coins of which one belongs to Bhīma Nāga, and three to Ganapati Nāga were found. From these considerations the *Kuṇḍas* may be dated approximately in the early part of the fourth century A.D. or the middle of the third century A.D.<sup>8</sup>

At about the same level of the *Kuṇḍas* Dr. Bhandarkar discovered also walls of two structures which are, according to him, remnants of a sacrificial hall to entertain guests and visitors at the sacrifices. Near the hall he found a seal recording the performance of a sacrifice<sup>9</sup> by one Timitra with *hotā*, *potā* and *mantra sajana*(?), i.e. ... hymnkinsmen.

The aforesaid facts would show that Besnagar was an important stronghold of Vedic Brahmanism during the period under review. We may now discuss certain inscribed *yūpas* which, as noted above, were found mostly in Rajputana, Mathurā and Kuśāmbī.

*Yūpas* are sacrificial stakes to tie and immolate animals on the occasion of various Vedic sacrifices. The sacrifice of animals is a prominent feature of the Vedic religion and has been alluded to in Vedic texts very frequently.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 19ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 5ff., D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 27f., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 31ff. Mayūraśarman seems to have flourished in the middle of the fourth century A.D.

<sup>5</sup> *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

'He who offers living victims will reside high in heaven'.<sup>1</sup> 'The sacrificial fires long for the sacrificer's flesh, he offers to them an animal to redeem himself'.<sup>2</sup> 'By an animal sacrifice the sacrificer confers upon himself immortal life'.<sup>3</sup> The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* regards *yūpa* as the 'crest-lock of the sacrifice personified'<sup>4</sup> and contains an elaborate description about its preparation and the ceremonies connected with it. The animal sacrifice is offered to Agni and Soma, etc. but the *yūpa* is said to belong to Vishṇu.<sup>5</sup> This is rather strange in view of the fact that no animal is sacrificed to Vishṇu.<sup>6</sup>

The *yūpa*, according to sacred texts is to be made of wood. There is a well-known grammatical example referring to this tradition, viz. *yūpāya dāru*. It is to be noted, however, that only a few selected kinds of wood should be used in preparing the *yūpas*. According to *Āpastamba*<sup>7</sup> the sacrificial post is to be made of *Palāśa*, *Khadira*, *Bilva* or *Rauhitaka* trees according as one desires various results, but in *Soma* sacrifices preference is given to *Khadira*. According to *Patañjali*, a *yūpa* should be made of either *Bilva* or *Khadira*.<sup>8</sup> In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, we have reference to some other woods also being used in making *yūpas*. In connection with the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice of Daśaratha 21 *yūpas* were erected, of which six were of *Bilva*, six of *Khadira*, six of *Palāśa*, one of *Śleshmātaka*, and two of *Devadāru*.<sup>9</sup>

About the size of the *yūpas* the texts vary and they prescribe different sizes for different purposes. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says: 'When he who is about to perform an animal sacrifice, makes a stake one cubit long, he thereby gains this world, and when he makes one two cubits long, he thereby gains the air world and when he makes one three cubits long he thereby gains the heaven; and when he makes one four cubits long he thereby gains the regions'.<sup>10</sup> According to *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* a *yūpa* may be made from 5 to 15 cubits in length, but in the *Vājapeya* sacrifice it should be 17 cubits in length (*Saptadaśa Vājapeye*) and in the *Aśvamedha* it would be 21 cubits (*Ekaviṃśatiraśvamedhe*).<sup>11</sup> Regarding the shape of the *yūpa* the texts are more or less unanimous. It is laid down that the *yūpa* should be made eight-cornered like the thunderbolt of Indra, because a *yūpa* is a veritable thunderbolt.<sup>12</sup> The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says: 'It (the *yūpa*) is to be eight-cornered for eight syllables has the *Gāyatrī*, and the *Gāyatrī* is the forepart of the sacrifice, therefore it is eight-cornered'.<sup>13</sup> Regarding the other features it should be noted that the sacrificial stake should be 'bent at the top and bent inwards in the middle'.<sup>14</sup> It must have a head piece (*chashāla*) or top-ring at about eight inches from the top. The top-ring (*chashāla*) also should be octagonal<sup>15</sup> in shape. '*Yūpa* resembles in its external appearance a *Brahmachārin*, so it has a girdle at the centre, and a triple *upavīta* across it'.<sup>16</sup> It (the girdle rope) is perhaps 'the same as the

<sup>1</sup> *Vedic Hymns*, S.B.E., XLVI, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, S.B.E., Vol. XLIV, pp. 118-19.

<sup>3</sup> S.B.E., XLIV, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 6.4.1, S.B.E., Vol. XXVI, p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 6.4.1.

<sup>6</sup> A.S.I.A.R., 1910-11, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, (VII, 1. 16), edited by Richard Garbe, Vol. I, p. 367.

<sup>8</sup> Keilhorn, *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.14.22-25.

<sup>10</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, S.B.E., Vol. XLIV, p. 124.

<sup>11</sup> *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VI.1. 30, 31.

<sup>12</sup> *Astaraṇa Brāhmaṇa* (*Bibliotheca Indica Series*,) Vol. 1, pp. 234ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 6.4.27. A.S.I.A.R., 1910-11, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 7. 3.3, S.B.E., XLIV, p. 124.

<sup>15</sup> *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VI. 1. 26ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 44.

rope of Varuṇa (*Varuṇyā rajju*) with the noose of the sacred order (*ritasya pāśa*) by means of which the victim is to be bound to the *yūpa*.<sup>1</sup>

Among the earliest of the *yūpas* discovered so far are the Īsāpur stone *yūpas*.<sup>2</sup> These are octagonal except the lower portion which is square. They are bent at the top but not in the middle, though according to sacred texts a sacrificial stake should be bent at the top and also inwards in the middle. Both the two Īsāpur *yūpas* possess the head piece or the top-ring; and the girdle rope (*raśanā*) with the noose (*pāśa*) is exhibited on both of them and it is more clearly shown on the uninscribed pillar. The epigraph on the other pillar records that it was set up as a sacrificial post by one Droṇala, son of Rudrila, a *Brāhmaṇa* of *Bharadvājagotra*, and chanter of holy hymns on the occasion of the *Dvādaśa* sacrifice in the year 24 of the reign of Shāhi Vāsishka.<sup>3</sup> *Dvādaśa* is a sacrificial rite of 12 days. It is both an *Āhina* and a *Sattra*. The main difference between an *Āhina* and *Sattra* is that a *Sattra* can be performed by the *Brāhmaṇas* alone, while an *Āhina* by any one of the first three *varṇas*.<sup>4</sup> The performer of the *Dvādaśa* sacrifice mentioned in the present inscription was a *Brāhmaṇa*, and hence the sacrifice in question could be the *Dvādaśa* of either type.

A *yūpa* has been discovered at Nāndsā in Sāhārā district of the Udayapur State.<sup>5</sup> This *yūpa*, it should be noted, is entirely round, though according to the texts a *yūpa* should be made octagonal. There are two inscriptions engraved on the Nāndsā *yūpa*, dated in the *Kṛita* year 282 (the *Kṛita* year is perhaps same as the Vikrama era). The purport of the inscriptions does not seem to be identical. They refer, however, to the performance of an *Ekashashthirātra* sacrifice (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, f.n. 5, p. 247) by one Śaktigunaguru.

We have a group of four inscribed *yūpas*<sup>6</sup> set up by the Kshatriya chiefs of Rajputana. They come from Baḍvā, Kota State, Rajputana. The Baḍvā *yūpas* are octagonal besides the portion underground which is square,<sup>7</sup> like the Īsāpur and Bijyagaḍh *yūpas*. This departure from Sastric injunction is perhaps due to the architectural considerations. 'A pillar octagonal above and square at the bottom is more graceful than the pillar octagonal throughout.' The architect of the Nāndsā *yūpa*,<sup>8</sup> it should be noted, totally disregarded the textual injunctions as he has made the *yūpas* entirely round or circular. The Baḍvā *yūpas* have no girdle in the middle, and like other *yūpas* referred to above they are not endowed with any *upavīta*.<sup>10</sup> The first three Baḍvā *yūpas* bear inscriptions in the *Kṛita* year 295 and record the erection of these *yūpas* one each by Balavardhana, Somadeva, and Balasimha in connection with the *Trirātra* sacrifice<sup>11</sup> performed duly by them. Balavardhana, Somadeva and Balasimha are sons of one Bala and they are described as Maukharī commander-in-chiefs.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1910-11, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40f. Īsāpur is a suburb of the city of Mathurā.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41. Vāsishka was a Kushāna prince who reigned between Kanishka and Huvishka.

<sup>4</sup> *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 1.6.13. *History of Dharmasāstras* by Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 153 and f.n. In *Sattras* there are no separate priests, the *yajamānas* themselves are the priests. According to Jaimini even the *Brāhmaṇas* of *Bhriku*, *S'unaka* and *Vasishtha gotras* are not entitled to perform the *Sattras*, *History of Dharmasāstras* by Kane, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 482.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XXIII, pp. 42ff., XXIV, pp. 251f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 253.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 45.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, f.n. 8.

The fourth *yūpa* from Kotah in Rajputana contains an inscription which as its paleography shows may be dated in the third century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The object of the inscription is to record that the pillar was set up in connection with the *Āptoryāma* sacrifice performed by one Dhanutrāta, son of Hastin of the Maukharī clan. The names of Hastin and Dhanutrāta would suggest that they belonged to a Kshatriya stock.<sup>2</sup> The whole house of the Baḍvā Maukharis, it seems, were zealous advocates of the Vedic practices.

We may now discuss the inscribed *yūpa*<sup>3</sup> in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. 'The pillar has been sadly mutilated, only one of its facets along with a small part of the adjoining one on its left has been recovered. To judge from the angles of the facets it is clear that the pillar was originally an octagonal one.'<sup>4</sup> The characters of the inscription engraved on this *yūpa* resemble the scripts of the inscriptions of Ushabhadāta and Rudradāman. Hence the *yūpa* can be attributed to the second century of the Christian era.<sup>5</sup> This inscription refers to the performance of seven *Soma* sacrifices (technically called *Saptasoma samsthā*).<sup>6</sup> The sacrificer was one Śivadatta who is called in the inscription a trusted minister of a king whose name is not extant.

Two *yūpas* with inscriptions were discovered at Barnāla, a small village in Jaipur State 'belonging to the Thakurshaheb of Barnāla about eight miles from Ialsote-Gangapur fair weather Road'. It is to be noted that the girdle, or the pāsa which is executed round the Īsāpur pillars is absent in these *yūpas* and also Baḍvā *yūpas*. The inscriptions on Barnāla *yūpas* bear the *Kṛita* years 284 and 335. The Barnāla *yūpa* inscription 'A' bearing the *Kṛita* year 284 records the erection of seven *yūpas*<sup>7</sup> by a person whose gotra was *sohartri* and whose name ended in Vardhana.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Altekar is of opinion that the sacrificer was a king of the name ending with Vardhana. This supposition is supported by the traces of the letters *Rājño* before the name. The inscription on *yūpa* 'B' refers to the performance of five *Gargatirātra* sacrifices performed by one Bhaṭṭa. The *Gargatirātra* sacrifice is an amalgam of *Agnishōma*, *Ukthya* and *Atirātra*. The inscription ends with the expression, 'May (god) Vishṇu be pleased! May *Dharma* increase!' The name of the sacrificer is not preserved in whole, but his title *Bhaṭṭa* would show that he was a *Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>9</sup>

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar discovered a fragment of *yūpa* at Nagari.<sup>10</sup> The pillar is broken at both ends and bears a mutilated inscription. The words extant in line two of the same read as . . . . . *syā yajñe Vājapeye yūpo*. This indicates that this *yūpa* was erected in connection with the performance of a *Vājapeya* sacrifice. The scripts of the inscription are of the fourth century A.D.

The *yūpas* referred to above are of stone, though according to sacred texts they should be made of wood. The stone *yūpas* were erected perhaps for commemorative purpose in imitation of Mauryan columns.<sup>11</sup> It may be noted here that the orthodox Brahmanical practices spread to Further India as early as our period. The Batavia Museum contains a sacrificial post of

<sup>1</sup> The present inscription does not bear any date but its scripts agree very closely with those of the other three Baḍvā *yūpa* inscriptions. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 252f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245. It was found in the neighbourhood of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> Seven *Soma* sacrifices constituting *Saptasomasamsthā* are *Agnishōma*, *Atyagnishōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shodaśin*, *Vājapeya*, *Atirātra*, and *Āptoryāma*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 119 and 120.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>10</sup> *Memoir, A.S.I.*, No. 4, p. 120.

<sup>11</sup> Altekar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

stone from Moeara Kaman, Eastern Borneo. It contains an inscription of eight lines in Venggi characters, of king Mūlavarman<sup>1</sup> (c. 400 A.D.). It ends: *yupo'yam sthāpito vipraih.*

The above-mentioned facts would show that the orthodox Vedic practices were widely prevalent in the society. But it should also be remembered that pure Vedism had no practical or independent existence. Brahmanism, as it developed, became a multiform religious system of which Vedism was one of the constituent factors, the others being its more popular elements, the various Brahmanical cults. The manner in which these elements were harmoniously blended in the normal life of people is illustrated in certain epigraphic records of our period. In the Ghoshunḍī and Hāthibādā inscriptions Pārāśariputra Sarvatāta is represented as an *Aśvamedhayājī*, performer of a horse-sacrifice, and also having constructed a stone enclosure for the place of worship called *Nārāyaṇa āṭa* for *Bhagavat* Saṁkarshana and Vāsudeva. Saṁkarshana and Vāsudeva are deities of the *Bhāgarata* cult. A gift at their place of worship by Sarvatāta who performed the Vedic Brahmanical rite, i.e. *Aśvamedha* furnishes a striking instance of the harmonious blending of the orthodox and popular beliefs in the religious life of the people. Similar examples are afforded also by a few more contemporary records.

The Nānāghāt cave inscription (first century B.C.) opens with an invocation to Vedic as well as sectarian deities, viz. Indra, Dharma, Saṁkarshana, Vāsudeva and the four *lokapālas*, Yama, Kuvera, Varuṇa and Vāsava and records also the performance of several Vedic sacrifices as noted before. This shows how the same person offers prayer to the orthodox and also to the post-Vedic sectarian deities. The Bhārasīvas, Vākātakas, Pallavas and Kadambas had performed several Vedic sacrifices, though most of them were personally devoted to Saivism.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the Ikshvāku prince Śrī Śāntamūla was devoted to the cult of Mahāsena (Kārtikeya) as the epithet *Mahāsenaparigrihita*<sup>3</sup> shows, and he performed at the same time Vedic sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya*, etc. The Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpa* inscription mentions one Śivadatta, as we have seen before, as having performed seven *Soma* sacrifices and also made a donation to the temple of Śiva. The epigraph concludes with *prītimiyānmaheśvara iti*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1910-11, p. 40 f.n.; Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, pp. 126ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 236, 245, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 31ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 251.





A LIST OF CUSTOMARY LAWS IN A RECORD OF THE  
SIXTH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent for  
Epigraphy, Government of India, Ootacamund.

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Students of old inscriptions in Prakrit and Sanskrit know that these abound in technical terms and expressions which are not found in the lexicons. Some of the words are no doubt recognized in the lexicons but not exactly in the same senses. None of the compilers of the modern Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit dictionaries is known to have utilized epigraphic materials. As a result of this, their works can only be regarded as incomplete. In order to draw the attention of scholars to this very important question, we propose in these lines to deal with the lexicographic importance of a West Indian inscription of the sixth century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 649 (i.e. 592 A.D.) and belongs to a ruler named Viṣṇuṣeṇa (or Viṣṇubhaṭa) who resided at the *vāsaka* (camp or residence) at Lohātā. He is endowed with the five *mahāśabdās* or feudatory titles beginning with *mahākārtākr̥tika*. The real meaning of the word *kārtākr̥tika* is unknown, but it may have indicated the chief executive officer of a king who finally determined what ought or ought not to be done in affairs of State or a judge of a superior court (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 360, n. 9; 502). Viṣṇuṣeṇa is also called *śrī-bāva-pādānudhyāta* in which the meaning of *bāva* is uncertain, although it has been explained as signifying an uncle or a relation of the father's generation (C.I.I., III, p. 186n.) The list of officials serving Viṣṇuṣeṇa includes *āyuktaka*, *vinīyuktaka*, *vaiḷabdhika*, *drāṅgika*, *cāṭa* and *bhaṭa*.<sup>3</sup> In inscriptions, an *āyuktaka* is often found to be the ruler of a district or sub-division; but the distinction between an *āyuktaka* and a *vinīyuktaka* is unknown. We have elsewhere suggested that the *vinīyuktaka* (as also *tad-āyuktaka* or *tad-vinīyuktaka*; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 351, n. 1) was the ruler of a small territorial unit employed by the Governor of the district and not by the King. The *vaiḷabdhika* may have been the custodian of recovered stolen property as the *yukta* of the *Manusāṃhitā*, VIII, 34. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VII, 161-63), however, uses the word *vilabdhī* probably in the sense of an assignment. The *drāṅgika* may have been the officer in charge of a *drāṅga* explained as a town in the lexicons, but used in the sense of a watch-station in the *Rāj. tar.*, VIII, 2010 (cf. Stein's trans., Vol. II, pp. 291ff.). *Cāṭa* and *bhaṭa* are sometimes taken to mean regular and irregular soldiers respectively, although their duty appears to have been something like that

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before the Classical Sanskrit Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay Session, held in November, 1949. See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 287-91.

<sup>2</sup> We are glad to acknowledge that in the preparation of this paper we have received considerable help from Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. G. S. Gai and Mr. P. B. Desai.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion on the official designations, cf. P. V. Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, pp. 975-1007. Kane now thinks that the *kārtākr̥tika* was somewhat like the present day Legal Remembrancer and invited the king's attention to what was done or left undone.

of the policemen and watchmen or peons. Instead of *cāṭa*, some inscriptions use the word *chātra* often explained as 'an umbrella-bearer' (cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 414, n. 5). For the use of the word *chātra* in our inscription, *vide infra*. Viṣṇusena's order was addressed not only to the officials but also to the *dhruv-ādīhikarāna* or the office of the *dhruva* which in Gujarati indicates the agent who collects on behalf of the Rājā his share of the produce of lands from the tenants (cf. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 170n.).

It is said that Viṣṇusena had been approached by the community of merchants with the request of being favoured by his own *ācāra-sthiti-pātra* which they might utilize in protecting and favouring their own people and that the merchants were favoured with the ruler's *sthiti-pātra* used in the protection and settlement of his dominions. This *sthiti-pātra* or *ācāra-sthiti-pātra* is elsewhere also called *anugraha-sthiti-pātra*, *sthiti-vyavasthā* and *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* and is actually a list of customary laws which is quoted in the inscription in extenso and is very valuable not only to a lexicographer but also to all students of ancient Indian history.<sup>1</sup> We quote below the text of the seventy-two customary laws one by one.

1. *Āputrakam na grāhyam*. *Āputraka* possibly means the property belonging to a person who died without leaving a son. The *ācāra* seems to say that such property should not be confiscated by royal officials disregarding the claim of any legal heir other than the son.

2. *Unmara-bhedo na karaṇīyo rāja-puruṣeṇa*. This is probably connected with No. 1 above. The royal officials are asked not to break open the *unmara*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be related to the word *umbara* (Pali *ummāra*, Prakrit *ummara*) and may indicate technically the closed door of a house.

3. *Udbhāvaka-vyavahāro na grāhyah*. The word *vyavahāra* here may be taken in the sense of a law-suit; but the real meaning of *udbhāvaka* is uncertain. It may refer to a case carelessly put before the court (cf. *udbhāvana*, 'neglect') or to one based on fabrication or false allegation.

4. *Śaṅkayā grahaṇam n=āsti*. It apparently says that the royal officials should not go in for the apprehension of persons or for taking up a case against one or for seizing things through mere suspicion (*śaṅkā*) of a crime.

5. *Puruṣ-āparādhe strī na grāhyā*. This means to say that the wife should not be apprehended for her husband's guilt.

6. *Kṣem-āgni-samutthāne chalo na grāhyah* or *A-ksem°*. The word *chala*, which ordinarily means 'a pretext', is used in the Smṛti literature in the sense of a careless declaration while *bhūta* means a solemn statement of truth (cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, N.S. Press, p. 130).<sup>2</sup> The meaning is that no careless declaration of a case was acceptable when the question was that of an attempt at burning a house. Cf. Nos. 7 and 9. But the ordinary meaning of *chala* is also applicable to all these cases; cf. No. 31 below.

7. *Svayam hrasite karṇe chalo na grāhyah*. No careless accusation was acceptable from a man in regard to the cutting of a bit from his own ears.

<sup>1</sup> The Lakshmeswar Kanpaḍa inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II of about 725 A.D. quotes an *ācāra-vyavasthā* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 190-91). But this damaged record has not been of any help in the elucidation of the inscription under discussion.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Sukra-nīti-sāra* (ed. G. Oppert), IV, v, verses 162-63. *Ibid.*, verses 67-80 use the word *chala* in the sense of certain offences against the king, of which (together with the offences styled *rāja-jñeya* and *aparādha*) the court could take direct cognizance without the cases being brought to it by any party. Ordinarily the court was not to take cognizance of an offence or dispute unless it had been brought to it by a party. Cf. *University of Ceylon Review*, January, 1950, p. 29.

Cf. No. 37 below. If *hrasita* may be taken in the sense of 'sounded', the reference may be to a case in which the details of a dispute had previously reached the ears of the judge who was then in a position to detect the fabricated element in the statement put to him without investigation.

8. *Arthi-pratyarthinā vinā vyarahāro na grāhyah*. A law suit could be taken up for disposal only when the complainant and the defendant were both present and never in the absence of any one of the parties.

9. *Āpaṇe āsanasthasya chalo na grāhyah*. No careless statement of accusation was acceptable from a person who had been at the time of occurrence busy in selling things in a shop or market.

10. *Go-śakṣaṇam na grāhyam*. This seems to be related to No. 11 below.

11. *Sāmant-āmātya-dūtānām=anyeṣāṃ c=ābhyaupāgame śayanīy-āsana-siddhānnaṃ na dāpayet*. When a subordinate chief, an officer or an envoy of the king came to a village, the inhabitants thereof could not be compelled to supply beds or couches, seats and boiled rice. Such things, however, are known to have been usually supplied by the villagers, and the kings are found to have exempted gift villages from these obligations. Cf. such *parihāras* or exemptions as *a-kūra-collaka-vināśi-khaṭvā-samivāsa* and *a-paramparā-balivarda-grahaṇa* explained in the *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, pp. 186ff. It may be pointed out that inscriptions speak of supplying bullocks to the touring officials by the inhabitants of different villages in succession, but not of carts. Cf. No. 10 above.

12. *Sarva-śreṇinām=ek-āpaṇako na deyaḥ*. Members of different guilds should not be allowed to flock to the same market. The idea seems to be that different guilds should occupy different markets or at least different quarters of the same market.

13. *Sarva-śreṇibhiḥ khovā-dānaṃ na dātavyam*. All the guilds should not be compelled to pay *khovā*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be the same thing as the *aṭṭapati-bhāga* or 'the share of the lord of the market' mentioned as a tax in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, 164.

14. *Rājakule=dhikarāṇasya ca rāj-ārgghikā deyā; anyeṣāṃ=adeyā*. Periodical offerings to be made to the king should be brought to the palace or to the particular office engaged in collecting them but not to anybody else. *Rāj-ārgghikā* may be the same as *rāja-pradeya* of the *Manusmṛitī*; cf. *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 187. The word also occurs in No. 45 below.

15. *Vārikasya haste nyāsako na sthāpanīyāḥ*. This is probably related to No. 14 above. The offerings meant for the King were not to be deposited with the *vārika*. The word *vārika* apparently indicates a royal officer. It may be the Gujarati *vāredār* or tax-gatherer. The *Brhaspati-smṛti* (G.O.S. Ed., p. 159) mentions *vārika* along with the *cāturvaidyā*, *vanik*, *sarvagrāmī*, *a*, *mahattara*, etc., and the *Rāj. tar.*, VI, 345, in the designation *kaṭaka vārika*; but the meaning is not clear. Monier-Williams recognizes the word *nāga-vārika* in his Dictionary, while the word *śānti-rārika* is found in the inscriptions of the Candras of Bengal. Words like *vāra-pramukha* and *pañca-rārī* occur in several other inscriptions (*E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 138n.)

16. *Para-viśayāt=kāraṇ-ābhyāgato vāṇijakaḥ para-reṣe na grāhyah*. The word *reṣa* means 'injury' and possibly means a 'dispute' in the present context. A merchant belonging to another district or kingdom could not possibly be implicated in a case in which he was not directly concerned.

17. *Āvedanakena vinā utkr̥ṣṭi na grāhyā*. This seems to be related to No. 16 above; but the meaning of *utkr̥ṣṭi* is unknown, *Āvedanaka* may indicate 'stating a complaint in court' and *utkr̥ṣṭi* may be the same as Pali *ukkutthi* (Sanskrit *utkr̥ṣṭa*, *utkr̥ṣṭi*) meaning wailing. A proper complaint and not mere wailing was acceptable to the court.

18. *Vākpāruṣya-daṇḍapāruṣyayoḥ sākṣitve sārī na grāhyā*. The *sārīkā* bird was not allowed as a witness in cases of defamation and assault.

19. *Dhenku-kadḍhaka-ñila-ḍumphakās=chaviṣṭim(ṣṭiḥ) na kārayitavyāḥ*. The *ḍumphaka* of a *ñila-kuṭi* liable to pay a certain tax is also referred to in No. 48 below. *Dhenku* is possibly the same as Hindi *dhenki* or *dhenkuli* meaning a machine for extracting juice, while *kadḍhaka* and *ḍumphaka* may respectively stand for Sanskrit *karkaḥ* and *dyūṃphaka*. The manufacturer of the blue dye from the indigo plant and that of sugar-cane juice are probably the persons indicated here as unaffected by the rule of forced labour.

20. *Prapāpū [ra]ka-gopālā rāja-graheṇa na grāhyāḥ*. *Prapā-pūraka* was a person entrusted with *prapā-pūrana*, 'filling cisterns with water in a place for watering cattle'. Such persons as well as the milkmen were not to be apprehended or recruited for free labour on the king's behalf. Cf. *Brhaspati-smṛti*, p. 26.

21. *Gṛh-āpaṇa-sthitānām mudrā-patraka-dūtakaiḥ sāhasavarjam=āhvānam na karanīyam*. Persons engaged in work at home or at the shop could be summoned to the court by means of a seal-ring or a letter or by a messenger only if they were involved in a criminal case. Cf. *Brhaspati-smṛti*, p. 24; see also Kane, *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 88.

22. *Pareṇ=ārth-ābhīyuktānām vāda-pratisamāsane yajña-satra-vivāh-ādīṣu āhvānam na kārayet*. Persons engaged in such works as the worship of a deity, a sacrifice or a marriage ceremony could not be summoned to the court to refute the charges brought against them. *Artha* may refer to an *artha-mūla* or civil (and not *himsā-mūla* or criminal) suit. Vide *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 108. Or there may be reference here to two different sets of persons who should not be summoned: (1) one engaged in *yajña*, etc. (cf. *Brhaspati-smṛti*, p. 22); and (2) one already involved in another case (cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 125).

23. *Rn-ādān-ābhilekhita-vyavahāre a-kāṣṭha-loha-baddhena kṛta-pratibhuvēna(bhuvā) guptir=upāsya*. In connection with a written complaint about the realization of borrowed money, the debtor, when he was not *a-kāṣṭha-loha-baddha* (not under wooden or metal hand-cuff) because of his being *kṛta-pratibhū* (one for whom security was furnished by somebody), could enjoy the protection of the court. It seems to say that in the case of a debtor, for whom security was furnished, neither hand-cuffs nor guards at court were necessary. When no *pratibhū* was furnished, the court had to arrange for the person's watch and the cost of it had to be borne by the parties. Cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 126.

24. *Varṣāsu sva-viṣayāt bij-ārtham=āgataka-karṣakāḥ svāminā na grāhyāḥ*. Cf. *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, III, 11; *Brhaspati-smṛti*, pp. 22, 26. See also *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 109. Cultivators coming out of their places for sowing seeds during the rainy season were not to be apprehended or engaged by the King or landlord in free labour.

25. *Āśāḍha-māsi pauṣe cha draṣṭavyam māna-pautavam; ādāne rūpakāḥ sa-pādah saha dhārmikena*. For *pautava* and *pautav-āpacāra* (fraud in regard to measures), see *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2 (cf. pp. 103-105 of the Mysore Ed.). The *māna-pautava* which had to be examined in the months of *Āśāḍha* and *Pauṣa* seems to have been a store-house where grains were measured and stored. *Ādāna* no doubt refers to the collection of tax and *dhārmika* seems to point to an extraordinary case somehow associated with religious merit. This is suggested by the frequent use of these two terms in the latter part of the document. Possibly there were two kinds of store-houses, one working on a small fee and the other working free of charges; but there was no reduction of inspection tax for the latter.

26. *A-saṃvādyā vyavaharataḥ śulka-ādikaṃ ca dhāny-ādi praveśayato niṣkāśayato vā śulkaṃ=aṣṭa-guṇaṃ dāpyaḥ*. It seems to be related to No. 25 above. If a store-house collected fees and stored and disposed of grains without informing the royal officials, it had to pay eight times the usual tax, i.e. ten silver coins. This may also refer to the bringing and taking out of goods without check up with officials on matters of *śulka*, etc., as per the rules laid down. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 23 (Mysore, Second Ed., p. 112).

27. *Peṭavika-vārikena pañca-rātrake pañca-rātrake kartavyam=arggha-nivedanam; a-nivedayato vinaye rūpakāḥ ṣaḍ=dhārmike pādaḥ*. The *peṭavika-vārika* appears to be a particular class of *vārika* or official that was responsible for the delivery of the *rāj-ārghikā* received from the subjects. The word *peṭavika* may be associated with Marathi *peṭā* (subdivision of a *taluk*) or *peṭh* (a trading town or emporium). The punishment for non-delivery was the fine of six silver coins; but in the case of *dhārmika*, i.e., when there was any reasonable excuse, the fine was only one-fourth silver coin. *Vinaya* means 'fine' (cf. Nārada quoted in *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 126). This may possibly also refer to the rule that every five days the official should have fixed the prices (*argha*) of commodities and informed the prices so fixed to the higher authorities. Cf. *Manu-smṛti*, VIII, 402; also *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 270.

28. *Uttarakulika-vārikaiḥ māna-bhāṇḍa-meya-gate bahir=na gantavyam*. *Uttarakulika*, like *peṭavika*, possibly meant another class of *vārika* or official that appears to have been associated with the law-court. In cases of disputes in regard to the measurement, the measuring pot or the thing measured, such officers were possibly not allowed to go out of the court to be influenced by one party or the other.

29. *Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām=eva karaṇa-sannidhau chātrena trir=aḥguṣṭitānām nirupasthānād=vinaye rūpaka-dvayaṃ sa-pādaṃ saha dhārmikeṇa*. *Karaṇa* apparently means *adhikaraṇa*, 'law-court', and *chātra* seems to indicate a peon or a constable. *Karaṇa* as a contraction of *adnikaraṇa* is found in the Midnapur plates of Śaśāṅka (*Pravāsi*, Śrāvāṇa, B.S. 1350, pp. 193ff.), while the word *chātra* is used in the above sense in some inscriptions (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 414 and note 5). It seems that there was no excuse for the absence of the *vārikas* of the *uttarakulika* class when they had been thrice summoned to the court by a court peon. The fine for the offence was two and one-fourth silver coins even if there was any good reason for absence.

30. *Vyavahār-ābhilekhitaka-karaṇa-sevakasy=ā-madhyāhṇād=ūrdhvaṃ nirupasthitasya vinayo rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sā-pādās=saha dhārmikeṇa*. Cf. *adhikaraṇa-lekhaka* or official recorder in the *Rāj. tar.*, VI, 38. If the clerks who had to write down the statements of cases in the law-court were absent from the court after mid-day, they were liable to a fine of six and one-fourth silver coins.

31. *Ā-madhyāhṇād=ūrdhvaṃ=uttarakulika-vārikāṇām chalo n=āsti*. No pretext (or flimsy excuse) of the *uttarakulika-vārikas*, absent from the court after mid-day, was to be accepted.

32. *Arggha-vañcane rūpaka-trayaṃ sa-pādaṃ saha dhārmikeṇa*. This seems to refer to the *peṭavika-vārikas* (No. 27 above). In cases of fraud in regard to the delivery of *rāj-ārghikā*, the officers concerned were liable to a fine of three and one-fourth silver coins and the fine could not be reduced even when there was a reasonable excuse. Here *arggha-vañcana* may also refer to the flouting of the prices fixed by the authorities.

33. *Mudr-āpacāre vinaye-rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sā-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa* *Mudr-āpacāra* is 'using counterfeit coins'; cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 268

(verse 240 and quotation from *Kātyāyana*). The fine for this crime was six and one-fourth silver coins and no excuse for reduction of the fine was allowed.

34. *Sthāvara-tya(vya)vaḥāre sāmantaīḥ arasitasya vinayo rūpakasatam=aṣṣottaram 108*. This seems to say that a *sāmanta* or subordinate ruler (cf. No. 11 above) was liable to a fine of 108 silver coins if he disposed of a case in regard to landed property. The *sāmantas* may have also been men from neighbouring villages who were to settle boundary disputes (*Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, II, 152) and the meaning may be that the defeated party in a boundary dispute had to pay a fine of 108 silver coins.

35. *Samvadane rūpakāḥ chatuspañcāsat*. But the fine was only 54 silver coins if information had duly been given to the king about the case. In case the second interpretation of No. 34 is preferred, this may refer to the party that had itself invited arbitration in a boundary dispute but was defeated.

36. *Jayike bhāṣā phālāvane cā(ca) rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādam*. This *ācāra* is difficult to explain. But it may mean that the winning party (*jayika*) in a boundary dispute was to be given a written declaration (*bhāṣā*) in his favour, although he had to pay  $3\frac{1}{4}$  silver coins for the protection of his ploughed field (*phāl-āvana*) from the encroachment of the defeated party in the dispute.

37. *Ullāmbane karna-trotane ca vinayo rūpakāḥ saptaviṁśat*. The fine for *ullambana* (leaping over one, or hanging as in the *Arthasāstra*, IV, 8) or for cutting one's ear was 27 silver coins. Cf. No. 7 above.

38. *Vākparusya-danḍapānasyayoḥ vinaye rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sa-pādāḥ*. The fine for the offence of defamation and assault was six and one-fourth silver coins.

39. *Kṣata-darśane rūpakāḥ aṣṭa-catvāriṁśat*. In cases of *danḍa-pāruṣya* involving infliction of wounds, the fine was 48 silver coins.

40. *Gavām tauṇḍike viṁśopakāḥ pañca*. Five *viṁśopakas* were equal to one-fourth of a silver coin, a *viṁśopaka* being  $\frac{1}{20}$  of the standard silver money. Cf. 5 *viṁśopakas* given as  $\frac{1}{4}$  silver coin in No. 57 below; also *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 210. The meaning of *tauṇḍika* is 'biting of crops with the mouth'; cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, II, 159. The offence involving *tauṇḍika* of cows caused a fine of five *viṁśopakas*.

41. *Mahiṣyās=tad-dviguṇam*. But the fine for the offence involving *tauṇḍika* of a she-buffalo was ten *viṁśopakas*, i.e. one-half silver coin. Cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, loc. cit.

42. *Madya-bhājanasy=āvalokye rūpakāḥ pañca*. *Āvalokya*, derived from *avaloka* seems to mean 'detection'. If one was found out with a vessel full of wine, his fine was five silver coins.

43. *Prathama-bhājanē dhārmike adhikaraṇasya rūpaka-dvayaṁ sāvīdham 1ṛ° 2½*. But when it was the first offence and no bad motive could be substantiated, the fine to be paid to the court was only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  silver coins.

44. *Anāpṛṣṭvā(cchya) sandhayato dvitīye=haṇi tad-dviguṇam dāpyaḥ*. The first two words appear to refer to the *adhikaraṇa*. This *ācāra* seems to say that if a man, let off for the first offence with light punishment, was caught with a vessel full of wine for the second time, his fine was double the amount prescribed in No. 43.

45. *Surā-karaṇasy=āvalokye rūpaka-trayaṁ; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ; rāj-ārghikayā madya-cātūrtha-dvayaṁ rṛ° 2*. If one was caught while distilling liquor, his fine was three silver coins. But the fine was  $1\frac{1}{4}$  silver coins if no bad motive could be substantiated, although two *cātūrtas* (one *cātūrtha* being  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the standard measure of a liquid substance; cf. Nos. 47 and 70 below) of wine had to be paid as *rāj-ārghikā* (cf. No. 14 above).

46. *Kāmsya-dosy-āyudhānām = āśādhī(dha)-paurṇamāsi-bharolaka-nirodhena grahaṇaka-praviṣṭam bhavati; grahaṇakeṣu daṇḍako n = ānusa-rāṇiyāh*. This *ācāra* is possibly related to the distillation of wine (cf. Nos. 45 and 47); but it is very difficult to explain. The word *āyudha* may be taken in its old sense of 'vessel' and *dosya*, which is unknown, may possibly be a metal like *kāmsya* or bell-metal. It seems that the *bharolaka* (distillery?) was closed on the full-moon day of *Āśāḍha* and the vessels used in distillation were put into the *grahaṇaka* (custody?) and that the *daṇḍaka* (rule about the supply of the king's share of wine?) was not to be followed during that period.

47. *Rājakiya-gaṇje kalvapāla-vārikena cātūrtha-śoṭi-hastena meyaṁ muktvā n = āṇyat = kimcit = karaṇiyam*. *Gaṇja* (treasury or a fund in the *Rāj. tar.*, IV, 589; VII, 125-26) was a store-house and the *vārika* or officer of the *kalvapāla* (the same as *kalyapāla* or *kalyāpāla*, i.e. 'spirit-distiller', of the lexicons and the *Rāj. tar.*, IV, 677, and *kalpāla* of Viśvarūpa's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Vyavahāra, verse 50) class was the officer in charge of the store-house for wine. For *kalvapāla*, cf. Hindi *kaluār*. *Śoṭi* seems to mean a measuring pot used in measuring liquids like wine. Cf. *Soṭu* in old Kannaḍa inscriptions and *savaṭu* in modern Kannaḍa. While measuring wine in *cātūrthas* or quarter-measures at the royal store-house with the measuring pot in hand, the officer was possibly not allowed to divert his attention to some other work. For *cātūrtha*, see No. 45 above and No. 70 below.

48. *Nīla-kuṭy-ādānaṁ ḍuṁphakena deyaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū° 3*. *Nīla-kuṭi* may mean an indigo factory and *ḍuṁphaka* its owner or supervisor. Cf. No. 19 above. The *ḍuṁphaka* had to pay the tax of three silver coins for a *nīla-kuṭi*.

49. *Ikṣu-vāt-ādānaṁ rūpakāḥ dvātriṁśat rū° 32; dhārmike rūpaka-deyaṁ sa-pādāṁ*. The tax for a sugar-cane plantation was 32 silver coins; but it was only 2½ silver coins if the field belonged to a religious establishment.

50. *Alla-vāṭasy = āto = rdh-ādānam*. The tax for an *alla-vāṭa* was half the amount prescribed in No. 49. The word *alla* in Pali means 'moist' and *alla-vāṭa* may probably indicate 'low land' (planted with sugar-cane).

51. *Yantra-kuṭy-ādānaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū° 3; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ*. *Yantra-kuṭi* may indicate an oil-mill or manufactory for which the tax to be paid was three silver coins, although the tax was only 1½ silver coins if the *yantra-kuṭi*'s productions were meant for a religious cause.

52. *Varṣa-paryuṣitā vaṇijāḥ prāveśyaṁ śulka-ātiyātrikaṁ na dāpānīyāḥ; nairgamikaṁ deyaṁ*. Merchants staying abroad for a year were not to pay any entrance fee while returning to their native place; but they had to pay the exit tax when they went out again. *Ātiyātrika* is no doubt connected with *ātiyātrā* used in the *Dīvyāvadāna* (p. 92, l. 27) in the sense of 'fare for crossing the boundary'.

53. *Bhāṇḍa-bhṛta-vahitrasya śulka-ātiyātrike rūpakāḥ dvādaśa rū° 12; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rū° 1½*. For a boat full of vessels probably of metal, the crossing fare was 12 silver coins; but if the vessels were meant for any religious purpose, the tax was only 1½ silver coins. On the rates for ferry crossing, see *Manu-smṛti*, VIII, 403ff.; *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 274 and commentary.

54. *Mahiṣ-oṣṭra-bharakasya rūpakāḥ pañca sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa*. For a boat full of buffaloes and camels, the tax was 5½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for some religious cause. °*Bharaka* seems to mean the same thing as °*bhṛta-vahitra* of No. 53 above and 61 below. The word is also used in Nos. 56 and 67 below.



55. *Balivard-ādānam rūpaka-dvayaṁ sārddham rū° 2½*; *dhārmike pādaḥ ½*. The tax for a boat full of bulls was 2½ silver coins; but, if they were meant for a religious cause, the tax was only ½ silver coin. This seems to be connected with Nos. 53-54 above and 56 below.

56. *Gardabha-bharak-ādāne rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū° 1½ saha dhārmikeṇa*. The tax for a boat full of asses was 1½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for a religious cause.

57. *Ato=rdhena pottalikā-saṁkācitak-ādānam; avalambakasya viṁśopakāḥ pañca ½*. The tax for bundles (*pottalikā*) suspended from loops probably in shops was half of 1½ silver coins and for the hanger of such loops the tax was five *viṁśopakas* or ½ silver coin. The word *saṁkācitaka* is no doubt related to *kācita* used as an adjective; but in No. 68 below it has been used as a noun possibly in the sense of a loop. The same may also be the meaning in the present case.

58. *Pala-śatasya viṁśopaka-dvayaṁ saha dhārmikeṇa*. A bundle weighing 100 *palas* was taxed at two *viṁśopakas* and there was no reduction even if it contained things meant for a religious cause.

59. *Yath-opari-likhita-bhāṇḍ-ādānāt dhānyasy=ārdh=ādānam*. This seems to be related to No. 53 above. A boat full of paddy was taxed at half the amount prescribed for a boat full of vessels.

60. *Ādraka-lakāṭyāḥ śulka-ātiyātrike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikeṇa rū° 1½*. The crossing fare for a boat full of ginger and *lakāṭā* was 1½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if the things were meant for a religious purpose. *Lakāṭā* may be the name of a kind of spices or may be the same as modern *lakṭī* or fuel.

61. *Vaṁśa-bhṛta-vahitrasya rūpakāḥ saṭ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikeṇa*. The tax for a boat full of bamboos was 1½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if the material was meant for a religious purpose.

62. *Skandha-vāhyam dhānyam śulkaṁ na pradāpayet*. There was no tax for paddy to be carried by a person on his shoulder. Cf. *Nārada-smṛti*, ed. Jolly, p. 134.

63. *Kaṇikkā-kustumburī-rājikā-prabhṛtinām varṇikā-grahane setikā grāhyā*. *Kaṇikkā* is the Prakrit form of *kaṇikā* meaning cummin seed. *Rājikā* is black mustard, while *kustumburī* is the coriander seed. *Varṇikā* is the same as Prakrit *vannīā* meaning 'sample', while *setikā* is the same as Prakrit *seīā* or *seigā* indicating a measure equal to two *pravyā*. The word *pravyā* means the palm of the hand stretched out and hollowed and also a handful of things regarded as equivalent to two *palas* in weight. It seems therefore that only two handfuls of cummin seed, black mustard and coriander seed could be taken as sample by royal officials.

64. *Vivāha-yajñ-otsava-simantonnayaneṣu ca śulkaṁ na pradāpayet*. Ceremonies such as marriage were not to be taxed. Cf. receipts of the office styled *grahakṛtya* in the *Rājatarāṅginī*, V, 157, 176; VII, 42.

65. *Vara-yātrāyām śulka-ādi(ti)yātrike rūpakāḥ dvādaśa; paṭṭaka-dhārmike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū° 1½*. If the procession of a bridegroom had to cross the boundary of the kingdom or district to reach the house of the bride, it had to pay the crossing fare of 12 silver coins; but, if it was legalized by means of a *paṭṭaka* or pass-port, the fare was only 1½ silver coins.

66. *Madya-vahanakasy=ādāne rūpakāḥ pañca rū° 5; dhārmike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū° 1½*. If a vehicle or boat full of wine had to cross the border, it was taxed at five silver coins, although the tax was reduced to 1½ silver coins if the wine was meant for a religious purpose. This may be related to No. 65 above.

67. *Khalla-[bha]rakasya rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikeṇa rū° 1½*.

The tax for a boat full of *khalla* (possibly meaning leather) was only 1½ silver coins even if it was required for a religious purpose.

68. *Kelāyāḥ samkacitakasya ca ato=rdh-ādānam*. Cf. No. 57 above. For a loop holding *kelā*, the tax was half of 1½ silver coins. The meaning of *kelā* is uncertain, although *kelā* in Hindi stands for Sanskrit *kadalī*.

69. *Pāda-ghaṭasya vimśopakāḥ pañca saha dhārmikena*. The tax for a *pāda-ghaṭa* was five *vimśopakas*, i.e. ½ silver coin and it was not reduced even when the thing was meant for a religious cause. The meaning of *pāda-ghaṭa* is uncertain; but possibly it indicated a jar holding water to be used in washing feet. This is possibly related to No. 65 above.

70. *Kaṭu-madye śidhu-cāturtha-trayaṃ 3*. Three *cāturthas* or quarter-measures (cf. Nos. 45 and 47 above) of the liquor called *śidhu* were regarded as the tax for very strong liquors. This may also be related to No. 65 above.

71. *Chimpaka-kolika-padakārānām yath-ānurūpa-karmaṇaḥ janapada-mūlyād=rājakule=rdh-ādānam*. The *chimpakas*, *kolikas* and *padakāras*, who appear to have been followers of particular professions, possibly had to pay as tax half the money that would be the price of the things produced by them according to the standard of price prevalent in the locality. *Kolika* may be the same as Sanskrit *kaulika* or a weaver and *padakāra* may possibly be a shoe-maker. The meaning of *chimpaka* is uncertain. May it be connected with Marathi *šimpī* and Kannada *cippiga* or *šimpiga* (from Sanskrit *śilpin*) meaning 'a tailor'?

72. *Lohakāra-rathakāra-nāpita-kumbhakāra-prabhṛtīnām vārikena viṣṭiḥ karaṇīyā*. The blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, potters and others could be recruited for forced labour under the supervision of the *vārikas* or officers.

King Viṣṇuṣeṇa (Viṣṇubhaṭa) further says that he also approved of other *ācāras* that were handed down from ancient times, besides those mentioned above. He ends with a request that his *anugraha-sṭhiti-pātra* should be approved by the future rulers of the country.

In conclusion, I request all scholars to take note of the interesting words and senses that are noticed in the present record but are not recognized in the Sanskrit *koṣas* and to try to interpret the passages which I have failed to explain as well as to improve upon the interpretations offered in this paper. I shall be glad to consider carefully whatever suggestions scholars may kindly communicate to me on any of the many points raised by the inscription.



## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE VRKṢĀYURVEDA OF PARĀŚARA

By NITYENDRA NATH SIRCAR

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The present article is an attempt to bring to the notice of the botanical world and of the Indologists the discovery of a long lost but much referred to manuscript on Botany in Ancient India, namely, the Vrkṣāyurveda of Parāśara. The Kauṭilya Arthasastra, the Agni and other Puranas, the Bṛhatsamhita and the Sukranīti amongst others, have each a chapter on some aspects of this Veda. The Vātsāyana Kāmasūtra includes the Vrkṣāyurveda amongst the 64 *kalās* or arts developed in India. But so long the search for a manuscript of this treatise remained unfruitful.

The author has come across a copy of the manuscript of the Vrkṣāyurveda of Parāśara.<sup>1</sup> Though the last portion of the said work dealing with the treatment of plant diseases (चिकित्सितकाण्ड) is not available, the main text gives us an idea of the development of the botanical science in Ancient India long before the Christian era. It is astonishing that at so remote a period such a well-developed science grew to outdid the time.

Parāśara who was a contemporary of Agniveśa<sup>2</sup> wrote or compiled this treatise on the Science of Plants and Plant-life at the request of the Ṛsis assembled at a conference (vide *infra*) 'to give an account of the herbs and plants that were beneficial to the mankind'. This treatise was evidently made the basis of botanical teaching preparatory to pharmaceutical studies in ancient days as Botany in modern times. As an illustration may be cited the test which the celebrated Jivaka had to pass at the final examination at the University of Taxila for his efficiency in medicine. He was in course of the examination asked to 'collect, describe, identify and fully

<sup>1</sup> The original manuscript was discovered by the author's father, the late Vaidyasastrī Jogendranath Visagratna of Navadwip, Bengal, who became a great scholar in Parasarian Botany by its application in actual Nature Study. A copy of the said manuscript with a Bengali translation of a portion done by him is in the possession of the present author who intends to publish the entire manuscript with notes, emendations, etc. in the form of a monograph.

<sup>2</sup> As regards the identity of Parāśara and his time we need not enter into any lengthy discussion on the ground that the same can be easily established from the following:—

अग्निवेशश्च भेलश्च जतुकर्ष-पराशरः ।

चारोतः चारपाणिश्च जगद्धन्मनेर्वचः ॥

C.S., Sutrasthana, ch. i.

And if the chronology of Charaka can be fixed somewhere in the pre-Buddhistic era (see History of Hindu Chemistry, by P. C. Roy, Vol. I, p. xv), then evidently the time of Parāśara can also be further pushed back. Parāśara was one of the six disciples of Ātreya, and compiled the Vrkṣāyurveda for the benefit of the students of medicine which in the time of Charaka and his predecessors was mostly confined to the study of drugs of vegetable origin.

describe the properties of plants that were to be found within four *yojanas* of the University town', and this Jivaka did to the entire satisfaction of his teacher.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite obvious that with the extinction of ancient Indian Universities and Seats of Learning, the knowledge compiled in manuscripts, and the teaching based on these manuscripts conveyed from generation to generation became mutilated, scrappy, destroyed and finally forgotten in many cases. There is no doubt that Charaka, Suśruta and other authors of the Ayurvedic Pharmacopœias have followed the Botany of Parāśara in naming the plants and herbs that have been mentioned in their works. For each vegetable drug they adopted three kinds of synonyms, viz. (1) synonyms with botanical significance (परिचयसाधिका संज्ञा), (2) synonyms with therapeutic index (गुणप्रकाशिका संज्ञा), and (3) synonyms associated with the names of habitats or special events. Without, therefore, a knowledge of the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* botanical synonyms of plants used in these Vaidyaka treatises cannot be properly interpreted and identified in many cases, and that is why it is not possible for one in these days to become conversant with the identities of the vegetable drugs of Indian Pharmacopœias. An illustration will, the author hopes, clear the point. *Kurchapuṣpakam* is a synonym of *Puṣkaramulam*,<sup>2</sup> a reputed drug having high therapeutic values and of classical importance as a perfume and fumigatory. This synonym has got a botanical significance helping the identification of the drug *puṣkaramula*. According to Parāśara, *Kurchapuṣpakam* means a typical flower with all the characteristics of the family Compositae.<sup>3</sup> But to one who is not versed in the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* this synonym will appear as nothing but a name, and that will not help him in identifying the drug which is the chief aim for using it.

At the present moment an attempt is being made by the universities and other institutions to compose scientific works in Indian vernaculars. With the discovery of the manuscript the author hopes that so far as the botanical terms are concerned, those used in it being in Sanskrit language may be adopted for the whole of India. Scientifically these terms appear to the author very accurate and appropriate. The importance of the discovery of this manuscript can also be stressed from another point of view, namely, pharmacognosical. The National Government has paid due attention to the revival of indigenous system of medicine, and its realization, which

<sup>1</sup> Preface to B. C. Sen Gupta's *Vanausadhi-darpan*, Vol. I, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> The drug *Puṣkaramūla* was not correctly identified till an article on it was published by the author (*vide Ind. Jour. Phar.*, IV, No. 2, B.H.U.). In this connection it may be mentioned here that a careful perscrutation into the existing literature on Indian Medicinal plants has revealed to the author numerous instances of misidentification which evidently misguide or confuse the workers interested in pharmacological and therapeutic studies of the indigenous medicinal plants. The author has already brought to light several instances of misidentification along with their proper identification in the light of the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* (*Sc. and Culture*, vii, pp. 120-22, 1941; *Ind. Jour. Phar.*, iv, Nos. 2, 3, 4 and Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3).

<sup>3</sup> The definition of *Kurchapuṣpakam* is given in the Appendix with annotation and interpretation. In this connection another very pertinent example can be cited here. In the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* Section of the *Agnipurāṇa Kuraṇṭa* (*Barleria cristata* Linn.) is given as an example whose propagation is carried out by means of *abhrabīja* (अभ्रबीज). To understand what is meant by *abhrabīja* we are to take the help of the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* where we find: प्रकृत्या परिपक्वे शुष्के वा येभ्यः समुद्भूत दूरे बीजानि निपतन्ति तानि फलानि नामनशाभ्रबीजफलानि भवन्ति यथा कुरपट्टादयश्चेति—*Vṛkṣāyurveda*, Bījotpattikāṇḍa, Phalāṅga Sūtridhyāya. It means explosive fruits, and *Barleria* has explosive fruits.

invariably commends a scientific approach to the problem, necessitates proper identification of vegetable drugs.<sup>1</sup>

In the following pages is given a brief account of the contents of the manuscript with a list of technical terms with their English equivalents in the Appendix I. A fuller and exhaustive studies of the entire work will come out in proper form elsewhere in due course.

### CONTENTS OF THE VṚKṢĀYURVEDA

The whole work is divided into *six* parts:—

1. Bijotpattikāṇḍa ( बीजोत्पत्तिकाण्डः ).
2. Vanaspatikāṇḍa ( वनस्पतिकाण्डः ).
3. Vānaspatyakāṇḍa ( वागस्पत्यकाण्डः ).
4. Vīrudhavallikāṇḍa ( वीरुधवल्लिकाण्डः ).
5. Gulmakṣupakāṇḍa ( गुल्मक्षुपकाण्डः ).
6. Chikitsitakāṇḍa ( चिकित्सितकाण्डः ).

The first part, the Bijotpattikāṇḍa, is again subdivided into *eight* chapters, viz.:

1. Bijotpattisūtrīyādhyāya ( बीजोत्पत्तिसूत्रीयाध्यायः )
2. Bhūmivargādhyāya ( भूमिवर्गाध्यायः )
3. Vanavargādhyāya ( वनवर्गाध्यायः )
4. Vṛkṣāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya ( वृक्षाङ्गसूत्रीयाध्यायः )
5. Puṣpāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya ( पुष्पाङ्गसूत्रीयाध्यायः )
6. Phalāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya ( फलाङ्गसूत्रीयाध्यायः )
7. Aṣṭāṅgasūtrīyādhyāya ( अष्टाङ्गसूत्रीयाध्यायः )
8. Dvigaṇīyādhyāya ( द्विगणीयाध्यायः )

In the first chapter is narrated the genesis of the Science. It is said that in the Chaitraratha Forest ( चैत्ररथवनम् ) the Ṛṣis headed by Bharadvāja assembled in a Conference and asked Mahārṣi Parāśara to give an account of the herbs and plants that were beneficial to the mankind. Being thus requested Parāśara addressed the Congregation in the following words: 'Today I will narrate before you the Vṛkṣāyurveda, a subsidiary branch of the Atharvaveda, which is a direct revelation of Brahma.<sup>2</sup> O Ṛṣis, please give ear to it.' Thus preluded the subject-matter of the Vṛkṣāyurveda, or

<sup>1</sup> The reader is referred to an article of the author entitled 'Identification of Indigenous Drugs' in *Ind. Jour. Phar.*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1943, to have a thorough idea as to the importance of the ancient Hindu Botany in the field of identification of indigenous medicinal plants.

<sup>2</sup> Text—

वने चैत्ररथे रम्ये समेताः पुण्यकर्मणः ॥ १  
भरद्वाजादयः सर्वे ये चान्ये मुनिसत्तमाः ।  
ज्ञातुमिच्छन्तः पप्रच्छुः पराशरं महर्षयः ॥  
इष्टेन मुनिभिः सर्वैः पराशरोऽब्रवीत्ततः ।  
अथवागं प्रवक्ष्यामि ब्रह्मोक्तं वृक्षवैद्यकम् ॥

the Science of Plants and Plant-life, was told to the assemblage in *sūtras* (सूत्र, i.e. in synopsis).

In dealing with the subject-matter of this chapter Parāśara started with the genesis of the first organic body (आदिबीजम्) in the following śloka: आपो हि कललं भुत्वा यत् पिण्डस्थानुकं भवेत् तदेवं शुद्धमागत्वात् बीजत्वमधिगच्छति | which may be translated thus: water transforms into a *jelly-like substance* (कललम्), in which a *nucleus* (पिण्डस्थानुकम्) is formed, which in course of time *being regulated by terrestrial energies* (शुद्धमागत्वात्) is converted into a *germ* (बीजत्वम्).<sup>1</sup> Here we find a clue to the answer of the longstanding problem, namely, the origin of the first organic body, the protoplasm containing a nucleus (life) on the earth. That the same question was also in the minds of the ancients is further supported by the fact that references to this very problem are found in the non-scientific texts, such as, the Vedas, Upaniṣads, etc.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this translation the words in italics are the rendering of the Sanskrit words by Vaidyasastri J. N. Sircar, the discoverer of the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> (i) आपरव कललोभूतं भवति पिण्डं तदा सञ्जायते etc.

(ii) अपामधिदैवतः सोमेन स्निषमानी रसो यदा पिण्डं सम्पद्यते । शरीरोपनिषद् ।

In all these references water must not be taken as pure water but water with other dissolved salts in it. The view of the ancients that water is at the root of the creation of the organic world when explained in the scientific light assertively advocate the doctrine that the Organic World is purely of inorganic origin. Building up of a complex organic compound like protoplasm from simpler inorganic constituents, i.e. water with other elements dissolved in it, requires energy. This energy requirement may be supplied from various sources of physical energies, viz. heat, light, electricity, magnetism, etc. pervading the Earth. We know that water itself is capable of being ionized and of inducing ionization of dissolved substances to set up chemical reactions, and has high specific heat and heat of vaporization. So it further furnishes itself with a source of energy for the transformation of simpler inorganic substances into an organic body. Then there is the time factor which playing upon synthesis and resynthesis, oxidation and reduction, etc. must have some influence in bringing over this transformation. Again when we find things quite inorganic in nature, as for example calcium carbonate crystals in plant cells being produced by an organic body then why the analogy will not be there that things organic may also be produced from inorganic origin. As a matter of fact there is no differentiation in the properties of the constituent elements of an organic and inorganic substance. Modern science has shown the world the preparation of many organic substances from inorganic and *vice versa*.

One may raise the question that protoplasm is not merely an organic body but it has certain other distinct properties for which it is called a living matter. The question is quite pertinent. Creation of life means attributing certain properties which are dynamic in all its aspects (i.e. growth, movement, response to stimuli, etc.) to the matter peculiar to it but to none else, that is solely responsible for this dynamic aspects which we call 'life'. If any day scientists can make a matter exact in composition to protoplasm then that thing will also have the characteristics of life, and that will be nothing but protoplasm. Science tells us that protoplasm is a most complex unstable substance whose exact composition in the living state is not known. In the universe all stable substances are static. Dynamic nature of the matter is nothing but the different phases of its unsteadiness while passing through various changes. Likewise the protoplasm which undergoes various changes throughout its life-cycle, and the result of these sum total changes which we may call the manifestation of life factor of matter must be unstable. It is the property of matter ingrained in it which is responsible for such functions.

So we may sum up our views by saying that protoplasm is nothing but an organized colloidal system of matter (कललोभूतम्) quite possible to be formed out of inorganic matter, i.e. water with other dissolved substances in it, and in that case the transformation being effected by various energy factors playing upon it, the final finish is being attained with certain dynamic properties which we call 'life'. This is exactly what Parāśara said with regard to the origin of the *ādibījam*.

In the Vṛkṣāyurveda cotyledons are termed *bijamāṭrkā* (बीजमाटका) and seeds having two cotyledons, *dvimāṭrkabīja* (दिमाटकबीज) and one cotyledon, *ekamāṭrkabīja* (एकमाटकबीज). These two terms are used in the description of the seedlings when they come out with one or two cotyledons (leaves) respectively. By the term *bijamāṭrkā* Parāśara really means endosperm in the seed (बीजमाटका तु बीजशयम्), and the first leaf, or the *ādibījapatra* (cotyledon) is enclosed by it (बीजमाटकायामध्यस्थमादिपत्रम्). As in the animate world the mother supplies food materials and nourishment to the embryo, likewise the cotyledons do for the embryonic plant while in the seed and early stages of germination. So from the function of the cotyledons which is primarily concerned with the nursing and feeding of the embryonic plant the term *bijamāṭrkā* appears quite scientific and significant as the term *pādapa* for the plant in general (see footnote No. 1 in page 130 for the text).

Parāśara then discoursed upon the morphology of plant members (वृक्षाङ्गानि), viz. *patram* (leaves), *puṣpam* (flowers), *phalam* (fruits), *mūlam* (roots), *tvak* (cortex including vascular bundles), *kāṇḍam* (stem), *sāram* (heartwood), *svaram* (sap), *niryās* (excretions), *kaṇṭakam* (spines and prickles), *bījam* (seeds) and *praroḥam* (shoots). He also remarked that from the resemblances and differences in the characters of these plant members the classification of plants were possible. (See footnote No. 1 in p. 132.)

The second chapter, Bhūmivargādhyāya, deals with the soil. It is mentioned here that the adaptability or growing capacity of a plant depends upon the nature and properties of the soil.

In the third chapter, Vanavargādhyāya, names, descriptions and distributions of forests in India are given. They are: Chaitraratha-vanam, kālaka-vanam, kirāta-vanam, pañchanada-vanam, prāchya-vanam, vedikā-rusaka-vanam, āngireya-vanam, kaliṅgaka-vanam, dāsārṇaka-vanam, aparānta-vanam, saurāṣṭra-vanam, etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text:

वनं चैवरथं रम्यं मानससरःशोभितम् ॥  
ततश्च प्रतीचिदेशे कालकं वनमुच्यते ॥  
प्राग्देशे किरातश्चैव क्लादिनीशोभिते स्थितम् ॥  
अथमेतत् महारण्यं चिमाद्रिशिखराश्रितम् ॥  
सिन्धुसागरसंगमात् चिमालयकृतावधि ॥  
कालकृरे कुषचेवे वनं पाञ्चनदं स्मृतम् ॥  
गंगासंगमप्रयागचिमाद्रिनाच्च मध्यतः ।  
वनं प्राचमिति ज्ञेयं मध्यं परिकीर्तितम् ॥  
विपुरकोशलादौ च वेदिकावपकं वनम् ॥  
उत्कले वंगे चांगिरेयं वनं स्मृतम् ॥  
विन्ध्याद्रिषिचक्रुटाद्रि कलिगं द्राविडाश्रितम् ।  
वनं कालिङ्गकं ज्ञेयं समुद्रावधि कीर्त्यते ॥  
औशैले वेदशैले च मलयाद्रौ तथैव च ।  
गन्धसारी भवेत् यत्र द्वाशायकं तदुच्यते ॥  
चण्डाद्रिभृगुकान्तमपरान्तं वनं स्मृतम् ॥

[Contd. on next page.]



The fourth chapter, *Vṛkṣāṅgasūtriyādhyāya*, deals in sūtras the morphology of plants. Leaves have been dealt with more elaborately both as to their morphology and physiology. It seems quite surprising that Parāśara knew that the green leaves took up air, heat, light and some colorific principles for the healthy growth of the plant (पञ्चाग्निं तु वातातपरस्त्रकानि चभिष्टुङ्गन्ति).<sup>1</sup>

The insertion of leaves (हन्तवन्धनम्) and the phyllotaxis (पञ्चबन्धनम्) with definitions and descriptions of various types have been dealt with very exhaustively. Different form of leaves according to their shape have been named after articles of common use, or after the names of common animals, or their particular limbs, such as, *juhaparna* (जुहपर्ण)—leaves (blades) having the shape of a laddle used in ancient Vedic rites of offering ghee to the sacred fire, e.g., leaves of Banyan; *mandukaparna* for the leaves of *Hydrocotyle asiatica*, and so on.

According to the nature of venation (सिरासन्निवेश)<sup>2</sup> leaves have been classified into two groups, viz.: (1) *mouñja-parṇa* (मौञ्जपर्ण) in which the veins are stated to run more or less parallel to one another, and the venation is called *praguna* (प्रगुण), i.e. parallel; and (2) *jālika-parṇa* (जालिकपर्ण) in which the veins are arranged reticulately, and the venation is termed *vellita* (वेक्षित), i.e. reticulate. Parāśara says that *praguna* and *vellita* venations are characteristic features of the monocotyledons (एकमादकबीज), and dicotyledons (द्विमादकबीज) respectively.

The fifth chapter, *Puṣpāṅgasūtriyādhyāya*, deals with the flower and its different organs and their functions. According to the formation of the *sthālakam* (thalamus) and its relations with the insertions of the floral leaves, particularly of the *bījādhāram* (gynæceum) flowers have been classified into four distinct types under the headings: *Puṣpamaṇḍala*. They are:

अवन्धां दारवत्यां च सौराष्ट्रवनमुच्यते ॥  
 एवमुक्तानि वनानि प्रकृत्या स्थानभेदतः ॥  
 एतैर्भूम्यनुभावेऽस्तु दृष्ट्या च प्रकृतिर्भवेत् ।  
 यथार्तुकास्तु वैगुण्यात्तदेव चान्यथा स्मृता ॥

( दः आः, बीः काः )

<sup>1</sup> According to Hindu concept all colorific matter (रज्जक, वर्णात्मक पदार्थ) is *taijasik* (तैजसिक), i.e. pertaining to solar energy (see also footnote 3 in p. 131.)

औष्ण्यं वर्णं पचन्नेति तैजसात्मकानि । १४ ॥

( बीः काः, द्विः गः चः )

<sup>2</sup> Texts:

पञ्चसिरा तु पञ्चे रेखांक्रितेन दृष्टवती रसवद्वा च । पञ्चे सिराणां सन्निवेशं द्विविधं भवति ।  
 प्रगुणं वेक्षितम् । तत्र प्रगुणसृज्जगमेष यत् संस्थानम् । वेक्षितम् तु वज्रोण वा संकुलेन जातवत्  
 यत् संस्थानम् । प्रगुणेन मौञ्जपर्णं वेक्षितेन तु जालिकपर्णं संस्थाप्यते ॥

( दः आः, बीः काः )

अस्तु दृष्टदृष्ट्याः मौञ्जपर्णैकमादकं चंश्रुकं फलवत्फलं च भवति ।

दः आः, वनः काण्ड, दृष्टवर्गाध्याय ।

*tundapuspamaṇḍala*, *kumbhapuspamaṇḍala*, *tuṅgapuspamaṇḍala*, and *vāṭyapuspamaṇḍala*.<sup>1</sup>

Flowers of *tundapuspamaṇḍala* are typical inasmuch as they are being formed of stamens, petals and sepals placed below the gynæceum, and the flower is described as *puspakrānta-bījādhāra*, equivalent to the hypogynous flower.

Flowers of *kumbhapuspamaṇḍala* are similarly formed of sepals, petals and stamens inserted on the gynæceum and the flower is described as *puspaśirṣaka-bījādhāra*, i.e. epigynous flower. In *tuṅgapuspamaṇḍala* the gynæceum is formed in the middle of the thalamus disc (कुण्डल्यालक), and the stamens, petals and sepals surround the rim of the thalamus, and the flower is called *sthālakotsaṅga*, i.e. perigynous flower. The fourth type *vāṭyapuspamaṇḍala*, is a special type quite different from the foregoing. In this type the stamens unite in a tube which fuses with the bases of the petals at the junction of the ovary and the style as it were an organ whose likeness may be compared with an *ulukhala* (उलुखल), a kind of wooden rice husking implement, to cover the ovary, and obviously the stamens here appear inserted on the latter (पुष्पशीर्षक). Flowers of the Malvaceae family are given as examples of this type. Parāśara named the whole family of Malvaceae on this character alone and named the family *Vāṭyāpuspagana*.

Besides the above four types which are based on the position of the gynæceum in relation to the thalamus and other floral organs, there are two more types based on the formation of the corolla, viz. (1) *kundapuspamaṇḍala*, and (2) *miśrapuspamaṇḍala*. Flowers of *Ipomoeia speciosa* are given as examples of the former.

The sixth chapter, *Phalāṅgasūtriyādhyāya*, deals with fruits. Definition, function and classification of fruits according to their manifold peculiarities of form and structure have been discussed quite elaborately in this chapter.

In the seventh chapter, *Aṣṭāṅgasūtriyādhyāya*, the description of roots, stems, cortex, heartwood, sap or juice, excretions, oleaginous products (जेलम्) and spines and prickles, known collectively as *aṣṭāṅga* (eight plant products) have been described quite exhaustively.

The eighth chapter or the last chapter of the *Bijotpattikanda*, the *Dviganīyasutriyādhyāya*, deals with the seeds and the embryonic plants (प्ररोहम्). Seeds have been classified according to the number of cotyledons into two groups, namely, *ekamātrkabīja* (seeds having one cotyledon,

#### 1 Texts:

अथ बीजाधारखण्डेन पुष्पमण्डलं चतुर्विधं भवति । तदाद्या तुन्दमण्डलं कुक्षमण्डलं तुंगमण्डलं वाय्वमण्डलञ्चेति । तत्र तुन्दमण्डलगण्ठीयस्य दलकेशराद्य बीजाधारनिम्ने सन्निविष्टं भवति तस्मात् पुष्पक्रान्तबीजाधारो भवति । कुक्षमण्डलगण्ठीयस्य दलकेशरास्तु बीजाधारशीर्षे सन्निविष्टं भवति तस्मात् पुष्पशीर्षबीजाधारो भवति । एतदेव युक्तमुक्तद्वयाभ्यान् द्विविधम् । तुंगमण्डलगण्ठीयस्य कुण्डल्यालकस्योपरि जालकदलीत्वंगकेशरैश्च दलमण्डलेन वराटं संवेष्टयेत् बीजाधारश्च खालकोत्संगं भवति । वाय्वमण्डलगण्ठीयस्य बीजाधारवराटकयोः संगमे तुलुखल-सदृशसंघतदलकेशरैश्च मलकाकारैश्च बीजाधारमावृतं भवति तस्माद्दराटोत्संगकेशराद्य भवति चैव संघतबीजाधारश्चेति ।

(टः आः, बीः काः पुष्पांगसूत्रीभाष्ये)

monocotyledonous), and *dvimātrkābīja* (with two cotyledons, dicotyledonous). The seedlings grown out of these seeds have also been described.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact the whole of the Bijotpattikanda is devoted to imparting a thorough knowledge regarding the general descriptive terms and their meanings, more precisely a chapter on descriptive botany, required for the general study of the life history of a plant, from germination up to its seed formation.

### HISTOLOGY OF THE LEAF

It is a matter of great interest that Parāśara did not fail to discourse upon the anatomy and physiology of green leaves in his *Vṛkṣāyurveda*. This sets one to serious thinking that in those days there must have existed some instrumental help that made it possible the study of the histology and physiology of plants.<sup>2</sup>

In describing the internal structure of the leaf, Parāśara says that there are innumerable cells (रसकोष) in a leaf. They serve as the store-house of the sap (रसस्याश्रय आधाररस) that has got all the elementary properties (पाञ्चभौतिकगुणः) derived from the earth (and brought to the leaves). These cells which contain colorific principles (रञ्जकयुक्तम्), i.e. chlorophyll, have got cell-wall (कलावेष्टितेन) and are of microscopic size (अणवस्य). The cell-wall is a fine membrane (सूक्ष्मपत्रका)<sup>3</sup> transformed from

<sup>1</sup> Text :

(i) सलु बीजमाटकाभेदेन प्ररोहद्विविधं भवति । एकमाटकं हिमाटकश्च । तत्रैकमाटक-प्ररोहानां प्ररोहे एकपत्रं भवति । हिमाटकप्ररोहानाम् द्विपत्रम् ।

(ii) Bijamātrkā, Definition of—

बीजमाटका तु बीजशय्यम् । बीजपत्रम् बीजमाटकायां मध्यस्थमादिपत्रम् । माटकावदसु तनुपत्रकवत् माटकाश्चादस्य कञ्चुकमित्याचक्षते ॥

बीजम् प्रकृत्या द्विविधं भवति । एकमाटकं हिमाटकश्च । तत्रैकपत्रप्ररोहानां दृष्ट्या बीजमेकमाटकं भवति । द्विपत्रप्ररोहानाम् द्विमाटकश्च ।

Bijamātrkā, Function of—

चक्रुरनिर्दृष्टे बीजमाटकाया रसः संभवते प्ररोहनिष्ठः । तेनैव रसेन प्ररोहः सिद्ध्यते वर्धते च यावन्मूलं न स्वतन्त्रवृत्तिः स्यात् ॥ यदा प्ररोहः स्वातन्त्र्येन भूम्याः पार्थिवरसं गृह्णाति तदा बीजमाटका प्रशीयमापद्यते ।

(हः आः, बीः काः, द्विबीयाध्याय)

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Ravivarma thinks that Charaka and his colleagues must have had some means of magnifying considerably to make invisible objects visible to the naked eye, in short some form of a microscope. Without such an aid, he asks, how could they have described the blood corpuscles? Charaka's description of the *krimis* of blood also signifies that they had some means of magnification. He says that *krimis* arise from blood (शोणितजानाम्), are found in blood-vessels (स्थानं रक्तवाहिन्यो धमन्यः), are unicellular structures (अणवः), circular or disc like (दृष्टाः), without feet (अपादाः), invisible on account of extreme fineness (सूक्ष्मत्वाच्चैके भवन्त्यदृश्याः), of coppery colour (वर्षास्त्राः). Charaka Samhita, Viman., ch. vii, sl. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Text :

(i) पत्रे रसकोषसु रसस्याश्रयः आधाररसः । सलु दृष्टपत्रे रसकोषस्त्वपरिसंख्येयाः सन्ति । ते कलावेष्टितेन पाञ्चभौतिकगुणसमन्वितस्य रसस्याश्रयश्च । यव रञ्जकयुक्तमणवश्च । कला तु सूक्ष्मापत्रका या भूतोष्मापाविना कलसादुपजायते । आशयोऽधारश्चेति । [हः आः]

protoplasmic substance (कषलादुपजायते) by the terrestrial energies (भूतोष्णापाचिता) acting upon it.

For the transport of the watery substances through the body of the plant there are vascular systems (सर्वस्रोतांसि). Of these transporting systems the one that carries the *rasa* (rasavahasrota—transpiration current) from the earth (पृथिव्या) to various plant members is called *syandani*<sup>1</sup> (स्यन्दनी), and the one that distributes it in the leaf *śirājālāni* (सिराजालानि). Through this transporting system plants get nutrition, and growth becomes possible. These vascular systems have got both upward and downward routes (सिराभिश्चोपसर्पयन्ति अपसर्पयन्ति च).<sup>2</sup>

#### FUNCTION OF THE LEAF

The watery substance derived from the earth (पार्थिवरसः) is being transported from the roots to the leaves by the *syandanis*. There it is being digested with the help of chlorophyll (रङ्गकेन पच्यमानात्) into nutritive substances and by-products (मलम्). The latter while excreted is being attended with the production of heat. The end product of the whole process is utilized for the growth and development of the plant.<sup>3</sup>

#### CLASSIFICATION OF PLANTS<sup>4</sup>

A few typical examples of Parasarian Classification of Plants (गणविभाग) into Families are given here for a comparative study with modern classification. It will be seen that the key-note of this classification is based upon the study of comparative morphology of plants particularly

(ii) पत्राणि तु वातातपरङ्गकानि अभिष्टकानि [टः आः]।

(Physiological) (टः आः)

*Patraka* literally means the fine membranous sheath of garlic bulbs—a commentary by the discoverer of the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> *Syandani*, etymologically स्यन्दने अनेन स्यन्दनम् means *ratha* (a chariot—conveyance). The root *syanda* indicates *gati*, movement.

<sup>2</sup> Text:

तत्र दृष्ट्वा सर्वास्रोतांसि स्यन्दनी सिराजालानि निषङ्गानि भवन्ति । एतेषां स्रोतसां रसवद्-स्रोतोभिः स्यन्दनीभिर्बुद्धात् पृथिव्या स्यन्दमाना रसाः संभवन्ते दृष्टांशेषु । तस्मात् दृष्ट्वाः सन्तर्पयन्ते वर्धयन्ते च । एव सिराभिश्चोपसर्पयन्ति अपसर्पयन्ति च भावाभावा ।

<sup>3</sup> Text:

ततो मूलैश्च पार्थिवरसः स्यन्दनीभिः संभवते पत्रेषु । तत्र रङ्गकेन पच्यमानात् यत्कलं निगच्छति तमुष्मा भवति । ततः पुच्छन्ति पच्यमानात् सूक्ष्मरसादस्य सर्वांगानि ।

Cp. *Mahabharata*, Vanaparva, iii, where the importance of the Sun in the preparation of food by plants is clearly indicated. See also Santiparva, ch. 184, for an exposition of the elaborate processes by which plants absorb, transport and assimilate food.

—Majumdar, Vanaspati, pp. 31-32 (Calcutta University Publication).

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* mentions the power of raising up of water and its circulation in the body as one of the fundamental properties of living plants. (See Vanaspati, by Majumdar.)

<sup>4</sup> For Texts, see Appendix I.

of the floral characters, their resemblances and differences.<sup>1</sup> Only six families with their diagnostic characters are mentioned here.

### 1. Samīgaṇīyam (समीगणीयम्)

(Family—*Leguminosae*)

Flowers of Samīgaṇa are generally hypogynous (पुष्पक्रान्तबीजाधार) with five free petals of different sizes and a gamosepalous calyx; androecium of ten stamens. The fruit *simbiphalam* (सिम्बिफलम्), i.e. the legume, is formed of ripened ovary with seeds arranged on a side (पार्श्वबीजा). The whole family is subdivided into three sub-families on the basis of floral characters into those with *Vakra-puṣpam*, *Vikarnika-puṣpam* and *Suka-puṣpam*.

Parāśara mentions *Samīrkṣa* as a plant that bears *simbiphalam*,<sup>2</sup> i.e. a legume or pod; he describes the plant as having leaves borne on a common stalk, i.e. rachis (माङ्गि), such leaves being called *simbiparṇa* (सिम्बिपर्ण), a compound leaf, the leaf-lets arranged on the rachis like a feather (पुंखपर्ण), i.e. pinnate; flowers open by day (रविक्रान्ता) as opposed to *chandrakāntā*. These plants grow in *Jāngala* region where the soil contains less water. Then he gives the following characters of the three sub-families:

1. *Vakra-puṣpam*.—Flowers hypogynous (तुन्दमण्डल), petals and stamens are of unequal numbers, gamosepalous calyx of 5 sepals, petals 5, irregular in size (विषमदल) obliquely inserted, free; stamens 10, 9 united, 1 free; fruits are *simbiphalam*, having seeds on one side of the fruit (पार्श्वबीजसमन्वितम्). Cp. *Papilionaceae*.
2. *Vikarnika-puṣpam*.—Flowers hypogynous, petals and stamens of unequal numbers, sepals 5, gamosepalous, petals free but irregular, all the 10 stamens are free, rarely 5; fruit, *simbiphalam*. Cp. *Caesalpineae*.
3. *Suka-puṣpam*.—Flowers with hairy petals and stamens. Cp. *Mimosoideae*.

### 2. Puplikagaṇīyam (पुप्लिकगणीयम्)

(Family—*Rutaceae*)

Distinguishing characters of this family are: Petals and stamens are free and unequal in number (विषमदल), flowers hypogynous (तुन्दमण्डल), sepals and petals 5 in number each, stamens numerous, anther inserted by its end (किङ्कलकप्रान्तयन्त्रिकम्), pistil multilocular (विभक्तवराटकम्), fruit wall entire (अखण्डफलवल्कलम्), i.e. indehiscent, the fruit is formed of

<sup>1</sup> Text:

अग्रेष्टैश्च दृष्टवज्जीगुल्मानां साधर्म्यं वैषम्यं तुल्यातुल्यप्रकृतिमभिसन्नीक्ष्य गणविभागमुपदेक्ष्यामः  
एः आः, बीः काः, दृष्टांग ।

<sup>2</sup> *Simbiphalam* is thus defined: पार्श्वबीजैः सन्निवृत्तः । आदीर्घेन द्विपार्श्वेन सन्निवृत्तः सिम्बिफलकम् । It means that the fruit has got seeds arranged on the side where the two wings meet, i.e. along the ventral suture: आदीर्घेन द्विपार्श्वेन सन्निवृत्तम् ।

multilocular superior ovary (पुष्पक्रान्तफलम्) The flesh (फलशस्यम्) consists of hairy succulent bodies (शस्यश्च केशरनिभम्) constituting into numerous divisible cells (वज्रपुञ्जिकैः विभक्तम्), the latter contain many seeds in them. Flowering time is spring (मङ्गरो माघवोद्भवा).

Plants of this family have got spines (किलकम्), odoriferous leaves (गन्धपर्णानाम्), and winged petioles (दन्तपक्ष). The family is subdivided into two groups on the variety of fruits they bear, viz. (1) *keśarakam* (केशरकम्), and (2) *māduraphalam* (मालुरफलम्). The flesh of the former is composed of hairy succulent bodies (केशरनिभम्), and the latter has got thick pulpy flesh (फलशस्यश्च संहतश्च घनम्). All citrus fruits belong to the former group, and Vilva (*Aegle marmelos*) and Kapittha (*Feronia elephantum*), to the latter group.

### 3. Svastikāgaṇīyam (स्वस्तिकागणौयम्)

(Family—Cruciferae)

Flowers with superior ovary (तुन्दमण्डल), inflorescence is formed of flowers arranged in rows (पंक्तिक्रमेण). The calyx (जालक) which is caducous (पुष्पान्त) looks like a *svastikā* (hence the name of the family) and consists of free sepals, corolla of 4 free petals, stamens are free and 6 in number, 2 of them shorter (द्वौ खर्वकेशरौ). The two carpels are united to form into a two locular fruit (द्विपटम्). The fruit wall is sutured and looks like a leguminous fruit (सदृशं समिपलेन सन्धितम् फलवल्कलम्).

### 4. Tripuṣagaṇīyam (त्रिपुषगणौयम्)

(Family—Cucurbitaceae)

Flowers are epigynous (कुम्भमण्डल); flowers are sometimes unisexual (निष्कलपुष्पम्) borne on inflorescence of different kinds (मिश्रवल्लरिका), and sometimes formed in the axils of leaves; sepals 5, petals 5, united; stamens 3 in number, style with three heads (त्रिशोर्षवराटेन), i.e. stigma 3; ovary trilocular (त्रिवर्तकैः) with three rows of ovules (त्रिपुष्पैः) which develop into innumerable seeds.

### 5. Mallikāgaṇīyam (मल्लिकागणौयम्)

(Family—Apocynaceae)

In this family the inflorescence is of mixed type (संकुल मङ्गरि); leaves are usually opposite and decussate (अरापक्ष पंक्तिदन्ता) like spokes of a wheel; latex present (सक्षीरा); flowers are hermaphrodite (समांगा), calyx and corolla both united; and 5 in number each; stamens 5, epipetalous (अव्यक्तकेशर); carpels 2, united (वराटद्वययुक्ता). The fruit is a follicle of

two chambers ( युग्मफला ) which dehisces longitudinally ( व्यासोटा ). The seeds have got tufts of long fine hairs ( तुण्डपुष्पसमन्विता ).

## 6. Kurchapuspaganiyam ( कुर्चपुष्पगणीयम् )

(Family—Compositae)

Flowers are sessile ( दृढं नास्ति ) and assembled on a typical common mother axis or receptacle ( कुण्डस्यालक ), and are being surrounded by a common calyx ( involucre—एकजालकेन वेष्टितानि ). This special type of the assemblage of flowers looks like bristles on a brush head ( कुर्चाकार ), hence called Kurchapuspakam ( कुर्चपुष्पकम् ). The flowers of this family have got inferior ovary ( पुष्पशीर्षकबीजाधार ).

### CONCLUSIONS

We now close this note with the hope that when the whole work is edited, translated and published, and reviewed with no bias that sways the mind for attaching any undue importance to anything ancient, it will excite the admiration for the author of the Vṛkṣāyurveda who could compose such a great work at such a remote antiquity far distant from the era of the birth of the present day scientific world.

A short glossary of the important technical terms used in this manuscript with their English equivalents is appended at the end of this article.<sup>1</sup>

### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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### APPENDIX I

*Sanskrit texts of Families cited in the Appendix*

समीगणीयम् = Leguminosae.

समी तु तुन्दमण्डला विषमविदला क्षुता ।

पञ्चसुतदलेखेव युक्तजालककर्णितैः ॥

दशभिः केशरैर्विद्यात् समिपुष्पस्य लक्षणम् ।

समी सिम्पिफला ज्ञेया पार्श्वबीजा भवेत् च सा ॥

वक्रां विकर्षिकपुष्पं प्रकाशपुष्पमेव च ।

एतैश्च पुष्पभेदैस्तु भिद्यन्ते समिजातयः ॥

( बीः काः, पुष्पांगसूचीयाध्यायः )

अथातः समिवर्गाध्यायं व्याख्यास्याम इत्याह पराशरः ।

समिष्टज्ञानं प्रवक्ष्यामि येषां सिम्पिफलं भवेत् ।

सिम्पिपर्षं कश्चित्तेषां पुंश्वपरे तथैव च ॥

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

माडिपर्थं भवेच्चैव रविकान्मा सभिः स्मृता ।  
 इमे तु समिष्टाश्च प्रायशो जांगलोद्भवाः ॥  
 समीमां त्रिविधो भेदो यदुक्तं पुष्पसूत्रौवे ।  
 दृष्टान्तेन समुद्दिष्टमिह यत् यस्य लक्षणम् ॥  
 वक्रपुष्पं विकर्षिकं च शूकपुष्पं च यदुभवेत् ।  
 तदेव वर्गभेदेन त्विहानु वक्ष्ये दृश्यम् ॥

वक्रपुष्पम् = *Papilionatae*.

वक्रपुष्पं भवेत्तत्र विषमतुन्दमण्डलम् ।  
 जालकं युक्तकर्णं च पञ्च भवति तत्र वै ॥  
 विषमदलसंस्थानं वक्रोऽप्यं पञ्चकर्णं भवेत् ।  
 दलान्तु भवति युक्तं केशरदशभिस्तथा ॥  
 तेषाम् नवयुक्तं च भवति पुष्पमण्डले ।  
 सिन्धुफलं भवेत्तत्र पार्श्वबौजं समन्वितम् ॥

(e.g. पलाश, चमस्य, जयन्ति, etc.)

विकर्षिकपुष्पम् = *Caesalpinioideae*.

विकर्षपुष्पमण्डलं विषमतुन्दसंज्ञितम् ।  
 जालकं भवति युक्तं पञ्चकर्णसमन्वितम् ॥  
 दलान्तु भवति युक्तं विषमकर्णसंस्थानैः ।  
 दशभिः केशरमुक्तैर्भवति पुष्पलक्षणम् ॥  
 पञ्चभिः केशरैः क्वचित् दृश्यते पुष्पमण्डलम् ।

(e.g. चारम्ब, काञ्चनार, etc.)

शूकपुष्पम् = *Mimosoideae*.

शूकाकारं भवेत् पुष्पं तस्मात् शूकसंज्ञितम् ।

(e.g. शिरिष, खदिर, etc.)

(वागस्यत्याकाण्ड ९ य चः)

पुष्पिकगणौघम् = *Rutaceae*.

पुष्पिकपुष्पगणौघे युक्तं च दलकेशरम् ।  
 विषमं तुन्दमण्डलं मञ्जरिमाधवौद्भवा ॥  
 जालकं पञ्च विज्ञेयं दलं चैव तथा भवेत् ।  
 केशरैर्बहुभिस्तैव किञ्चिदं प्रान्तप्रन्यिकम् ॥  
 विभक्तं वराटं चैव शीर्षेणु बज्जकर्णितम् ।  
 अक्षपदं फलवल्कलं शस्यं च केशरनिभम् ॥  
 पुष्पक्रान्तं फलं शस्यं विभक्तं बज्जपुष्पिकैः ।  
 दृश्यन्ते बज्जवौजाणि पुष्पिकान्तर्गतेन च ॥  
 यतानि लक्षणानि भवन्ति पुष्पमण्डले ॥

(वैः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रौघाध्याय)

कौलकगन्धपर्षाणां दृष्टाणामुपपन्नानाम् ।  
 दृश्यते पुष्पिकपुष्पं तेषां नाम विवक्ष्यते ॥  
 द्विविधं भवति भेदं फलभेदेन पुष्पिकम् ।  
 कस्याचित् फलशस्येन दृश्यते केशरनिभम् ॥



कक्षचित् फलमस्य च संवतं च वनं भवेत् ।  
 चाद्यं केशरकं ज्ञेयं द्वितीयं मासुरफलम् ।  
 मातुलुंगमागरं जम्बिरं निम्बुकादयः ।  
 भवन्ति पुष्पिकपुष्पं केशरकं फलं च तत् ।  
 मासुरं भवति विल्वः कपित्थश्च तथैव च ।  
 मातुलुंगं बीजपुरं प्रयुक्तं चास्य बीजकम् ।  
 मागरं मधुरं च सुरंगं सर्ववल्कलम् ।  
 जम्बिरं दन्तदर्पकं चात्यक्षं मुष्णशीथकम् ।  
 निम्बुकं चुद्रजम्बिरं सुगन्धं मुखरोचकम् ।  
 विल्वं च बीजकं प्रोक्तं मासुरं च मन्दाफलम् ।  
 विषयं गन्धपथं च गन्धफलं च शल्यकम् ।  
 कपित्थदधिफलं च मासुरं दुरभिच्छदः ॥

( वागस्यत्याकाण्ड, १२ अः )

खलिकागर्भोयम् = *Cruciferae*.

अथातः खलिकपुष्पं वक्ष्यामि सर्वलक्षणैः ।  
 खलिकं तुष्टमण्डलं वक्ष्यामि पंक्तिवन्धनम् ॥  
 जालकं खलिकाकारं पुष्पाणां मुक्तमेव च ।  
 चतुर्दलं च युक्तं च षड्युक्तकेशरान्वितम् ॥  
 तेषां द्वौ खर्वकेशरौ भवतः पुष्पमण्डले ।  
 युग्मं वराटकं युक्तं फलं च द्विपुटं भवेत् ॥  
 सदृशं समिफलेभ्यः सन्धितं फलवल्कलम् ।  
 एतच्च लक्षणैर्विद्यात् खलिकपुष्पमण्डलम् ॥

( वीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रोपाध्याय )

त्रिपुषगर्भोयम् = *Cucurbitaceae*.

ततश्च त्रिपुषपुष्पं वक्ष्यामि पूर्णलक्षणैः ।  
 त्रिपुषं कुक्षमण्डलं निष्कलं चापि दृश्यते ॥  
 प्रायशः कुक्षिपुष्पं च मिश्रवल्करिका क्वचित् ।  
 जालकं च दलं चैव युक्तं च पंच कर्णितम् ॥  
 त्रिशोर्बैलिभिः केशरैस्त्रिशोर्बराटेन च ।  
 त्रिभिः पुष्पैस्त्रिवर्तकैः पुष्पांश्चास्य विशिष्यते ॥  
 षडलप्रयुक्तबीजं दृश्यते त्रिपुषफले ।

( वीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रोपाध्याय )

मल्लिकागर्भोयम् = *Apocynaceae*.

मल्लिका कुक्षमण्डला संकुलापचमङ्गरिः ।  
 चरापचपंक्तिहस्ता समांगा सक्षीरा स्मृता ॥  
 जालकं यत्तु कर्षं च पंच भवति तत्र वै ।  
 पंचयुक्तदलं चैवाव्यक्तकेशरपंचभिः ॥  
 वराटद्वययुक्ता च युग्मफला भवेच्च सा ।  
 चास्योटा बडबीजा वा तुलपुष्पसमन्विता ॥

( वीः काः, पुष्पांगसूत्रोपाध्याय )

कुर्चपुष्पबीजम् = *Compositae*.

केषांश्चित् वक्षरिपुष्पाणां दन्तं नास्ति । तानि पुष्पाणि वक्ष्रानि खल्वेकजालकेन वेष्टितानि वक्ष्र्यां कुण्डल्यालकस्योपरि कुर्चाकारेण सन्निविष्टानि भवन्ति । एतानि वक्षरिपुष्पाणि कुर्चसंज्ञकानि । तेषां बीजाधारस्तु पुष्पशीर्षकं च भवति । एतदेव कुर्चपुष्पं संज्ञायते ।

( वीः काः, पुष्पांगसूचीयाध्याय )

## APPENDIX II

### Glossary of important Botanical Terms

आदिबीजम् .. ..	first organic body, germ
पिण्डस्थानुकम् .. ..	nucleus
प्ररोचम् .. ..	shoot
मूलम् .. ..	root
काण्डम् .. ..	stem
पत्रम्, पर्णम् .. ..	leaf
कुटुमम्, प्रसुमम्, पुष्पम्, .. ..	flower
फलम् .. ..	fruit
बीजम् .. ..	seed
( पत्र ) पत्रम् .. ..	wings or blade or lamina ; four kinds :
	1. समपत्र—two wings of the blade equal, symmetrical
	2. विषमपत्र—oblique, unequal wings, asymmetrical
	3. समकर्ण—symmetrically incised or lobed
	4. विषमकर्ण—asymmetrically incised or lobed
पत्रदन्त .. ..	petiole
दन्तपत्र .. ..	winged petiole
उपपत्र .. ..	stipule
प्रुष्ठपत्रिक पत्र .. ..	peltate leaf
प्रान्यग्रन्तिक पत्र .. ..	petiole attached to the base of the lamina
दन्तबन्धन .. ..	attachment of the petiole to the axis (stem)
दन्तहीन पत्र .. ..	sessile leaf
पत्रबन्धन .. ..	articulation of the petiole or rachis with blade
पत्रसिरा .. ..	veins of the leaf ( रसवहसिरा )
सिरासन्निवेश .. ..	venation ; two kinds :
	1. प्रगुण सन्निवेश—parallel venation
	2. वेक्षित सन्निवेश—reticulate venation
सौक्ष्मपर्ण .. ..	leaves with parallel venation
जालिकपर्ण .. ..	leaves with reticulate venation
माडि .. ..	rachis, common stalk of leaflets
विस्तार .. ..	tendrils
पट्टिका .. ..	sheath, characteristics of monocotyledons
शुंग .. ..	bud scale, falls off as the bud unfolds—as in Banyan ; from this character Banyan is known as <i>Sungt</i>
पुष्पपत्रम् .. ..	bract
कुटुमस्य, कलिका .. ..	flower bud

वह्नरि, मञ्जरि ..	..	Inflorescence; two groups:
		1. सशाखवह्नरि—cymose
		2. अशाखवह्नरौ—racemose.
		Eight kinds of inflorescence:
		1. पलाशवह्नरि—raceme
		2. पंक्तिमञ्जरौ—corymb
		3. खवकमञ्जरौ—cyme or head
		4. छवा—umbel
		5. पुच्छवह्नरौ—capitulum
		6. संकुल—compound or mixed inflorescence
		7. चोतुपुष्पिका—catkin
		8. अक्षमञ्जरौ—spadix
पुष्पदन्त ..	..	pedicel
स्थालक ..	..	thalamus
समंगपुष्प ..	..	regular flower
पुष्पशीर्षक बीजाधार ..	..	epigynous flower
स्थालकोत्संग पुष्पम् ..	..	perigynous flower
पुष्पक्रान्तबीजाधार ..	..	hypogynous flower
जालकम् ..	..	sepals; two kinds:
		1. युक्तजालक—gamosepalous
		2. युक्तजालक—polysepalous
पुष्पान्तजालक ..	..	caducous calyx
स्थिरजालक ..	..	persistent calyx, accompanies the fruit
दलम् ..	..	petals; four kinds:
		1. युक्तदलम्—polypetalous
		2. युक्तदल—gamosepalous
		3. केशरीकदल—epipetalous (stamen)
		4. खैरदल—free from stamen
समदलम् ..	..	petals—zygomorphic
विषमदलम् ..	..	petals—actinomorphic
केशरम् ..	..	stamens
परागम् ..	..	pollen grains
किञ्चुलकम् ..	..	anther; two kinds:
		1. प्रान्तसन्धितम्—innate and adnate
		2. दृढसन्धितम्—dorsifixed and versatile
बीजाधार ..	..	ovary; two kinds:
		1. सन्धित, विदर—apocarpus
		2. असन्धित, कुच—syncarpus
बीजाधारवर्तकम् ..	..	locule of the ovary; two kinds:
		1. एकवर्तकम्—unilocular
		2. बहुवर्तकम्—multilocular
बराटक ..	..	style
बराटकशीर्ष ..	..	stigma
सौष्टिक ..	..	spathe
सफलपुष्प ..	..	hermaphrodite flower

निष्कलपुष्प	..	..	unisexual flower; two kinds:
			1. मङ्गुपुष्प—staminate
			2. त्रौपुष्प—pistillate
फलवल्कलम्	..	..	pericarp (of a fruit)
एकमातृक बीज	..	..	monocotyledons
द्विमातृक बीज	..	..	dicotyledons
बीजशस्त्रम्, बीजमातृका	..	..	endosperm
आदिपत्र	..	..	cotyledon
त्वक्	..	..	cortex
स्यन्दनौ	..	..	vascular system
सारम्	..	..	heartwood
स्वरसम्	..	..	sap
रसकोष	..	..	cell, cellular unit of leaf structure
कला	..	..	cell wall
रञ्जक	..	..	chlorophyll
मलम्	..	..	by-product
गणविभाग	..	..	classification of plants



## REVIEW OF BOOKS

**BĀṄGLĀ NĀTAKER UTPATTI O KRAMAVIKĀSH.** By Prof. Manmatha Mohan Basu, M.A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1948. Pp. 266. Rs.7 only.

Prof. Manmatha Mohan Basu who was appointed Girishchandra Ghose Lecturer for 1941 by the University of Calcutta has published his lectures in the form of a book on the growth and development of Bengali drama. Prof. Basu's competency to deal with the subject is beyond question, because of his intimate and first-hand knowledge of Calcutta Public Theatres, and that also not long after their inception. Sometimes he had been actively associated with the stage, more actively than any other educationist or historian that we know of. All this has given him an insight into the theory and practice of the art, and he has, in course of eight chapters, dealt with the origin of drama, the characteristics of the Bengali variety, the development of the Bengali dramatic form, the establishment of public theatres in modern times, the age of Girishchandra, the innovations on the modern stage, rounding up with some suggestions as to how to improve it.

Prof. Basu has instituted a comparison, sustained throughout the book, between the European and the Indian drama, and he has tried to prove that the Indian drama precedes the European in point of time. It is not easy to understand why it should be found necessary at this time of the day to establish or demolish such theories; the proper attitude must be the readiness to wait till fresh facts come to light. The author has connected the Oryan culture to Dravidian, and described the building up of the stage as mainly due to the latter. Probably this was felt necessary to link up Bengali drama to the remote paste. We feel that it might have been better left to Sanskrit scholars and historians for a correct approach and assessment so far as the Bengali characteristics go. All that is suggested is that old Bengali plays have disappeared. Certainly, no theory can be built on plays that have disappeared.

So far as the first three chapters go, we regret we cannot find any new contribution to our existing knowledge of the subject. In the next chapter, we come across the growth and rise of Calcutta, Lebedeff and the establishment of Hindu College, the first half being taken up with the growth and development of drama in Greece and England. The original of Lebedeff's Bengali play is mentioned on page 75 as an English play called *The Disguise*. But has this English original been identified? Is that the real name of the play? Prof. Basu was quite justified in naming Prasanna Kumar, Devozio and Nabin Basu in this chapter when discussing the growth of the popularity for drama, but one wonders if the name given on page 75 as Nabin 'Chandra' Basu is quite correct. Even granting that the author was cramped for space, one fails to understand why Prof. Wilson and Principal Richardson's names have not been mentioned in connection with the popularization of the drama among students and their initiation into the mysteries of English drama. Madhusudan Datt's contribution has been, of course, mentioned, but its disappearance from the stage has not been explained.

Prof. Basu as a Girish Lecturer, has rightly devoted more space to Girishchandra than to any other individual writer, considering him with special reference to his knowledge of the stage-craft, to his philosophy of

life and to his language. But the same case has not been shown in respect of Girishchandra's successors. We are told Amritalal Basu wrote about '16 or 17' plays, and Dwijendralal wrote 'a few' *rangoter* plays like *viraha* (pp. 186, 208). Rabindranath Tagore has been dismissed in about 60 lines; considering the poet's direct and indirect influence on his contemporaries, even if his own output of dramatic literature is put aside, this is not justified. It is not a fact that in Bengal at any rate, if not in India, symbolic dramas are always 'caviare to the general'. In certain aspects, Rabindranath's plays and experiments on the dramatic form have a representative character, representing a changing attitude of the educated Bengali mind regarding drama, and they show, curiously enough, a tendency to swing back to our past traditions. In the concluding portion of the 7th chapter, Prof. Basu has mentioned the law regulating dramatic performances and criticized it too, recognizing its usefulness even today as a check against bad taste and communalism. One wonders why he did not mention how books like *Siraj-ud-doula* came to be proscribed, and how Dwijendralal's plays could not be shown on the stage since 1916 or 1917 to a large extent. It was not merely that the British Government was anti-national in its character, but the reactionary League Government in Bengal also was responsible for the deterioration.

In the last and concluding chapter, Prof. Basu discusses modern plays and means of their improvement. He has not, in this connection, mentioned Satu Sen and Prof. Sahid Suhrawardy who had returned to Bengal in the twenties of the present century with foreign experience and tried experiments in rebuilding the stage according to the spirit of modern times. Nor has Prof. Basu mentioned anywhere the services of Sachin Sengupta who has all through these years kept up the tradition of the Bengali drama. The modern play has also struck a new note in the works of Bidhayak Bhattacharyya, Manmatha Ray and Banaphul; it will not do to ignore them in a work on Bengali Drama which seeks to extend its scope to our times. The drama also finds its way to the A.I.R. programme, and consequently some institutional changes are expected to be reflected in our ideas of dramatic activity. Prof. Basu, while condemning the lack of all endeavour to harden the youthful mind to dramatic technique, forgets to note the attempts of Bimal Ghose, the organizer of 'Manimela', who has been active in creating a stage and writing plays which would be in tune with the youthful mind. No doubt Europe and America are far in advance of us in this respect, but it is only reasonable to take stock of what we have.

As regards the suggestion that the University of Calcutta should include histrionics as a branch of academic study, we feel that just now what the University wants is consolidation more than multiplication of its courses of study. Would it not be better to leave something for extra-curriculum activity?

There is one lapse which may be noted here. On p. 229 of the book Prof. Basu mentions that it was Mr. Flaming who first introduced the cinema to Bengal when he showed a silent film in 1902, only 400 ft. long. The date mentioned must have been a mistake, as the Royal Bioscope Company under the management of Hiralal Sen and Matilal Sen was registered by 1898.

Prof. Basu's book will be read with interest by a large number of readers who are sure to profit by the perusal of a work in which he has given proof of his scholarship and experience.

P. R. SEN.

**A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL TOWARDS THE STUDY  
OF BUDDHISM: 1788-1949**

*By SIBADAS CHAUDHURI, Deputy Librarian, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*

(Communicated by S. K. Saraswati)

**I. INTRODUCTION**

Sir William Jones, a newly appointed Puisne Judge of the old Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal, landed at Calcutta in September, 1783. During his long voyage from England to India while on the Arabian Sea a train of reflections on the 'eventful histories and agreeable fictions of the Eastern World' crossed his mind and these reflections of a master of several oriental languages took shape in the institution, on the 15th January, 1784, of the Asiatic Society to investigate within the geographical limits of Asia whatever is performed by man or produced by nature. In the inaugural address delivered by Sir William Jones on the occasion he chalked out the object of the Society as 'enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia' and it was agreed that 'in the infancy of the Society there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expense, no unnecessary formality.' It was decided to have weekly meetings for the purpose of hearing original papers read on such subjects as fall within the Society's enquiries and to invite all curious and learned men to send their valuable tracts to the Secretary for publication as *Asiatick Miscellany* towards the end of each year.

During the first few years, however, no such publications could be taken in hand. The Society having no funds of its own at the time Mr. Manuel Cantopher of the Hon. E.I. Co.'s Printing Office undertook such a publication as a private speculation and the first volume was brought out in 1788 under the title *Asiatick Researches*, instead of what the founder had contemplated. By 1797 five volumes came out and were warmly received in the literary world. They made such a name and fame that editions of it were brought out in different countries of Europe, including a pirated edition in England in 1798. The reception which the first five volumes met with induced the Society to bring out the AR on its own account from 1798. In 1829 it was decided to divide the AR into two parts: one for scientific and the other for literary communications and the plan was carried out in Vol. 17 (1832) to Vol. 20 (1839). This publication ceased after the 20th volume in 1839 and the Society formally dropped it in 1842.

The form of the AR was not suitable for short but interesting and learned communications on new and important discoveries and ideas which

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**Abbreviations used :**

- AR—*Asiatick Researches*
- BI—*Bibliotheca Indica*
- I—*Introducing India (I)*
- J—*Journal*
- M—*Memoirs*
- Mon.—*Monographs*
- P—*Proceedings*.



were necessarily left out. For a time these found a place in the *Quarterly Oriental Journal*, started in 1821 by Dr. H. H. Wilson, and in the *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society*. Both the publications were, however, dropped in 1827.

Capt. J. D. Herbert's monthly journal, *Gleanings in Science*, which appeared in 1829, superseded the above two Journals. The Society gained the privilege of having the précis of its monthly proceedings, which had heretofore been preserved in manuscripts, regularly published in this Journal.

In 1830 when Capt. Herbert left Calcutta, James Prinsep took up the responsibility to continue to get out the publication in a new character and under a new name, *The Journal of the Asiatic Society*. The sanction sought for was given on the March 7, 1832, and the first issue of the Journal appeared in March, 1832, under the title of *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Thus in its new character, it became the organ 'to give publicity to such oriental matter as the antiquarian, the linguist, the traveller and the naturalist may glean, in the ample field open to their industry in this part of the world (i.e. Asia), and as far as means would permit, to the progress of the various sciences at home, especially such as are connected in any way with Asia'. (J.-1832-Preface.)

The Government conceded the privilege of franking through the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies and Ceylon (J-I-IX), in consideration of the publication of Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton's *Statistics of Bengal* as an appendix to it. The Journal was given gratis to members for the first two years.

The frequency and regularity of its publication was a great advantage and many papers, otherwise reserved for the AR, were diverted to this Journal. Thus de facto recognition was accorded to it as an organ of the Society, which was ultimately to supersede the AR. James Prinsep left Calcutta in 1838. It was in the conduct of this Journal that the amiable and good qualities of the man were most apparent, and of most benefit to the public. His own labours were the grand stay, the glory, and the honour of the Journal. After his retirement the situation came to such a pass that at the close of 1842 the AR had to be finally dropped and the JASB was officially taken over by the Society.

The Council appointed a Sub-Committee in 1905, to consider the style, paper and design of the Society's Publication. The Committee recommended 'the establishment of a quarto publication for the larger memoirs, the residue of small papers can be conveniently published in a single Journal styled the "Journal & Proceedings" of the Society' and also 'To facilitate the system of publishing papers, and to avoid the delay often caused by reference to Council, in accordance with the standing regulations, the Committee recommended that all arrangements with regard to the publication of papers be made by a standing Publication Committee, composed of the Editors of the J. & P. and that this Committee be given the powers now resting with Council, except when the publication of a paper involves expenditure beyond the sanctioned grant.' The recommendation of the Sub-Committee was accepted. (J. & P. 1905.)

#### PROCEEDINGS

Ever since the inaugural meeting held on January 15, 1784, the records of every meeting are being regularly kept and these manuscript proceedings constitute invaluable documents for the history of the Society. With the institution of the Journal in 1832 précis of the proceedings were included

in the Journal and before that in the *Gleanings in Science* which started in 1829.

In 1865 the *Proceedings* was separated from the body of the *Journal* to contain the précis of the Society's Proceedings and short notes. At that time it was also decided, as was done in the case of AR in 1829, to divide the *Journal* into two distinct parts: Letters and Science.

From 1832 to date this *Journal* had passed two stages of its career, and entered its third in 1935.

1st Ser.: *Journal*: Vols. 1-74: 1832-1904.

*Proceedings*: Vols. 1-40: 1865-1904.

2nd (New) Ser.: J. & P.: Vols. 1-30: 1905-34.

3rd Ser.: J. (Letters) } Vols. 1-: 1935-.

(Science) }

Year Book: Vols. 1-: 1935-.

#### ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS

The first scheme came from the Brethren of the Baptist Mission at Serampore for publication of Series of Sanskrit works with translations. It was considered in 1806 (P.—May 15, 1806) by the Committee of Papers and the aid and patronage were extended to the missionaries for a single work, the translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (P.—July 3, 1805). On October 7, 1807, the text of *Sāṅkhyā* was also selected. But the patronage was withdrawn after the publication of the first three volumes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the idea was abandoned.

On July 2, 1806, the society considered a scheme prepared by Sir James Mackintosh, the President of the Literary Society of Bombay, for regular publication of Sanskrit texts and it was resolved to 'publish from time to time, as their funds will admit of it, in volumes distinct from the AR, translation of short works in the Sanskrit and other Asiatic languages, or extracts and descriptive accounts of books of greater length in those languages, which may be offered to the Society and appear deserving of publication.....and the series of vols. be entitled *Bibliotheca Asiatica*, or a Descriptive Catalogue of Asiatic Books, with extracts and translations'.

But the resolution was not given effect to beyond the aid granted to private individuals for oriental publications.

In the year 1835 the Government prohibited the publication of any oriental works at the expense of the fund, which had been set apart under the Charter Act of 1813 to be applied in part to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India. It was further directed that the printing of the whole of the Oriental Works<sup>1</sup> then in progress under the auspices of the General Committee of Public Instruction with the two exceptions, i.e. (i) *Fatāwa Alamgiri*, and (ii) a treatise on spherical Trigonometry (Arabic), should be immediately suspended, and printed sheets be sold as 'waste paper'.

There was a lengthy discussion in the Society on the 6th May, 1835, as to the propriety of the measure—'so unjust, unpopular and impolitic an act, which was not far outdone by the destruction of the Alexandrine Library itself'. A Special Committee was appointed with Mr. W. H. Macnaughten, Dr. W. H. Mill, Mr. James Prinsep, and Late Ram

<sup>1</sup> (i) *Mahābhārata*. (ii) *Rājataranginī*. (iii) *Naishada*. (iv) *Sausruta*. (v) *Sarīra-vidyā*. (vi) *Fatāwa Alamgiri*. (vii) *Ināya*. (viii) *Khāzānat ul Ilm*. (ix) *Jawāme ul Ilm ul Riāzi*. (x) *Anis ul Musharrahin*. (xi) A Treatise on Algebra (in Arabic).

Kamal Sen to draw up an urgent memorial, avoiding to the utmost all controversial points. The draft memorial begging that the obnoxious order might be rescinded, was adopted *nem con* after certain improvements and was transmitted to the Governor-General in Council under the signature of the President Sir Edward Ryan.

The Government declined to accede to the Society's request, but offered to make over all the unfinished oriental works to the Asiatick Society 'willing to complete them at their own expense'. With the reply of the Government the pleasing dream had now vanished. However, the Society decided to accept the offer and proceed to complete them<sup>1</sup> proposing at the same time to undertake the publication of a fresh series as soon as this part of their task was accomplished. A Committee was also appointed to draw up a memorial adopting the most conciliatory and most effectual means of attaining the end, to the Court of Directors and Board of Control. It was forwarded to the Court of Directors through the local Government, in which the Society expressed their assurance that if the Court deemed it 'inexpedient to alter the appropriation of the Parliamentary Fund, which the local Government had determined upon, they would desire some other means of continuing that encouragement to the cause of Asiatic literature which reflected honour on the hand that dispensed it', and the memorial proceeds to ask for 'pecuniary aid in the expense of publishing standard and useful works in Oriental literature.'

The co-operation and patronage of European Literary Associations and friends of Oriental Literatures which were also invited, were also extended to the Society.

Prof. H. H. Wilson, then the London Agent of Society, succeeded to prevail upon the Court of Directors to concede to the prayer under certain conditions to recommend to the Government of India to appropriate funds to the preparation and publication of works on instruction in the Eastern Languages. The Fund was placed at the disposal of the Society (P.-1838-June).

But the grant thus received could not be judiciously spent in conformity with the intentions and encouragement of the Court of Directors due to the conspicuous absence of James Prinsep due to ill health which compelled him to leave for a change. But death cut him away from this world leaving his mission unfinished.

#### BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

In 1847 a Committee was appointed to devise ways and means to carry out the Court of Director's wishes as to the publication of the Veda. The recommendation was sketched in a judicious minute by Mr. J. W. Laidley (December, 1847), to start a monthly serial Journal under the title *Bibliotheca Indica* and the work was taken in hand at the beginning of 1848. The Editorship of the project was entrusted to Dr. E. Roer on a salary of Rs. 100 p.m., whose principal duty was to supply English translation of the works already taken in hand.

But the project fell through before the 4 fasciculi of the Samhitā of the Rg-Veda could be published, as the news arrived that the Court of Directors had decided to get them done by Dr. Max Müller and Dr. H. H. Wilson.

At the close of 1850, the Council appointed a Sub-committee to report the expediency of introducing further changes into the management of the

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<sup>1</sup> The works abandoned were all completed with the exception of (i) Śāriravidyā and (ii) treatise on Algebra.

publications, and acted on the recommendation 'to abolish the post of the chief editor, remuneration of editors according to the nature of the work done, and no work should be printed without so much critical apparatus as is necessary for giving an account of the MSS. made use of, their authority and age, etc., and a résumé of the contents of the volume (J-XIX-629)'. It gave a fillip to the distinguished scholars Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidya-sagar, Dr. A. Sprenger, and J. R. Ballantyne, and several valuable works were taken in hand. But for the limited resources at the disposal of the Society, it became necessary to put a stop to the publication of the series after five years in order to pay off arrears.

Adverting to the excess of expenditure over income, the Court of Directors remarked: 'This augmented activity and enhanced expense arise especially from the great impulse given to the publications of Mohammedan literature and the Arabic language. . . . when we authorised the appropriation of a special grant to the encouragement of Indian literature, we had in view especially the literature of the Hindus, although we do not propose to exclude Mohammedan literature of local origin or interest; but we certainly did not contemplate a voluminous and costly publication . . . of the literature of Arabia and not at all that of India.

We, therefore, direct that the encouragement of such works be hereafter withheld. The publication that have been commenced may be completed.' (P.—May, August, 1856).

Similar communications were received from Dr. Wilson giving strictures upon the choice of works selected for the BI—which is becoming more of a *Bibliotheca Arabica*, than a *Bibliotheca Indica*, inconsistent with the intention of the BI, which was to furnish scholars with books to read, not to provide students with the means of learning to read them.' (August 17, 1855.)

Henceforth the Society acted upon the principles outlined by the Court of Directors. The grant for publication was now divided into two distinct parts: (i) Semitic works, and (ii) Sanskritic works. In 1868 Mr. W. Stokes, then Legal Member of the Supreme Council, who, while accepting the propriety of it, remarked that, in view of the vast extent and paramount importance of Sanskrit literature, and the little that has yet been done towards its preservation, the amount devoted to it was very small, and recommended it to be doubled. The Government approved of his suggestion and an additional amount of Rs.250 p.m. was exclusively granted for Sanskrit works.

On October 5, 1803, the Society mooted the idea 'to bring to light the treasures of Sanskrit lore buried in private libraries or collection in India.' A memorial was submitted to the Government on July 1, 1807. But the Society had to wait the arrival of the Government of Lord Lawrence who took up the idea warmly and acted upon the recommendations of Mr. W. Stokes. Thus the dream of the Society 'to furnish to the literary world as much information as is needed in particular branches of Indian knowledge', was fulfilled in the copy of the 'Notices of Sanskrit MSS. (In 15 Vols.) edited by R. L. Mitra, and H. P. Sastri'.

The Society did not only limit its efforts for the publication of Oriental works, scientific and literary works taken in hand in India always found ready support from the Society.

During the last 162 years (1788–1949), the Society fulfilled the desire of the illustrious founder of the Society and contributed to the advancement of knowledge with reference to the East, particularly India. The publications of the Society have established a reputation and the Society has hitherto admirably accomplished the purpose for which it was set on foot.

The section may be concluded with the appropriate comments made by the founder, Sir W. Jones: 'It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science, in different parts of Asia, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to Asiatic Society at Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.'

In the following pages will be found a complete up-to-date inventory of the publications of the Society bearing on the different aspects of Buddhist culture, religion, and philosophy.

Since the foundation of the Society, papers relating to the religion, culture and history of Buddhism have been published by the Society. Really interesting, illuminating and informative lectures by scholars of repute on Buddhism have been delivered in the Society and many of these have been recorded in the Journal and Proceedings of the Society.

This bibliography of the papers published by the Society between 1788-1949 has been prepared to enable the research workers and scholars to find out at a glance what treasures this Society possesses in this section.

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### 3. *Ballantyne (JR).*—tr.

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### 4. *Banerji (AC').*

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#### 5. Identification of Four Jātakas at Bhāraut.

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<sup>1</sup> Clue to the References and their arrangements.

J or AR or M	Volume (Part)	Year of Publication	Page
BI or Mon	Work number	Year of Publication	
P or I	Year of Publication	Page	

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8-9. *Beames (J)*.

8. The Alti Hills in Cuttack.

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J-XLI(i)-1872—7.

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23. *Carnac (HR).*

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J-XLIX-1880—138.

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# KIRĀTA-JANA-KṚTI

## THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS :

### THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF INDIA

By DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

(Received May 4th, 1950)

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## KIRĀTĀVADĀNA-NĀMĀNI

## AN INDO-MONGOLOID ROLL OF HONOUR

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4. Kumāradevi, Licchavi Princess, Queen of Chandra-gupta I, c. 450. A.D.
5. Māna-deva, Licchavi King of Nepal, c. 496 A.D.
6. Arṣu-varman of Nepal, c. 640 A.D.
7. King Aramuḍi of Nepal, c. 680 A.D.
8. The Nepal (Newār) Buddhist Scholars—Ratna-Kīrti, Vairocana, Kanaka-śrī, Pham-ruthin, Jñāna-vajra, 10th-11th centuries A.D.
9. Jayasthiti-malla, Newār King of Nepal, 1380–1394 A.D.
10. Jyotir-malla, Son of Jayasthiti-malla, d. 1428 A.D.
11. Siddhi-narasimha malla, King of Pātan, Builder of Krishna-temple at Pātan, distinguished ruler, 1620–1657 (?) A.D.
12. Jagajjyotir-malla, King of Bhātgāon, Patron of Arts and Letters, c. 1625
13. Bhūpatiendra-malla of Bhātgāon, Patron of Arts and Letters and Architecture, 1687–1721 A.D.
14. Rāṇa-malla of Kāthmāṇḍo, c. 1500 A.D.
15. Amara-malla, Son of Ratna-malla, Patron of History and the Dance, c. 1510 A.D.
16. Mahēndra-malla of Kāthmāṇḍo, c. 1560 A.D.
17. Lakṣmi-narasimha-malla of Kāthmāṇḍo, c. 1595 A.D.
18. Bhīma malla, Minister of Lakṣmi-narasimha-malla
19. Pratāpa-malla of Kathmāṇḍo, his Queens Rūpamati and Rājamati, 1639–1689 A.D.
20. Yoganarēndra-malla of Pātan, c. 1680–1700 A.D.
21. Bhāskara-varman, Kumāra, Bhāskara-dyuti of Kāmarūpa, c. 640 A.D.
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30. Su-hung-mung Svarga-Nārāyaṇa, Ahom King, 1497–1539
31. Momai Tamuli Barbarua, Ahom Minister of Su-hung-mung Dihingia Raja, c. 1530 A.D.
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33. Su-seug-pha Pratāpa-Simha, Ahom King, 1603–1641 A.D.
34. Lāchit Barphukan, Ahom General, c. 1670
35. Gadādhara Simha Su-pat-pha, Ahom King, 1681–1696 A.D.
36. Jayamati Kuwārī, wife of Gadādhara Simha, c. 1670 A.D.
37. Rudra-Simha Su-khrung-pha, Ahom King, 1696–1714 A.D.
38. Detsung, King of Kachar, c. 1530 A.D.
39. Viśva-Simha of Koch Bihar, c. 1520 A.D.
40. Nara-nārāyaṇa Simha of Koch Bihar, c. 1556 A.D.
41. Śukla-dhvaḥ (Ilā Rāy, General, Brother of Nara-nārāyaṇa, c. 1550 A.D.
42. Hācongsā, Early Kachar King, ? Date unknown
43. Śatru-damana Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa, Kachar King
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45. King Dharma-māṇikya-deva of Tripurā, c. 1431–1462 A.D.
46. Comtāwū or Cantāi Durlabhēndra, Tripurā Priest and Historian, c. 1450 A.D.
47. King Dhanya-māṇikya-deva of Tripurā (his Queen Kamalā-devi), 1163–1515 A.D.
48. Caycāg, General of Dhanya-māṇikya, c. 1500 A.D.



49. Rasāṅga-mardana Nārāyaṇa, General of Dhanya-māṇikyā, c. 1500 A.D.
50. Vijaya-māṇikyā-deva, King of Tripura, 1529-1570 A.D.
51. Amara māṇikyā-deva, King of Tripura, 1597-1611 A.D.
52. Pakhangba, Manipur Hero King, c. 100 A.D.
53. Khamba, Meithei Hero, and Princess Thoibi of Manipur, c. 1140 A.D.
54. Kiyamba, Manipur King, c. 1500 A.D.
55. Khagamba, Manipur King, c. 1680 A.D.
56. Pamheiba, Gopāl Siṃha, Gharīb-nawāz, Manipur King, 1709-1748 A.D.
57. Bhāgya-candra Jaya-siṃha Moramba, Manipur King, c. 1780 A.D.
58. Gambhira-siṃha, Manipur King, c. 1830 A.D.
59. Parvata-rāy, Jaintia King, c. 1500 A.D.
60. Rāma-siṃha, Jaintia King, c. 1500 A.D.

## 1. INDIA AS A MEETING PLACE OF RACES, LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Rabindranath Tagore, in one of his great poems, has sung of India as the Ocean where Humanity in all its diversity has merged and united. He says:<sup>1</sup> 'No one knows at whose call so many streams of men flowed in resistless tides from places unknown and were lost in one sea: here Aryan and non-Aryan, Dravidian, Chinese, the bands of the Sakas and Hunas, and Pathan and Mogul, have become combined in one body: the door to the West has also been opened, and they bring presents from there: they will give and they will take, they will unite and be united, and will never go away,—in this ocean-shore of the Great Humanity of Bhārata or India.' This poem, *Bhārata-tīrtha* or 'the Sacred Waters of India', sums up in noble poetic language the main trend of India's history in the past and of India's destiny in the future—how there has been a synthesis of races and cultures in the past leading to the creation and characterization of a composite Indian people and a composite Indian civilization, diverse in its origin but united in its ideals and aspirations—ideals and aspirations which are acceptable to all mankind; and how India looks forward to a still greater unification of all mankind, both within her shores and outside.

## 2. THE MANY RACIAL AND LINGUISTIC ELEMENTS BEHIND THE UNITY OF INDIA

As a matter of fact, from time immemorial peoples of different races and languages and cultures have come to India, and after an initial period of hostile contact in some cases, finally settled down for a peaceful comingling and cultural as well as racial fusion with their predecessors in the land. There have been occasional clashes of interests and ideals or of attitudes which are ultimately based on or linked up with the desire to wield power and control self—on the political and economic factors. But on the whole, after the bases of an Indian civilisation were laid some 3,000 years ago by the fusion of the culture-worlds of the speakers of the Austric, the Dravidian and the Aryan languages, there has been a continuous and a general enrichment of this civilisation and extension of it century by century through the arrival of later incomers. The Negrito or Negroid, the Proto-Australoid or Austric, the 'Dravidian', the 'Aryan', and the Mongoloid

<sup>1</sup> Kēha nāhi jāne, kār āhwāno kato mānuṣer dhārā  
 durvāra sroto olo kothā ha'te, samudro ha'lo hārā,  
 hothāy Āryya, hethū Anāryya, hothāy Drāviḍa, Cīn,  
 Śaka-Hūna-dal Pūthān-Mogāl ok dehe ha'lo līn.  
 paścim āji khuliyāc he dwār, sethā ha'te sabe āne upahār,  
 dibo ār nibo, milābo milibe, jābe nā phire—  
 e:Bhārater mahā-mānaver sāgara-tīre.

peoples of pre-historic times started the trend or movement of Indian history which was taken up by the Assyrian and the Elamite invaders, by the Mede and the Persian, the Macedonian and the Greek, the Syrian and the Phoenician, the Śakas and the Kushana, the later Iranians, the Huns and the early Turks, the Islamised Arabs, the later Islamised Turks and Iranians, the Afghans and the 'Moguls', and subsequently by the peoples of modern Europe—the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. All these have contributed to the formation of the great body of Humanity that is India, forming a fifth of the human race, and to the creation of a mentality and a culture to which nearly half of mankind owes allegiance or from which it finds inspiration. An Indian person, who has a right perception of his country's past and its achievement and heritage, which are derived from so many races and nations and mentalities and cultures which are all stamped with the stamp of India, cannot but feel that he is more truly cosmopolitan or international than representatives of most other peoples.

### 3. 'UNITY IN DIVERSITY'—THE BASIC CHARACTER OF INDIAN CULTURE AS A COMPOSITE

The *Unity in Diversity* that is so characteristic of Indian civilisation presents as its own consequence a *Harmony of Contrasts*—the harmony being based more or less on the following matters: a sense of Unity of all Life as the expression of an Unseen Reality which is both immanent and transcendent; a Desire for Synthesis, to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an Essential Unity; a rigid Adherence to the Intellect, while seeking to harmonise it in the higher plane with Emotion, with Intuition and with Mystic Perception; a Recognition of the Sufferings and Sorrows of Life, and an Attempt to go to the Root Causes of these Sufferings and Sorrows, a Feeling for the Sacredness of all Life; and, above all, a great Tolerance for all other Beliefs and Points of View. The higher thought of Hinduism in its three forms of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism; the later expressions of Indian religion like Sikhism and the various sectarian faiths; the Sufi form of Islam as it developed in India, after taking shape in Mesopotamia and Iran and Central Asia; besides Zoroastrianism as it was established in India; and Indian Christianity in some of its aspects: these, showing the highest expressions of the human spirit through the medium of Sanskrit and other Aryan languages of India, through Tamil and other Dravidian speeches, through Persian, embody this underlying harmony.

The intermingling of different races and cultures, which took place in varying proportions and under special local conditions in the different areas of India, gave rise to certain composite types with more or less common characteristics. There are also extreme types representing the original races surviving in their purer forms where this racial fusion or mixture could not be thorough or far-reaching—sometimes owing to the lateness of contacts. But nevertheless, whether in the more or less purely 'Dravidian' area of Travancore or Cochin, or the Mongoloid (Newar) tract of the valley of Nepal, or in the Islamised, i.e., Iranian and Arabistic surroundings of Lahore and Haidarabad, there is present in a subtle form the atmosphere of a common Indian spirit which is difficult to miss when we look below the surface and which is absent elsewhere, outside India and outside the lands which in ancient and early medieval times formed part of a Greater India, like Ceylon (which is really a province of India in population and language and culture), Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, and Bali.

#### 4. FORMATION OF AN INDIAN PEOPLE WITH ITS SANSKRIT OR SANSKRITIC CULTURE

The thing which expresses this atmosphere of Pan-India is the Sanskrit language or a language derived from or connected with Sanskrit. Indian Culture is, in fact, *Sanskrit Culture*, or *Sanskritic Culture*. It is expressed either through Sanskrit—directly; or indirectly through Modern Indian languages of Aryan, Dravidian, Austric or Sino-Tibetan origin; or even through a highly Persianised Sanskritic language like Urdu, the Muslim form of Hindi, which may outwardly or formally ignore Sanskrit and the Sanskritic heritage.

Sanskrit in its origin is an Aryan or Indo-European language, as we all know. But in its evolution on the soil of India, the non-Aryan peoples had a share in its development—in determining its tendencies and its history, helping to change its phonetics and its grammar and to modify and add to its vocabulary. It was thus a joint product of both Aryan and non-Aryan, so that it could become by 500 B.C. the most natural vehicle of a composite Indian—Aryan-non-Aryan—culture.

#### 5. PROGRESSIVE 'SANSKRITISATION' OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN INDIA

The subsequent history of civilisation in India is the expansion and elaboration of this Sanskrit culture and its slow but inevitable acceptance by all the various peoples of India. And this went on hand in hand with the spread of Sanskrit or Indian culture in lands outside India (Ceylon; Afghanistan and Eastern Iran; Central Asia or Serindia; Tibet, Mongolia; Indo-China including Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Cochin China; Malaya and Indonesia, which were lands of a *Greater India*; as well as China and its cultural dependencies Korea, Japan and Viet-nam). The progressive Sanskritisation of the various pre-Aryan or non-Aryan peoples in their culture, their outlook and their ways of life, forms the keynote of India through the ages. And in the course of this 'Sanskritisation' the affected peoples also brought their own spiritual and material *milieus* to bear upon the Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture which they were adopting, and thus helped to modify and to enrich it in their own circles.

This 'Sanskritisation' would appear to have been opposed by the advent of a militant Islam and an aggressive Christianity in some parts of India. But in spite of an occasional set-back, the heaven has never been inactive.

#### 6. THE AUSTRIC AND DRAVIDIAN ELEMENTS: RESTRICTED AREA AND INFLUENCE OF THE MONGOLOID ELEMENT

The peoples speaking Austric and Dravidian languages, through their interaction with those of Aryan speech, laid the foundations of this 'Sanskrit' or Ancient Hindu culture of India. Austric and Dravidian elements in Indian culture have been to some extent studied, and these studies are still being carried on by competent scholars. But there has never been an attempt at a general appraisal of the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan elements in Indian culture. One of the reasons has been the rather restricted area in India over which the Mongoloid elements were at work. While the speakers of Austric and Dravidian appear to have spread over the greater part of India, the Sino-Tibetan speaking Mongoloids were confined only to a part of India, namely its Northern and North-eastern tracts, corresponding to the present-day Nepal (particularly its centre and east) North Bihar, North Bengal, East Bengal, and, above all, Assam.

A study of the Mongoloid contribution to the development of history and culture in Eastern India (including Nepal) will certainly be regarded as an important aspect of Indology, and it has its own fascination also; and such a study is sure to reveal important aspects of Indian civilisation in some of its regions of expansion, aspects which may not be noticeable elsewhere.

#### 7. RÉSUMÉ OF THE RACIAL ELEMENTS IN INDIA

In a study of the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan impact on the composite culture of Hinduism in India and of its repercussions on Eastern Indian history, a brief *résumé* of the racial elements in the Indian people and of the racial history of India will be a helpful preliminary.

So far as the racial bases of the population of India have been analysed, the presence of 'six main races, with nine sub-types' has been postulated. These are (*vide* B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population*, No. 22 in 'Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs', 1944, p. 8)—

1. The Negrito.
2. The Proto-Australoid.
3. The Mongoloid, consisting of—
  - (i) The Palaeo-Mongoloids of (a) the long-headed, and (b) the broad-headed types.
  - (ii) The Tibeto-Mongoloids.
4. The Mediterranean, comprising—
  - (i) The Palaeo-Mediterranean,
  - (ii) The Mediterranean, and
  - (iii) The so-called 'Oriental' types.
5. The Western Brachycephals, consisting of—
  - (i) The Alpinoid,
  - (ii) The Dinaric, and
  - (iii) The Armenoid.
6. The Nordic.

So far, it has not yet been proved that any kind of man evolved on the soil of India—although it is not unlikely that man of a type still persisting, or, it may be, long extinct, may have originated from some kind of anthropoid ape and so may have been autochthonous to India; but we have no indication of it as yet. The chronological order of the entrance into India of peoples belonging to the races enumerated above appears to have been as indicated below.

#### 8. THE NEGRITOS OR NEGROIDS

First, we have in pre-historic times, the arrival of the Negritos, a dwarfish Negroid or Negro-like people, from Africa. These came to India through Arabia and the coast-lands of Iran, and they spread over the greater part of India, traces of them being found as far east as Eastern Assam among the Nagas, and remnants of them are found in South India among a few wild tribes. Negrito groups found their way into the Andaman Islands, where they are still found as a distinct people, and into Malaya Peninsula, and further to the east in Papua or New Guinea. The Negritos belonged to the eolithic stage of culture, and were food-gatherers rather than food-producers. They have to a large extent been absorbed by other peoples who followed them into India, particularly the Proto-Australoids. Their

culture was rudimentary, and their language has not survived on the soil of India. In the domain of culture, they probably had invented the bow, and evolved a cult of the *figus* tree, and formed some belief in an after-death path to paradise which was guarded by an avenging demon. This cult of the *figus* tree evidently was taken up by the subsequent races of India.

## 9. THE PROTO-AUSTRALOIDS : AUSTRIC PEOPLES

The next people to come to India after the Negritos would appear to be the Proto-Australoids—a medium-sized dolichocephalic race from the Eastern Mediterranean area, who arrived in India with a palaeolithic culture and who were food-gatherers like the Negritos, but they seem to have developed a characteristic culture in India, which included primitive agriculture with the digging stick and the hoe. In India they appear to have tamed the elephant for the first time. Totemism, and the earliest beginning of ideas which gave rise to the philosophical doctrine of transmigration and *karma* after the advent of the Aryans, were in all likelihood Proto-Australoid contributions. Very early branches of the Proto-Australoids passed out of India into Australia and Melanesia; and in India they appear to have spread over the entire country, mixing largely with the original Negritos. We are not certain about the kind of language which was in use among the Proto-Australoids, but it has been thought exceedingly likely that the speech-family known as the *Austrie* (i.e., the Southern Speech Family) was associated with the Proto-Australoids and their descendants. We might say that the Austric people, language and culture were later phases or developments of the Proto-Australoid people and their language and culture.

The *Austrie Languages* of the present day, under which come the Kol or Munda languages of Central and North-eastern India, and Khasi of Assam, as well as Nicobarese, fall into two main groups: (1) *Austro-Asiatic*, which covers a number of speeches current in India, Burma and Indo-China, i.e., the mainland of Southern and South-eastern Asia (the Kol or Munda speeches of India like Santali, Mundari, Ho, Korku, Savara, Gadaba, etc.; Nicobarese of the Nicobar Islands; Khasi of Assam; Paloung and Wa of Burma; Mon or Talaing of South Burma and South Siam; Khmer of Cambodia; Cham of Cochin China; Stieng, Bahnar and other speeches of Indo-China; and Sakai and Semang of Malaya); and (2) *Austronesian*, which includes (a) Indonesian—Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese, Sassak, the Celebes speeches, Tagalog and Visayan and other Philippine Islands speeches, and Malagasy of Madagascar; (b) Melanesian, in the islands of Melanesia, like the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Viti or Fiji, etc.; and (c) Polynesian—Samoan, Tongan, Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Marquesan, Maori of New Zealand, Hawaiian, etc.

The original Austric speech appears to have been characterised in India, and then it spread into Burma and Indo-China, the peninsula of Malaya and the Islands beyond, changing in the course of its migration involving so many centuries and so many thousands of miles and contact with various other peoples.

## 10. THE ANCIENT AUSTRICS OF INDIA: NISĀDAS (NISHADAS), ŚĀBARAS, PULINDAS, BHILLAS, KOLLAS

The Proto-Australoids of India, after they became modified into the Primitive Austric-speaking people, came in touch with the Aryans after these latter had invaded India in times posterior to 1500 B.C., and the

Aryans came to know them as *Niṣādas*, as *Śabaras* and as *Pulindas*, and in post-Christian times as *Bhillas* and *Kollas* (whence we have the modern Indo-Aryan names for Central Indian tribes of Austric origin—*Bhils* and *Kōls*). *Niṣāda*, or *Śabara-Pulinda*, or *Bhilla-Kolla* tribes gradually became Aryanised in speech in the Ganges Valley and elsewhere, and were fused with the Aryans and also with the Dravidians. The process is still continuing, in Chota Nagpur and elsewhere where Austric speakers are gradually abandoning their own speech for the Aryan—Oriya, or Bengali, or some form of Bihari, or Bundeli. In this way, with the change of speech and with racial admixture with Dravidian and Aryan speakers, these Austriacs became transformed into the masses of the Hindu or Indian people of North India. In India from the earliest times cultural assimilation went hand in hand with a large amount of racial fusion, people of the above mentioned races with various forms of Austric, Dravidian, and Aryan speech (as well as Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan speech in Himalayan and North-eastern India) intermarrying with each other—the stronger and better-organised later comers as was natural taking to wife the daughters of the weaker earlier peoples more often than giving their own daughters in marriage to the members of a backward or supposedly 'inferior' race.

#### 11. THE DRAVIDIAN SPEAKERS: 'DĀSA-DASYU': THEIR CONTRIBUTION

Next in order were the Mediterraneans in their three types, who in all likelihood spoke forms of a Primitive Dravidian speech, older than the Cen-tamiz or Old Tamil of 1500 to 2000 years ago by some 2 to 3 thousand years. The Dravidian-speaking people spread from Iran to India, and they were at first known to the Aryans by two names which appear to be related, in both Iran and India, viz. *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* (in Iran, these words changed to *Daha* and *Dahyu*). The remains of a magnificent city civilisation as at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro and elsewhere in South Panjab and Sindh, with brick buildings more than one story high and underground masonry drains, and with a system of writing passing on from the pictogrammatic to the syllabic and alphabetic stages, are probably to be ascribed to these Dravidian-speakers from the Mediterranean area. Some of the fundamental things in Brahmanical Hinduism, like worship of Śiva and Umā, of Viṣṇu and Śrī, and Yoga philosophy and practice, came from these Dravidian-speakers. The Aryan-speaking invaders later conquered these Dravidian-speakers in the Panjab and Upper Ganges Valley, and Aryan settlements took place for the first time in these tracts, and in Northern Rajputana. There appears to have been considerable settlement of Dravidian speakers in what was originally Austric terrain in the Ganges Valley. Large masses of Dravidian-speakers, like the Austriacs, adopted the Aryans' language, and in the process introduced a very large number of their own words into the Aryan language of their adoption. In this way we have an ever-increasing addition of Dravidian and Austric words to the stock of Aryan vocabulary, as we find in Sanskrit, in Prakrit and in the *Bhāṣā* on New Indo-Aryan languages of the present day.

#### 12. THE WESTERN BRACHYCEPHALS

The Western Brachycephals, a race of short or broad-headed people, came from the West, like the Mediterraneans and the Nordics (the true Aryans). We are not certain about either the time of their arrival or the kind of language they spoke. But it has been surmised that they came after the Mediterranean peoples ('Dravidians'), and possibly along

with the Nordics ('Aryans'). In language, they had probably adopted the Nordic (Aryan) speech even before they came to India: but we are not sure in this connexion. They are predominant in Gujarat, the Maratha country and Bengal. We can with the present stage of our knowledge consider them as members of the Aryan 'language-culture' group.

### 13. THE ARYAN-SPEAKING NORDICS: THEIR ADVENT INTO INDIA

The Nordics, the true 'Aryans', were the last people to enter India through her western gates in pre-historic times. They were tall, fair, straight-nosed, blue-eyed and golden-haired, and they called themselves *Aryas*. The original home of these Nordics in their pre-Aryan stage of existence (as Primitive Indo-Europeans) appears to have been in the dry Eurasian highlands to the south of the Ural Mountains. Here they tamed the horse, which was their first great and original contribution to human civilisation, and they used to tend sheep and swine; but they obtained the cow from Mesopotamia after 3000 B.C., and later the goat from the Mediterranean area. They spread west and south and east, and one branch of them, the Aryans, crossed the Caucasus Mountains into Northern Mesopotamia by 2200 B.C., whence some of their tribes after wanderings spread over several centuries in Iraq, Iran and the North-western Frontier of India, finally came into India at a period not earlier than 1500 B.C.—probably nearer 1200 B.C. than 1500. They brought with them their own culture and religion, including their songs in honour of their gods, which were later on incorporated (in part at least, together with much later compositions) in the four Veda books (particularly the *Rig* and the *Ītharva Vedas*, compiled in all likelihood in the 10th century B.C.). The Aryans spread with their religion and language from Western Panjab to the east, and arrived in Northern Bihar at least by 700 B.C., if not earlier. In the course of their advance to the east along the Ganges Valley, the fusion of the Aryan-speaking and the non-Aryan (Dravidian and Austric) speaking peoples was taking place; and the want of linguistic unity and cohesion among the pre-Aryan peoples of India, combined with the organising capacity of the Aryan-speakers, gave to the Aryan speech its great opportunity.

### 14. THE ANCIENT HINDU CIVILISATION A JOINT CREATION OF THE AUSTRICS, THE DRAVIDIANS AND THE ARYANS, AND LATER THE MONGOLOIDS

Through this racial and cultural admixture, by the time of Buddha (c. 500 B.C.) a definite and distinctive Hindu civilisation, composite in its nature and manifold in its expression, yet bearing nevertheless the common stamp of the Aryan speech and mentality and organisation, had come into being. There was an unconscious cultural miscegenation as the inevitable corollary of racial admixture: but the thought-leaders and men of action among this mixed people sought to direct the trend that their culture was to take. Thus, Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and his younger contemporary Krishna Vāsudeva Vārshneya, personalities in the *Mahābhārata* Saga (the historical basis of which goes back to the 10th century B.C., according to F. E. Pargiter, Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett, who arrived at the same date by totally different lines of investigation), stood at the confluence of this cultural synthesis. Vyāsa, 'the Arranger', stands at the head of Indian literature: he was credited with having compiled the four Veda books from the mass of hymns to the gods and from the ritualistic formulae and directions current orally among the priests

of the Aryan-speaking people; and evidently he was the first to have started collecting into *Purāṇas* or 'Repositories of Ancient Lore' the current myths, legends and historical tales and genealogies, doubtless of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin. Krishna Vāsudeva's teachings (we find some reference to them in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and the later *Bhagavad-Gītā* as a part of the *Mahābhārata* preserves a great deal of the views and teachings of the historical Krishna of the 10th century B.C.) sought to make a synthesis of the various schools of philosophy which were developing then; and he accepted non-Vedic rites (like the later Hindu rite of the *pūjā* which was very likely of Dravidian origin, in which 'leaves, flowers, fruits, water, etc.,' are offered to the divinity, in contradistinction to the Vedic Aryan rite of the *homa* in which burnt offerings consisting of the meat and fat of a slaughtered animal and barley bread and milk and butter and the spirituous drink *soma* are made to the gods) equally with Vedic ones as permissible.

The Austries, the Dravidians and the Aryans were the 'language-culture' groups which were jointly responsible, consciously or unconsciously, in the evolution of Hindu culture. The bases were largely furnished by the culture-worlds of the Austries and the Dravidians; and the synthesis and super-structure were due to the Aryan inspiration and organisation. The Aryan's, again, was the dominating voice in this cultural synthesis, at least apparently or outwardly, as it was his language (as Sanskrit and the Prakrits) which came to be accepted as its official vehicle, particularly when it became established in Northern India. The force of the Aryan's language was so great that the non-Aryan bases were, and still are largely forgotten. We generally do not give any value to the fact that Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, the father of Aryan literature in India, was a half-caste or rather a quadroon—his father was a Brahman or Aryan sage and his mother Satyawatī was the daughter of a Dāsa or non-Aryan (probably Dravidian) chief whose people lived by fishing; and that Krishna Vāsudeva Vārshneya was similarly of mixed origin, his father Vasudeva was a Kshatriya prince but his mother Devakī was the sister of Kamsa, who on all accounts was a non-Aryan king of Mathura.

In this way, by 500 B.C. the Aryan speech was in full possession of the field all over Northern India from Eastern Afghanistan to the Bihar-Bengal frontier, and Hindu culture (in its original form of Brahmanism and in the later developments of Jainism and Buddhism) was on the way of its unchecked development and spread all over India, and beyond India, as the joint creation of the Austrie, Dravidian and Aryan speakers of the country: although on the surface it looked as if the Austrie and the Dravidian culture-worlds were totally suppressed by the Aryan.

# 15. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR PEOPLES, NIṢĀDA, DRĀVIDA, ĀRYA AND KIRĀTA: AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ARYAN-SPEAKERS AS A 'HERRENVOLK'

It was when the bases of the distinctive Hindu or Austrie-Dravidian-Aryan culture were being laid that another racial (or, rather, linguistic-cultural) group, the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan, made its presence felt in the country. The Austrie-speaking *Niṣādas*, and the Dravidian-speaking *Dāsa-Dasyus*—these two groups were most in evidence throughout the greater part of India. There were, and there still are, solid *blocs* of Dravidian-speakers in Western and Southern India: and proto-Australoid (*Niṣāda*) elements are strong among them. The riverain tracts of North India were originally probably inhabited by Austro-Asiatic (Austrie-speaking) tribes. But Dravidian penetration into Austrie tracts appears to have been both



extensive and deep. The *Burushaski* speech, of unknown affinity, has been connected with the Caucasian speeches on the one hand, and with the Austriac on the other; and if the latter affiliation is correct, then that would show that Kashmir and part of North-western India at any rate were also settled in by Austriac speakers. In a similar way, the 'pronominalised' Himalayan Mongoloid speeches (like Kanawari or Kanuri, Lahuli, Dhimal, Limbu, Rai, etc.) show the presence of Austriac-speaking tribes in the sub-Himalayan tracts.

The Aryan-speakers were concentrated in the North-west—in North Panjab and the northern part of the North-west Frontier Province and in Eastern Afghanistan, and probably also in Kashmir. But for the other parts of India they formed a most potent leaven. There was not (except in some special cases) wholesale migrations of Aryan-speaking groups, particularly of the long-headed blue-eyed Nordic Aryans—into the different parts of India after they had settled down in what formed their *nidus* or centre of expansion in the Panjab (and probably also Western United Provinces). Their expansion would appear to have taken place in the shape of small but very powerful bands of intellectual and military aristocrats—Brahman sages and Kshatriya princes—who also relegated to themselves the functions of a ruling and guiding people, and gave the specifically Hindu or Brahmanic tone to the new culture that was taking shape and expanding over India. It has to be admitted that the rôle of a *Herrenvolk*, a controlling and leading people, has been played by certain social elements which were largely Aryan (or mixed Aryan and Dravidian) from the Panjab and North-western India in general, during the formative period of Hindu civilisation and its early expansion. The domination of the Deccan by the Indian Musalmans hailing from the Panjab and Western United Provinces, and of Muslim Eastern Bengal by Musalmans from Eastern United Provinces, during the late medieval period of Indian history, was just a continuation of a process of language-culture drift which began during the first half of the first millennium B.C.

#### 16. THE MONGOLOID ELEMENT IN HIMALAYAN AND NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

If the Nordics (and with them the Western Brachycephals) of Aryan speech were so much in evidence in North-western India and in the Western part of the Ganges Valley, and the Dravidian-speakers were strong in Western and Southern India, and in Northern India as well, with the Austriac-speakers presenting an equally important group (at least numerically) throughout the riverain tracts of North India and in the Central Indian hills and jungles, right up to the Burma frontier, and even beyond (in South Burma and Indo-China with its Austriac Mon-Khmer peoples), the Mongoloids formed a most noteworthy (though culturally far less effective) element in the population of North-eastern and Eastern India. As has been said before, they were established in Assam and North and East Bengal, in North Bihar, and in sub-Himalayan India, mostly Nepal. The history of the arrival into India of the various Mongoloid groups speaking dialects of the Sino-Tibetan speech-family is not known, nor have all the various languages and dialects in the family been satisfactorily classified. It would appear that their presence in India was noted by the 10th century B.C., when the Veda books were compiled. The composite Hindu (i.e., Austriac-Dravidian-Aryan, or Indo-Gangetic) civilization reached the Mongoloid peoples of Northern and North-eastern mountains and plains from about that date. Outwardly the result of their participation in the history and

culture of India in the areas where they had established themselves has been just their assimilation and absorption, in civilisation and language, accompanied by mixture in blood with the other peoples. Where there has been no occasion or opportunity of racial intermixture with the mixed Austric-Dravidian-Aryan (or pure Aryan, pure Dravidian and pure Austric) peoples, the Mongoloid types have remained unaltered, although the language may have gone and the culture is that of the Brahmanical Hindu (or, in some cases, as for instance among the Newars of Nepal, of the Indian Buddhist of early times), with a leaven of the Indian Musalman in North and East Bengal.

#### 17. STUDY OF THE NON-ARYAN ELEMENTS (AUSTRIC AND DRAVIDIAN) IN INDIAN CIVILISATION

In the study of the origins of the composite Hindu civilisation of ancient and medieval India, the elements contributed by the various 'language-culture' groups of diverse race—the Austric, the Dravidian and the Aryan speakers—have already attracted the attention of scholars. First the Dravidian, and then after a long number of decades the Austric elements in the Aryan language through the centuries began to be studied. From this, it was a natural corollary to deduce the various *venues* of Dravidian and Austric influence on the life, the culture and the religion of Hindu India of ancient and medieval times. Quite a number of unexpected things are coming to light through these linguistic studies proceeding hand in hand with historical, anthropological and ethnological enquiries. We are now realising how some of the fundamental things in early Indian (Hindu) life and thought are inheritances from the worlds of the Austric and the Dravidian, although they have been stated in the language of the Aryan, and have been profoundly modified in this process as well as in their evolution. The enquiry into the Austric, Dravidian and Aryan bases of our Indian civilisation has thus taken up a vital importance. Our Austric and Dravidian ancestors are once again coming to their own. We are now realising how remarkable has been the synthesis of these entirely diverse culture-worlds through the genius of the thought-leaders of a mixed people—thought-leaders who were of Aryan speech no doubt, but had a mixed inheritance in blood and mental attitude and spiritual quality—i.e., of the Brahmins and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas of the early Hindu age, in origin pure Aryan or mixed Aryan, and sometimes purely non-Aryan. The greatest of such thought-leaders, as we have seen before, were Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva, who were of mixed origin: and there are records of others also.

Austric and Dravidian elements in Hindu or Brahmanical civilisation from the Vedic period onwards have been discussed by a number of scholars and writers, and a *résumé* of their work up to 1935 will be found in the *Bibliographie Analytique des Travaux relatifs aux Éléments an-aryens dans la Civilisation et les Langues de l'Inde* (by Constantin Régamey of Warsaw, in the 'Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient', Vol. 34, 1935, pp. 429-566). The following studies may also be mentioned: *Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan* (by S. K. Chatterji, in the Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. III, 1936, No. 1, pp. 43-49); *Prototypes of Siva in Western India* (by H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 301-303); *Some Etymological Notes* (by S. K. Chatterji, in the Denison Ross Volume, Poona, pp. 68-74); *India and Polynesia: Austric Bases of Indian Civilisation and Thought* (by S. K. Chatterji, in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee,

Allahabad, 1945, pp. 193-208); *Buddhist Survivals in Bengal* (by S. K. Chatterji in the *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, Calcutta, 1945, pp. 75-87); and the papers by T. Burrows on the Dravidian Elements in Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages (in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies', 1948, and 'Transactions of the Philological Society of London,' 1948).

#### 18. STUDY OF THE MONGOLOID CONTRIBUTION SO FAR NEGLECTED: REASONS FOR THIS NEGLECT

An appraisalment of the rôle of the Mongoloid peoples in the development of the composite Hindu or Indian culture, the peculiar line of development of this culture in its expansion in North-eastern and Eastern India through Mongoloid contact or participation—should be looked upon as an important line of enquiry in tracing the history of Indian civilisation. Yet so far as I know this has not been viewed in its proper perspective by any scholar (except in some works on Nepal): and there are reasons for this neglect. The part played by the Mongoloid peoples was confined to the distant eastern and northern frontiers of India—in Central and Eastern Nepal, in North Bihar, in North and East Bengal and in Assam. These are rather far removed from the hub of Indian civilisation and history—in Western India, in the Upper Ganges Valley, in the Deccan and in the Tamil land. The Mongoloid elements, again, because of their late arrival (they were possibly later than even the Aryans), could not penetrate far into the interior plains of India, and were not in a position to leaven the whole of India, so to say, in the way that the Austriacs, the Dravidians and the Aryans did. No personality of proved Mongoloid origin (although some scholars have suspected it to be so in some cases) could achieve anything of pan-Indian importance in very early times—although in later periods things of pan-Indian significance were done or contemplated by members of this race. Their work remained confined to their restricted spheres of operation only. Moreover, as they arrived late in the Indian scene, their greatest periods were also late—after the 14th century A.D., when the Turk and Afghan, the Rajput and the North Indian Musalman, the Oriya and the Bengali, the Maratha and the Kannadiga, and the Telugu and the Tamilian, were engaged in a sanguinary drama of war and peace and in the work of cultural endeavour and assimilation in which the Newar and the Kiranti of Nepal, the Bodo of North and East Bengal and Assam, and the Ahom of Assam, and the Jaintia of the Khasi Hills (the last named people being Mongoloid by race but Austriac by speech) had no place. Their earlier history was already obscure at that time, and still remains obscure. We can see how they were being absorbed within the folds of Hinduism, long after the beginning of the first millennium after Christ; and we can now just make some guesses about where they were and what they were doing prior to 1000 A.D. All this has made for the comparative neglect of this chapter of Indian history and civilisation. Yet nothing shows better the wonderful expansive and absorbing power of Brahmanical Hinduism, even during the 15th-18th centuries, than the way in which the Mongoloid elements were made, under its inspiration, to play their great part, and to contribute what they could to the sum-total of Hindu life and culture.

Then, again, at the present day they are numerically insignificant—the speakers of the Sino-Tibetan languages for the whole of undivided India (according to the Census of 1931) do not number more than 4 millions in a population of 389 millions (a percentage of even less than one in the

entire population—0·85% only). This numerical insignificance, combined with their general cultural backwardness, has been responsible to a large extent for the want of interest in their history and culture.

Most of the basic things in Hindu religion, including myth, legend, ritual and philosophy, are derived from the Austries and Dravidians and Aryans. The Mongoloid contribution is not so extensive or deep, but nevertheless it is there, in the history and life and culture of Nepal, of North and East Bengal and of Assam; and through Brahmanical Hinduism this contribution has got to some extent a pan-Indian implication as well. The impact of a composite Brahmanism (and of medieval Buddhism) on the Mongoloid peoples has its special appeal for the student of Indian religion and culture as a whole.

#### 19. THE MONGOLOID TRIBES IN INDIA: MONGOLOIDS OUTSIDE INDIA

The story of the advent of the Mongoloid peoples into India, as far as it can be reconstructed, may be briefly stated, and an account of the various Mongoloid groups which had to do with India may also be briefly noted. A good *résumé* of the whole history (or, rather, of the reconstruction of a possible sequence of tribal movements) will be found in Sir George Abraham Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Introduction (1927, pp. 40ff.). The Mongoloid tribes represent at least three distinct physical types—the primitive long-headed Mongoloids, who are found in the sub-Himalayan tracts, in Nepal and mostly in Assam; the less primitive and more advanced short-headed Mongoloids, who are found mostly in Burma and have expanded from Burma through Arakan into Chittagong; and finally the Tibeto-Mongoloids, who are fairly tall and have lighter skins and appear to be the most highly developed type of the Mongoloids who came to India. These Tibeto-Mongoloids are the linguistically characterised Tibetans and their various off-shoots who arrived in India through the Himalayas, in comparatively recent times, from Bhutan and Sikkim to Ladakh and Baltistan.

With the single exception of the Khasis and the connected Jaintias (Syntengs) of Assam, the Mongoloid peoples who are found in India are all speakers of languages and dialects belonging to the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese speech family. Other language families which are also current among peoples of Mongoloid origin outside India are (1) the *Ural-Altaic* (in its two branches (a) the Ural or Finno-Ugrian or Ugrian, consisting of Magyar or Hungarian, Finn, Esth, Lapp, and Vogul, Ostyak, Siryen, Mordvin, Cheremis, etc., of Soviet Russia; and (b) the Altaic, under which come Turki in its various forms, mainly Western Turki or Osmanli and Eastern Turki on Chagatai, besides Yakut, and Mongol and Manchu); (2) the *Hyperborean* or North-east Asiatic Mongoloid speeches like Gilyak, Chukchi, Yukhaghir, and Kamchadal of Kamchatka; and (3) the *Ainu-Korean-Japanese* group. The Mongoloid peoples who passed on to America from Siberia into Alaska crossing the Behring Strait in pre-historic times now speak the various languages and dialects of the two Americas over which they spread, and these American Indian languages fall into a number of families, some of which like those of Mexico and Central as well as Andean America (Peru, etc.) became vehicles of high types of civilisations. But we are not concerned with these in the present context: only we should recall that the Mongoloid peoples in America, as in Mexico, Central America and Peru, produced, quite independently of other peoples, civilisation of an original and very advanced type which can compare favourably with the great civilisations of the old world, one of which was the exclusive creation of the Mongoloid Chinese people.

The Eskimos spread over Greenland and the northern parts of North America are another Mongoloid people whose language also forms a distinct class by itself.

## 20. SINO-TIBETAN MONGOLOID EXPANSION

The area of characterisation for the primitive Sino-Tibetan speech appears to have been North-western China between the head-waters of the Huang Ho and the Yang-tze Kiang rivers. Possibly very early offshoots of the Proto-Sino-Tibetan speaking Mongoloids, before the language was fully characterised, came down to South China and Burma, and from them were descended the Man and Miao-tsze peoples of South China and the Karens of Burma—tribes or peoples which are Mongoloid in race but whose speech now appears to be rather distinct from other members of the Sino-Tibetan family.

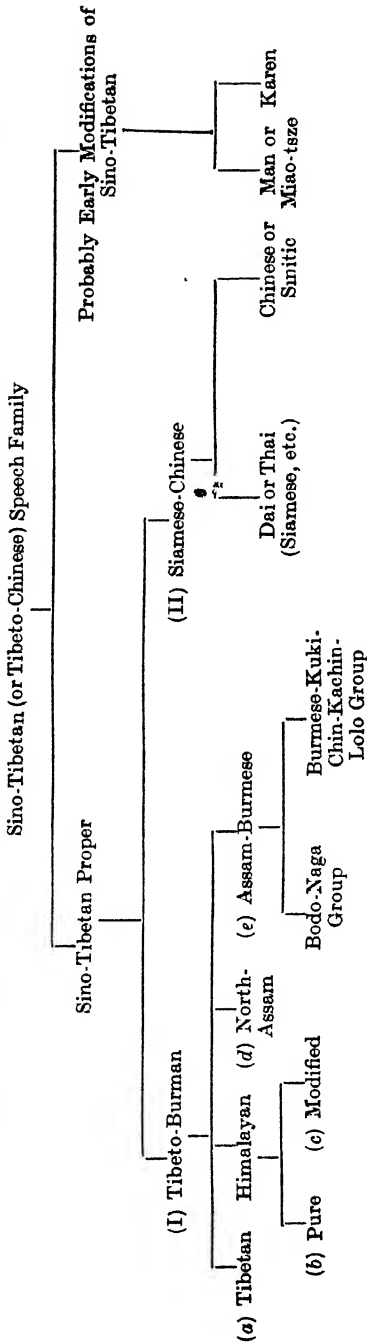
In Burma and Indo-China lived speakers of Austric (Austro-Asiatic) languages, who were largely of the Proto-Australoid race from India. A mixture of these Proto-Australoids with Mongoloids in very early times in Burma and Indo-China is very likely, this mixture producing the ancient, *Rmeñ* (*Rmañ*) or Mon people of Central and Southern Burma, the Paloungs and Was of Upper Burma, as well as the Khmers, the Chams, the Stieng, the Bahnar and other Austric or Austro-Asiatic speakers of Siam and Indo-China. The Karens, now numbering over a million, are Mongoloids from the North who were established in their present area of occupation in the hills between the Irrawaddy, the Salwin and the Menam rivers, by the 6th century A.D.

## 21. THE SINO-TIBETAN SPEECHES

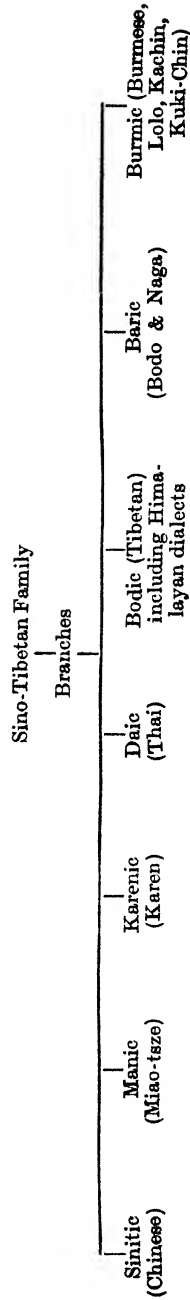
Mongoloid tribes from Western China speaking forms of the Sino-Tibetan speech appear to have been pushing south and west from their original homeland from pre-historic times, but certain large-scale movements of which we have faint inklings seem to have begun in the early part of the first millennium B.C. Linguistically, the Sino-Tibetan languages of the present day have been classified into two groups or branches—(I) Tibeto-Burman, and (II) Siamese-Chinese.

The former includes the following: (a) Tibetan and its various dialects as current over a wide tract from Baltistan in the west to Khams in the east (Ladakhi, Chang and Ü or Central Tibetan speech, Kham or Eastern Tibetan, and Den-jong-ke or Sikkimese Tibetan, as well as Lho-ke or Bhutanese); (b) the Himalayan Group of Dialects spoken on the Indian side of the Himalayas, in Nepal and Sikkim—e.g. Newari, Magar, Gurung, Murmi, Sunwari, Kiranti, Lepcha or Rong, and Toto—which are pure Tibeto-Burman; (c) the 'Pronominalised' Himalayan Dialects of Tibeto-Burman, which show some grammatical modification through influence of the Austric speeches: these fall in two groups, a Western (Kanawari spoken near Simla, Lahuli and 9 other dialects current in the Eastern Panjab Himalayas), and an Eastern (current in Nepal, like Dhimal, Thami, Limbu, Yakha, Khambu, Rai, Vayu, etc.); (d) the North Assam group of Tibeto-Burman speeches—Aka or Hrusso, Miri-Abor, Dafia and Mishmi; (e) the Assam-Burmese group, Tibeto-Burman speeches of North and East Bengal, Assam and Burma; these include—(i) the Bodo speeches—Bodo, Meeh, Rabha, Garo, Kachari and Tipra and a few more; (ii) the Naga dialects—Ao, Angami, Sema, Tangkhul, Songtem, etc.; (iii) the Kuki-Chin speeches of Manipur, Tripura and the Lushei Hills, as well as Burma, the most important of which is Meithei or Manipuri, which is quite an

## 22. TABULAR REPRESENTATION OF THE SINO-TIBETAN LANGUAGES (FOLLOWING THE 'LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA').



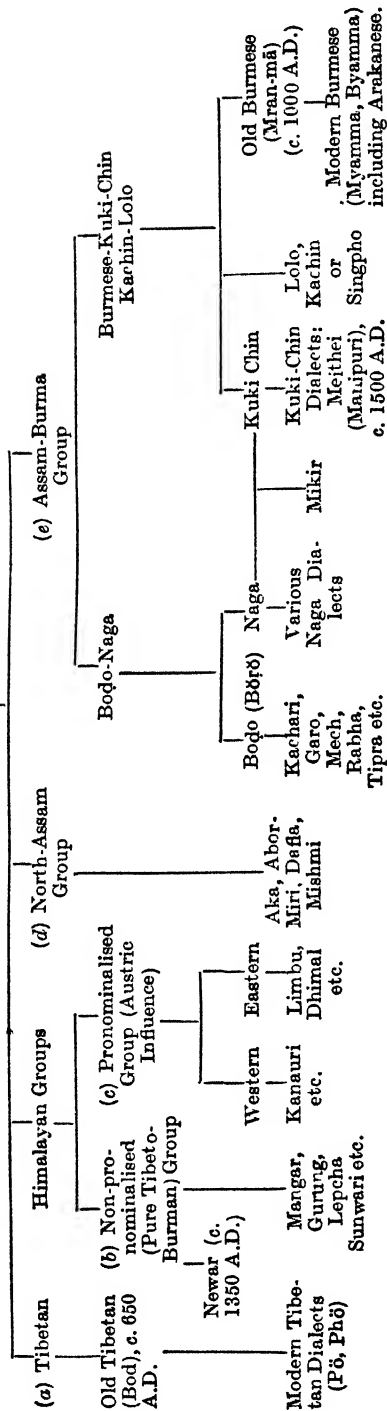
A MORE RECENT CLASSIFICATION AS PROPOSED BY ROBERT SHAFER (cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*,  
SEPT. 1940).



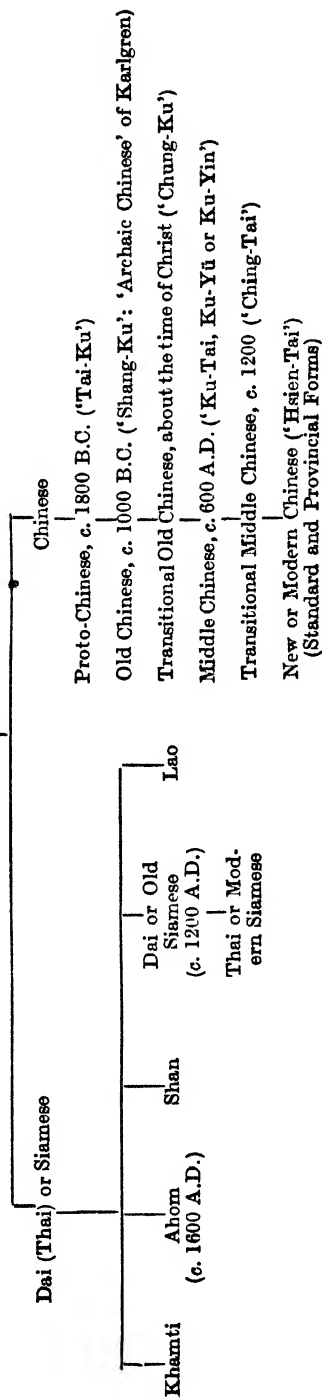
## DETAILED INDICATION OF THE SPEECHES IN THE TWO BRANCHES OF SINO-TIBETAN.

2B

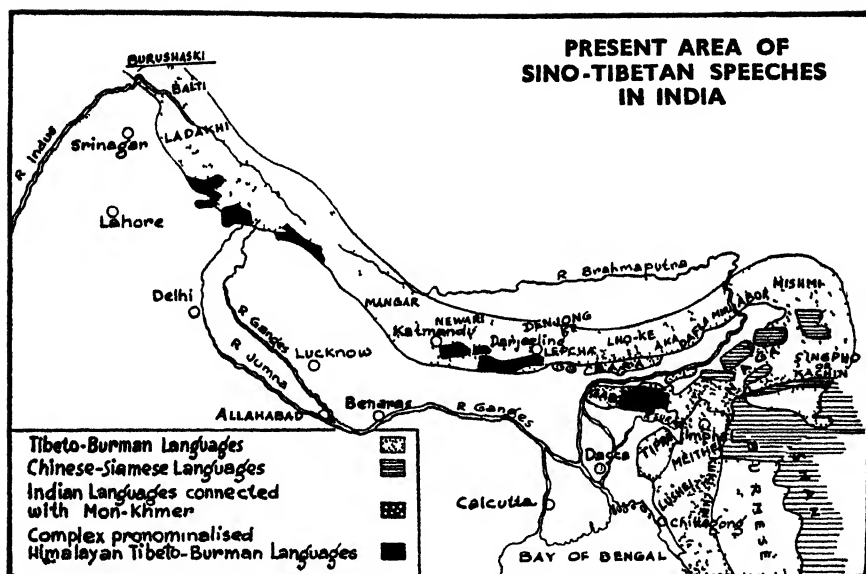
## (I) Tibeto-Burman



## (II) Siamese-Chinese



# PRESENT AREA OF SINO-TIBETAN SPEECHES IN INDIA







advanced literary speech—the most important language of the family in Assam; (iv) the Kachin-Lolo group of Northern Burman; and finally (v) the Myamma or Burmese, including its various dialects.

The Siamese-Chinese branch of Sino-Tibetan includes on the one hand Chinese in its various dialects or provincial forms as current at the present day, all derived from a single undivided Chinese speech which was spoken till about 600 A.D.—a form of Northern Chinese now being accepted as the Standard or 'National' form of the speech; and on the other hand Siamese and its connected speeches or dialects, like Dai or Thai, i.e., Siamese proper, and Lao, Shan (Rihwam), Khamti and Ahom, of which Khamti alone is found within the frontiers of India, and Ahom, which was the language of the Shan conquerors of Assam who came to the country early in the 13th century and which continued to be spoken among the Ahoms of Assam right down to the 18th century, is now extinct.

(Shafer has suggested indicating the various branches within the Sino-Tibetan family by means of the suffix *-ic*, and the various tribal or geographical names referring to individual speeches or speech-groups within a branch by means of the affix *-ish*, following the practice obtaining to some extent in the classification of the Indo-European languages in English, e.g. *Celtic*, *Italic*, *Germanic*, *Hellenic*, *Slavic*, *Baltic*, *Indic* branches and *Irish*, *Spanish*, *Swedish*, *Polish*, etc., languages. *Bodic* in the above scheme would therefore mean the Bod or Tibetan branch, and *Bodish* would indicate the Tibetan speech; so *Burmic*=the entire Burman group, and *Burmish*=the Burmese speech; quite a consistent and reasonable system of nomenclature, only it would be difficult to make it generally accepted.)

### 23. THE MONGOLOIDS IN ANCIENT INDIA: THE KIRĀTAS

We are not concerned in India with the fortunes of the Chinese, the Man and Karen and the Thai or Siamese groups of the Mongoloid peoples, excepting the case of a group connected with the Siamese, the Ahoms, who acquired the status of the ruling tribe in Assam for a number of centuries.

The Tibeto-Burman groups of the Sino-Tibetan speaking tribes would appear to have formed an area of dispersion in some tract to the east of Tibet and north-east of Assam (the present day Chinese province of Si-Kiang), from where they began to spread east and south. In a similar way, the Chinese province of Yun-nan formed the *nidus* of the Thai (Dai) or Siamese tribes for their southward trek into Siam and Indo-China (Vietnam). It seems quite probable that long before 1000 B.C. some of these early Tibeto-Burmans had penetrated within the frontiers of India, either along the southern slopes of the Himalayas, through Assam (and established themselves in the sub-Himalayan tracts as far west as Garhwal and Kumaon), or by way of Tibet, going up the Tsangpo or Brahmaputra and then crossing the Himalayan barrier into Nepal and Garhwal-Kumaon.

It is the consensus of opinion among Indologists that in Sanskrit the term *Kirāta* indicated the wild non-Aryan tribes living in the mountains, particularly the Himalayas and in the North-eastern areas of India, who were Mongoloid in origin. These Kirātas were connected with the *Cinas* or the Chinese, the *Bhojas* or the Tibetans, and other Mongoloid peoples. They were distinguished from the wild or primitive tribes of Austrie origin who were known specifically as *Niśādas*, *Śābaras*, *Pulindas*, *Bhillas* and *Kollas*. The Mongoloid racial affinities of the Kirātas were proposed by Sylvain Lévi who first took up the question (in his work on Nepal, Vol. II, Paris, 1905, pp. 75ff.), and who quoted passages from the *Mahābhārata*

and other texts indicating the opinion of the ancient Hindu writers about the appearance and ways and connexions of this people, all of which enable us to conclude that they were a Mongoloid people. Kasten Rönnow published a long monograph on the Kirātas (*Kirāta*, pp. 90-169 of *Le Monde Oriental*, Vol. XXX, 1936, Uppsala) in which the question has been discussed in considerable detail and with a much wider background, but the Mongoloid affinities of some at least of the Kirātas are given by him (cf. pp. 93, 100, 115, 123 of the above article), despite a certain amount of speculation about other connexions of the Kirātas (e.g. pp. 138, 145, 153, etc.).

## 24. THE KIRĀTAS IN VEDIC LITERATURE

The name *Kirāta* is for the first time found in the *Yajurvēda* (*Śukla Yajurvēda*, *Vājasanēyī Samhitā*, XXX, 16; also *Kṛṣṇa Yajurvēda*, *Tāittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 4, 12, 1). In connexion with the *Puruṣa-mēdha* or 'Man-offering' sacrifice, where a list of all kinds of human beings and animals symbolically or figuratively offered to the gods as sacrifice is given, we find the following passage:—

*guhībhyah Kirātam; sānubhyō Jambhakam; parvatēbhyah Kimpuruṣam*

'A *Kirā* u, for the caves; a *Jambhaka* (long-toothed man?) for the slopes; a *Kimpuruṣa* (an ugly man, a wild man, an ape?) for the mountains.'

Then in the *Atharvavēda* (X, 4, 14) we have a reference to a *Kirāta* girl (*Kīrātikā*) who digs a herbal remedy on the ridges of the mountains:—

*Kīrātikā kumārikā sakā khaṇati bhēṣajam:  
hiraṇyayājbhīr abhribhīr girīṇām upa sānuṣu.*

'The young maid of *Kirāta* race, a little damsel, digs the drug:  
Digs it with shovels wrought of gold on the high ridges of the hills.'

(Translation by R. T. Griffith.)

Macdonell and Keith have the following note in their *Vedic Index* on *Kirāta*: '*Kirāta* is a name applied to a people living in the caves of the mountains, as appears clearly from the dedication of the *Kirāta* to the caves in *Vājasanēyī Samhitā* (also *Tāittirīya Brāhmaṇa*), and from the reference to a *Kirāta* girl, who digs a remedy on the ridges of the mountains. Later the people called *Kirātas* were located in Eastern Nepal, but the name seems to have been applied to any hill folk, no doubt aborigines, though the *Mānava Dharma-śāstra* regards them as degraded Kṣatriyas (ref. X, 44)'. When a non-Aryan or foreign people is described in an old Indian text as being of degraded Kshatriya origin, there is always an implication that they were, to some extent at least, advanced in civilisation or military organisation, and as such could not be dismissed as utter barbarians.

## 25. THE MEANINGS OF THE WORD 'KIRĀTA', AND NEW INDO-ARYAN WORDS CONNECTED WITH IT

The traditional explanations of the word *Kirāta* do not help us in finding its origin. These explanations are: 'those who move—*atanti*—along the mountain sides, or in bad, dirty places, *kira*'; 'those who move about talking gibberish, *kira* or *kila*'; and Kasten Rönnow in his monograph on the *Kirātas*, quotes from Lehot in his edition of the *Ratnāvalī* the following: *kiram atati yaḥ* 'qui habite les frontières' (p. 91, *op. cit.*). The derivation

and connexions of the word *Kirāta* proposed by Rönnow do not appear convincing.

It is quite likely that the name is but a Sanskritisation of some Sino-Tibetan tribal name, and some scholars have identified the name with that of the *Kirāntis*, a Tibeto-Burman people living in East Nepal, which is quite possible.

Following traditional views about the *Kirāta* country, Gopal Chandra Praharaj in his *Oriya Lexicon* (Cuttack, 1932, Vol. II) places it in Northern India; and Jnanendra Mohan Das in his *Bengali Dictionary* (second edition, Calcutta, 1938) identifies it with the Eastern Himalayan tracts, including Sikkim and Bhutan, and Manipur and other adjacent tracts, which are exactly lands of Mongoloid settlement in India.

There are certain words current in New Indo-Aryan languages which are connected with the racial name *Kirāta*. In Bengali, we have the word *Kirāt/Kirēt*, which is used disparagingly of a man who is abnormally miserly or close-fisted, cruel or heartless (particularly of a money-lender in extorting his dues from poor debtors). This would appear to have come from a pejorative employment of the tribal name (\**Kirāta-ṛtta* = 'those who behave like *Kirātas*, cruel and stingy people' > \**Kirāa-vaṭṭa* > \**Kirāvaṭa* > *Kirāt*, *Kirēt*). *Kirāt* is common enough as a caste name in the United Provinces, Rajputana, Madhya-bhārata, Central Provinces and Berar, in the sense of 'a (Hindu) merchant'. It also means 'a corn-chandler', and figuratively it is used to mean 'a robber'; and 'a dalesman, a forester' are two other senses of the word in the Panjab (cf. Kasten Rönnow, *Kirāta*, pp. 142, 143). It is also to be noted that in the Western Panjab, the Hindus who were in a minority were contemptuously referred to by their Mohammadan neighbours as *Kirād*. This form of the word, *Kirād*, as opposed to the Bengali *Kirāt/Kirēt*, may come from a contemptuous expression \**Kirāta-ṭa* (> \**Kirāa-ṭa* > *Kirād*), and originally implied a person who was like a bad *Kirāta*, a bad man, a robber, or swindler, facetiously applied to merchants, moneylenders and others supposed to be eager only to make money. The name *Kirāta* as that of an uncouth non-Aryan tribe evidently came to acquire some sort of stigma among Aryan-speakers. Similarly, the tribal name for some non-Aryan peoples who resisted Aryan advance or conquest came to be used in new senses in the Aryan language. *Tāsa* came to mean 'slave', *Dasya* 'a robber', *Niṣāda* 'a man of a low mentality', *Caṇḍāla* 'a cruel man', *Kōlla* or *Kōla* 'a pig'; and D. R. Bhandarkar suggested that the Sanskrit *caura* and Prakrit *cōra* 'thief' is but an abusive employment of the South Indian Tamil tribal name *Coza*, *C'ḷa* or 'Chola'. We may recall the degradation in sense of the national name *Slar* in German and English, in the sense of a 'slave.' Cf. *Indio* in South America to mean 'a servant', and of *Hindū* in Persian to mean 'black'. This stigma came to be applied partially at least to the name *Kirāta* as early as the age of the Brāhmanas, c. 8th-7th centuries B.C. (cf. the term *Kilāla* in Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*). Compare also the Sanskrit word *Kirāta-tikta* for 'a very bitter plant used medicinally'; this occurred in Prakrit as *Cilāa-itta* or *Cirāa-itta*, in Old Bengali it is found in the 12th century as *Cirāyita*, and in Modern Bengali it is *Cirātā* or *Cirē ā*: the name may mean either a drug obtained from the *Kirātas* (cf. the *Atharva-ṛṣṭi* passage quoted before in § 24), or a drug which is 'bitter or vile like a *Kirāta*'.

But the term *Kirāta* was not wholly of contempt, although occasionally it might be so used. We should recall that as early as the *Mahābhārata* we find the legend of Śiva Mahādeva, the Great God, taking the guise of a *Kirāta*, with Umā with him as a *Kirāta* woman, to test Arjuna when he was practising religious penance in the Himalayas: a legend which may have

its germs in the following verse of the *Śata-rudrīya* section of the White *Yajur-veda* (XVI, 7):

*Asāu yō'vasarpati nīla-grīvō vilōhitaḥ |*  
*utāinaṃ gōpā adṛśrann adṛśrann udahāryaḥ: sa dr̥ṣṭō mṛdayāti naḥ ||*

'May he who glides away, whose neck is azure, and whose hue is red, he whom the herdsmen, whom the girls who carry water have beheld, may he when seen be kind to us.' (Trans. by Ralph T. Griffith, Benares, 1899.)

And this is quite a high exaltation of the status of the non-Aryan hill people, the Kirātas, when the Supreme God with his consort was made to take up the guise of a Kirāta mountaineer and his wife.

## 26. THE KIRĀTAS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND OTHER ANCIENT WORKS

From the *Yajur-veda* onwards, the mountain regions of North and North-eastern India—the Himalayas particularly, are well attested as the abode of the Kirātas. In the *Mahābhārata*, the Kirātas are dwellers in the Himalayan regions, particularly in the Eastern Himalayas. Bhīma in his conquering tour meets the Kirātas in the east after leaving the Videha country: Cf. *Sabhāparvan*, 26, 32—

*Vāidēhasṭhas tu Kāuntēya Indra-parratam antikāt :*  
*Kirātā lhipatīn sapta vyajayat tatra Pāṇḍavaḥ ||*

('Then the Pāṇḍava hero, O son of Kunti, coming to the Vaideha land close to Indra Mountains, defeated the seven Kirāta rulers'.)

They are found also in the North-west when Nakula marches in that direction. The following verses from the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā*, 52, 8-10: quoted by Kaliprasanna Sen, Vidyābhūṣhana, in his edition of the *Rāja-mālā*, Tripura Chronicle, Vol. I, p. 169) are clear about the home of the Kirātas, and make mention of some of their ways:—

*ye parārdhē ca Himavataḥ sūryōdaya-girāu nṛpāḥ,*  
*Kāruṣē ca samudrād itē Lāuhitīyam abhitaṣca yē ||*  
*phala-mūlāsanā yē ca Kirātās carma-rāsasah*  
*krūra-śastrāḥ krūra-kṛtas tīmśca paśyāmy aham prabhō ||*  
*candanāyuru-kāṣṭhānām bhūrān kāṇyakaśya ca,*  
*carma-ratna-svarṇānām gandhāmānā (āṇa) rāśayaḥ ||*

'Those kings who are on the other half of the Himalayas and in the mountains of the east (Sun-rise mountain) in Kāruṣa by the end (edge) of the sea, and beside the Lauhitya (Luhit or Upper Brahmaputra river), those who are moreover Kirātas living on fruits and roots, clad in skins, fierce with their weapons, cruel in their deeds, them I saw, O Lord: and loads of sandal and agallochum wood, and of black (?) pepper, and masses of skins and gems and gold and of aromatic shrubs.' (For *Kāruṣe ca samudrānte* there is a variant reading *vāriṣeṇa samudrānte*: Dr. Moti Chandra in his *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata: Upāyana Parva*, U P. Historical Society, Lucknow, 1945, pp. 84-85, seeks to identify this *Vāriṣa* with Barisal District in East Bengal, which is by the sea: an identification which is quite likely to be correct.)

In the famous episode of Śiva meeting Arjuna as a Kirāta, accompanied by Umā also in the guise of a Śabarī or a Kirāta woman, in the Himalaya regions, when Arjuna went there to propitiate Śiva by his austerities with a view to obtain the boon of the *Pāś'pata* weapons from the Great God himself, as narrated in the *Kirāta-parvan* section of the *Vana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, a definite indication of what the Kirāta people were like

is given. They were 'gold-like', i.e., yellow in colour (and not dark or black like the Dāsas and Dasyus and the Niśādas and other pre-Aryan peoples of the plains). Cf. the following passages:—

*Kāirātamaṃ vṛṣam āsthāya kūñcana-druma-sannibham*  
'Taking up a Kirāta resemblance, like unto a tree of gold' (IV, 35, 2);

*dadarśāḥ taṭṭha taṭṭha jṣṇuḥ puruṣam kūñcana-prabham*  
'Then the Victorious One (Arjuna) saw a Man, shining like gold' (IV, 35, 17);

*na tvam asmin vanē ghōṣi bībhēsi kanaka-prabha*  
'O thou that art shining like gold (addressing Śiva in the form of Kirāta), dost thou not fear in this terrible forest?' (IV, 35, 18).

In the *Mahābhārata* also, as Sylvain Lévi has shown (in his work on *Nepal*, referred to above), the Kirātas are mostly associated with foreign peoples, like the Yavanas, the Śakas and the Pallavas, who belong to the west; but especially with the Cīnas or the Chinese. Bhagadatta, the king of Prāgyjyotiṣa or western Assam who took part in the Kurukshetra battle, was definitely described as a ruler over *Mlēcchas* or non-Hindu barbarians: *Prāgyjyotiṣādhipaḥ śūrō mlēcchānām adhiṣṭhāṇī bali*, 'the powerful hero, the lord of Prāgyjyotiṣa, lord of the *Mlēcchas*'; and in the *Sabhā-parvan* (26, 9, quoted in the *Rāja-māla*, I, p. 84) we find—

*sa Kirātāiśca Cīnāiśca vṛtaḥ Prāgyjyotiṣō bhavat,*  
*anyāiśca bahubhir yōdhāiḥ sāgarānūpa-vāsibhiḥ ||*

'The Prāgyjyotiṣa (king) was there, surrounded by *Kirātas* and *Cīnas* (Chinese) and with many other warriors dwelling by the coast of the sea.'

Elsewhere (in *Strī-parvan*, 23), Bhagadatta is described as having his seat among hills (*ṛṣa śūlālayō rājā Bhagadattaḥ pratāpavān* 'here is the mighty king Bhagadatta whose home is in the hills'). The yellow colour of the *Kirātas* and of their allies or kinsmen the *Cīnas* is emphasised elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata*: e.g. in the army of Bhagadatta, 'the Cīna and Kirāta soldiers appeared to be in gold: their troops had the appearance of a forest of *Karṇikāras* (with yellow flowers)' (*Mahābhārata*, V. 584, ASB. edition, II, 1836: *Bhagadattō mahīpālāḥ sēnām akṣāuhiniṃ dadāu: tasya Cīnāiḥ Kirātāiśca kāñcanāir iva samvṛtam, babhāu balam anādhrṣyaṃ karṇikāra-vaṇam yathā.*)

The *Rāmāyaṇa* also mentions the golden colour of the *Kirātas*: thus,

*Kirātāiśca tikṣṇa-cūṣāiśca hēnābhaḥ priya-darśanāḥ,*  
*antar-jala-carā ghōṣā nara-vyāghrā itī śrutāḥ ||*

(*Kiṣkindhyā-Kāṇḍa*, 40, 27, 28, quoted by N. N. Vasu in *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, Calcutta 1922, p. 92.)

'The *Kirātas*, with hair done in pointed top-knots, pleasant to look upon, shining like gold, able to move under water, terrible, veritable tigersmen, so are they famed.'

Elsewhere, the *Rāmāyaṇa* speaks of other *Kirātas* who lived by the sea and were ferocious, and ate raw fish.

The *Kirātas* dwelling in the hills and mountains of the east were supposed to be rich in gold and silver and gems they obtained from these mountains, and they were experts in making cloth of various kinds: cf. the following passage from the *Sabhā-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (30, 26-28):—

*vasu tēbhya upādāya Lāukīyam agamad bali:*  
*sa sarvaṃ mlēccha-nṛpatin sāgarānūpa-vāsinaḥ*  
*karam āharayāmāsa ratnāni vivīdhāni ca ||*  
*candanāguru-vastrāṇi maṇi-māuktika-kambalam,*  
*kāñcanaṃ rajatañ cāiva vidrumaṃ ca mahābalaṃ ||*

'The powerful warrior receiving wealth from them went to the Lauhitya river. He (was victorious over) all the *Mleccha* kings dwelling by the shore of the sea, and obtained tributes from them—gems of various sort, sandal wood, agallochum, cloths, gems (rubies), pearls and blankets, gold, silver, and very hard lapis-lazuli.'

The above passages, and some others quoted by Sylvain Lévi (in his work on *Nepal*) will give some idea about the Kirātas, the place where they lived, their appearance and their ways of living, round about the time of Christ, when the *Mahābhārata* was in the midst of its expansion as an encyclopaedic work. The ways of the Kirāta were simple. They lived mostly on fruits and tubers, dressed themselves in skins, wore their hair in a pointed top-knot, and were a pleasant-looking people, but terrible with their weapons, and cruel in war. Their yellow complexion evidently marked them off from other Indian peoples.

About the proper home-land of the Kirātas, the following passages are noteworthy. In the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, the following verse occurs:—

*pūṇī ē Kirātā yasya syuḥ, paścīn ē Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ,  
Brāhmaṇāḥ Kṣatriya-Vaiśyā madhḥ, Śūdrās ca bhāgaśaḥ.*

'(India) is in the middle, according to the division (of the world), with Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras: to the east (of India) are the Kirātas, and to the west are the Yavanas'. (Quoted in *Rājya-nāṭya*, I, p. 84: the verse occurs also in the *Mārkandeya-Purāṇa*, in a slightly variant form.)

In the Pali *Milinda-pañha* (IV, 8, 94: p. 321 of R. D. Vadekar's edition in the Devanagari character, Bombay, 1940), there occurs the expression *Cīna-Vilāta*, my attention to which has been kindly drawn by my friend Krishna-kanta Handiqui (Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University). This must be a misreading for *Cīna-Cilāta*, i.e., *Cīna-Kirāta*, as names of connected tribes (thus, in the same passage, we have *Saka-Yavana*, *Alasanda* = Alexandria, *Nikumba* = ? , *Kāsi-Kosala*, and *Kāsmīra-Candhāra*: T. W. Rhys Davids in his translation, in the 'Sacred Books of the East', 1894, pp. 203-204, takes *Vilāta* to mean 'Tartary', and he gives an additional reading from the Siamese MSS., viz. *Milāta*: but the word is certainly *Kirāta* = *Cilāta*, and the letters for *c* and *v* are frequently interchanged in old scripts, as they are in Devanagari. Sylvain Lévi has also noted this passage.

The Greek work *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of the first century A.D. knows of the *Kirrhadaei* (i.e., the *Kirāda* or *Kirāta* people) as 'a race of men with flattened noses, very savage', as living beyond *Dosaracē* (= *Daśārṇa*): this suggests that the Kirātas were already in West Bengal, to the west of the Ganges, in the regions to the north-east of Daśārṇa or Orissa. Near the Kirrhadaei were, according to the *Periplus*, another people called the *Bargysoi*, who have been identified with the *Bhargas*, mentioned as neighbours of the Kirātas by the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*. The Kirrhadaei and their neighbours of the same stock participated in the little trade in silk that used to be carried on between China and India, through Yun-nan, North Burma and Assam, in the centuries round about the Christian era.

From the above accounts, it would appear that during the centuries immediately before Christ, and in the early Christian centuries, the Kirātas were known to the Hindu world as a group of peoples whose original home was in the Himalayan slopes and in the mountains of the East, in Assam particularly, who were yellow in colour and presented a distinct type of culture. They had spread all over the plains of Bengal up to the sea, and appear to have penetrated as far as West Bengal. They were rich with all the natural wealth of minerals and forest produce with which the mountains and hills and jungles where they lived abounded, but they were adepts in the art of

weaving cloth (as their descendants still are), the cotton and woollen fabrics they made being very much in demand among the more civilised Hindus of the plains.

The ancient tradition naming particularly the Mongoloid inhabitants of the Eastern frontiers as *Kirātas* is found down to late medieval times. Thus in the *Rāja-mūlā* chronicle of the Tripura Kings (a verse chronicle in Bengali going back to the 16th century), the Kirāta affinities of the local dynasty, otherwise believed to be of Indo-Aryan (Kshatriya) origin, are set forth elaborately. And in the *Yōginī Tantra*, a late (10th-16th century) work giving an account of the Śākta holy places and Śākta ritual in Assam, the remarkable admission is made—

*Siddhēśi ! Yōginī-pīṭhē dharmāḥ Kāiātāḥ matah*

‘O Queen of all Siddhas (=Umā), in the holy shrine of the Yoginī (i.e., Kāmarūpa) the *dharmā* (ritual or religion) is considered to be of *Kirāta* origin.’ (Quoted by Dr. Banikanta Kakati in his monograph *The Mother Goddess Kanakhya*, Gauhati, 1948, p. iii; a variant reading in the Calcutta (13:3 B.S.) edition of the *Yōginī Tantra*, ed. by Kalimohan Bhattacharya, p. 457, Patala IX, verse 13, gives in a corrupt form—*ariśō yōginī-pīṭhē dharmā-Kāiātāḥ mataḥ*.)

## 27. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EARLY MONGOLOID (KIRĀTA) MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

We may be permitted to reconstruct the picture of the Kirāta or Early Mongoloid Movements on the soil of India right down to the beginning of the Christian era. They entered the country probably through Assam, and their advent in the east might have been as old as that of the Aryans in the west, at some period before 1000 B.C. By that time they might have pushed along the Himalayan slopes as far west as the Eastern Panjab Hills. They came to be known to the Vedic Aryans as a cave-dwelling people from whom the Aryans obtained mountain produce like drugs and herbs and the *sona* plant. The four books of the Vedas were compiled in all likelihood in the 10th century B.C., so that the passages in the *Yajur-veda* and the *Atharva-veda* mentioning the Kirātas are at least as old as that period. When the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were taking shape, between 500 B.C. to 400 A.D., particularly in the pre-Christian centuries, they had occupied the southern tracts of the Himalayas and the whole of North-eastern India, North Bihar contiguous to Nepal and to the north of the Ganges, the greater part of Bengal, and Assam, including the areas through which the Ganges (the Padmā or Paddā of the present day) passed into the sea. Eastern Nepal and the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra valley were the lands specially connected with them. The Greeks in the 1st century A.D. had heard of them during their visits to Western India and South India as a wild people with the characteristic flat nose of the Mongol races, living to the north-east of Orissa, by the sea, possibly in the delta of the Ganges. A meagre stream of trade from China used to filter through this Kirāta country into the ports of Gangetic India. Traders allied to the Kirhadai or Kirātas, known to the Greeks as *Tréatai* or *Stréatai*, used to bring malabathrum from China in baskets carried on their backs. Other Mongoloid peoples living to the north of the Kirhadai were the ‘Horsefaces’ and the ‘Longfaces’, who were known to be cannibals; and these terms were translations of Indian names like *Harja-mukha* (mentioned in early Jaina literature as a *Mleccha* or barbarian people along with the Kirātas) or



*Aśva-vadana* (mentioned in the *Vara-Samhitā-Purāṇa* as living in the mountains to the east of India: see W. H. Schoff, translation of the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, London, 1912, p. 254, quoting Taylor from the JASB. 1847, and Wilford in *Asiatic Researches*, VIII-IX). Chang K'ien, the Chinese general and explorer of Central Asia in the 2nd century B.C., also testified that there was a trade between North-eastern India and South-western China through routes among the southern barbarian peoples which were not officially known to the Chinese ruling classes in the capital city in North China: this trade was in Chinese silk cloth and Chinese bamboo flutes, among other things, and it brought these articles into Eastern India, which were then carried through the entire length of North India to as far west as Afghanistan and Central Asia. The kinsmen of the Chinese, the Indian Mongoloids, or *Indo-Mongoloids*, were the intermediaries in this trade; and not only did they carry material goods from China, but also at times brought ideas, as we shall presently see, down to the second half of the first millennium A.D.

## 28. 'INDO-MONGOLOID' AS A PROPOSED EQUIVALENT OF 'KIRĀTA'

The Mongoloid tribes from the east which after their settlement within the frontiers of India and in the contiguous tracts came to be known to the Aryan-speakers as their neighbours and dwellers in the same land—their *compatriots*—and were designated as *Kirātas*, now began to take their share in the progress of Indian history and the development of Indian culture, albeit at first on the outward fringes. They may for convenience be described in English as *Indo-Mongoloids*; and this is a term which defines at once their Indian connexion and their place within the cultural *milieu* in which they found themselves, as well as their original racial affinity. The word, formed on the model of *Indo-European*, *Indo-Aryan*, *Indo-Saracenic*, *Indo-Chinese*, *Indonesian*, *Indo-Scythian*, etc., can thus be employed as an equivalent of what the ancient Hindus understood by *Kirāta* (when they had definite geographical and ethnic notions), and can also be employed to indicate all those Sino-Tibetan-speaking tribes, Mongoloids of various types in race, who entered into or touched the fringe of the cultural entity that is India: viz. the Himalayan tribes (the Nepal tribes and the North-Assam tribes), the Bodos and the Nagas, the Kuki-Chins, the Ahoms, the Indian Tibetans, and the Khasis, and the earlier tribes (of unknown affiliation within the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family) who have now become absorbed in the populations of the plains of Northern and North-eastern India.

## 29. KOL OR AUSTRIC INFLUENCE ON SINO-TIBETAN

What was the relation of the *Kirāta* or Indo-Mongoloid tribes settling in North-eastern and Eastern India with the earlier Austric and Dravidian speaking peoples? We know nothing about it. In Burma and Indo-China, the Mongoloids have largely absorbed the earlier Austric peoples. The history of Burma has been in the main a conflict between the *Mranmā* or Burmese Mongoloids from the north and the *Rmañ* or *Rmçñ* or Mon Austro-Asiatics living in Central and Southern Burma, leading finally to the complete subjugation and gradual absorption of the Mons, in spite of the latter possessing a superior culture and having been the teachers of the ruder Mongoloid Burmese in arts and culture, religion and higher life. The same thing may have taken place in Assam and Eastern India. But in India,

there was already operative a mighty leveller in the form of the Aryan speech. Nevertheless, some glimpses of the relationship between the incoming Mongoloids and the Austries and Dravidians and the Aryan-speakers are available in India, in Assam and in Nepal, in the way in which speakers of Sino-Tibetan dialects are becoming Aryanised in speech. In some cases, the Austric speech has triumphed over Sino-Tibetan: the case of Khasi is in point. In the Nepal valley, in certain cases the Mongoloid dialects have apparently ousted Austric speeches; but the latter, while giving way, have managed in some matters to influence the former. Thus in Eastern Nepal, and in Kumaon and Garhwal, and further to the west as far as Chambā, there are two groups of Tibeto-Burman dialects which show what has been called *Pronominalisation*, i.e., the incorporation of the pronoun with the verb: e.g. Limbu *peg-ang* = 'went-I, I went'; *hip-tū-ng* = 'strike-him-I, I strike him'; *hip-ne-ni-ng* = 'strike-you-two-I, I strike you two'; *hip-ā* 'he strikes me, I am struck', *mē-hip-ā* 'they strike me'; and this is a characteristic of Kol or Munda languages of the Austric family, which are found to have invaded at least two New Indo-Aryan speeches, the Maithili and Magahi of Bihar (e.g. *māralauk* = 'I have struck him for your benefit'—*māral* = 'struck' + *-i-* = 'I' + *-au-* 'for you' + *-k* = 'him'). This characteristic of the Tibeto-Burman Himalayan dialects like Kanawari, Lahuli, Kirānti (Dhimal, etc.) could only have been acquired through contact with Austric speeches, now suppressed. The *Kirānti* (*Kirānti*) group of peoples in Eastern Nepal, whose name it was which has, in all likelihood, been adopted by the Aryan-speakers as *Kirāta*, speak pronominalised dialects: and this fact shows a very early contact with Austric-speakers in Himalayan tracts, and the presence of such Austric speakers could only have been a very ancient thing in India, probably going back to pre-Christian times. This Kol or Austric characteristic having invaded their language proves more than anything else the antiquity of the Kirāntis. The speakers of the 'Pronominalised Himalayan' languages number (census of 1931) 114,000 souls, of whom 26,000 speak Kanauri and other western languages of the group, and 88,000 the eastern Kirānti, etc.

### 30. THE LICCHAVIS OF NORTH BIHAR, AND THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS IN VIDEHA

Among the ancient peoples of Eastern India were the *Licchavis*. They were a powerful and a very well-advanced clan of North Bihar who claimed to be (and their claim was generally also recognised) Kshatriyas. They flourished in the time of Buddha, and their prestige was still great nearly 800 years later, in the time of the early Gupta emperors. Some scholars believe that the Licchavis were Indo-Mongoloids, already Aryanised in speech, although they retained a good many of their original Tibeto-Burman ways. Their tribal name has certainly a non-Aryan ring, and they had a number of peculiar customs which suggested Tibeto-Burman affinities (cf. *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 233: note by V. A. Smith). But it is a disputed point. But nevertheless, we may quite legitimately postulate the settlement of the plains of North Bihar (as much as North Bengal and Assam) by Sino-Tibetan tribes, in the midst of the earlier Austries and Dravidians; and all these non-Aryan speakers (with a submerged Austric element dominating in the long run, judging from the evolution of the Maithili speech in the matter of *Pronominalisation*) were combined into one Aryan-speaking people of North Bihar after the Aryan language and the Vedic religion came from the west, across the *Sadānārā* or Gomti river, into Videgha or Videha, sometime before 600 B.C.

### 31. INDO-MONGOLOID TRIBES: THE HIMALAYAN GROUP: THE NEWARS; THE ANCIENT KUNINDA PEOPLE

The Mongoloid tribes speaking dialects of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan speech-family would appear to have found a centre of dispersion in some tract to the east of Tibet and north-east of Assam, from where they began to spread into India and Tibet; and the movement started, as suggested before, before 1000 B.C. at least. The route taken by the first arrivals into India is not known—whether it was from Tibet, and then south by crossing the Himalayas, or whether it was from East Assam, along the Dihang, the Sesiri, the Dibang and the Luhit rivers, and down the Brahmaputra in Assam. The Garos, a Bodo people isolated from their brother Bodo tribes, have a tradition that they came to their present home in the Garo Hills from Tibet in the north; but how far this tradition is ancient, genuine and trustworthy we do not know. The original Mongoloid incomers were a very primitive people, being mostly hunters and food-gatherers who also used caves for habitation. The Tibetans, according to a late Buddhist tradition which is of very doubtful historical value, are said to have entered their country during the life-time of Buddha—say about the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. They may have been preceded by earlier tribes who formed the nucleus or basis of the 'Himalayan' Mongoloids of Nepal, speaking languages like Newari, Lepcha, Magar and Gurung, and the 'pronominalised' languages like Dhimal, Khambu, Kanawari and others. The speakers of the 'pronominalised' dialects probably represent the earliest waves; and the Newars, Lepchas, Magars, Gurungs, etc., represent later arrivals. In addition to the 114,000 'Himalayan' Tibeto-Burmans speaking 'pronominalised' dialects, there are some 102,000 people who employ the 'non-pronominalised' dialects (including 43,000 Murmis, 18,000 Magars and 25,000 Rong or Lepchas), besides the Newars in Nepal valley and India proper.

The 'Himalayan' groups of Indo-Mongoloids were thus probably the first to be established in India, and settled in Nepal and pushed as far west as Garhwal and Kumaon, and further to the west; but they have remained largely in a very primitive state. Except for the Newars, in the valley of Nepal (the basin of the Bagmati river), who represent the most highly cultured group of Indo-Mongoloids who have still preserved their language. The entry of the Newars living in this fertile valley within the fold of Indian culture took place probably not earlier than the 3rd century B.C., when, according to tradition, Asoka built a number of Buddhist *caityas* at Patan. The Newars retained their Tibeto-Burman tongue, and until recently used the Eastern Indian form of the Indian script to write it: now they are using Devanagari to print Newari books. Sanskrit learning took root among the Newars, and a Newari literature came into being fairly early—although the oldest extant remains do not go beyond the end of the 14th century. Arts and literature from the neighbouring Mithila, Magadha and Bengal found a new home in Nepal among the Newars, and a distinct and a marvellously artistic local form of Hindu (Buddhist and Brahmanical) civilisation came into being. The history of Nepal up to the conquest of Nepal valley by the Gurkhas from Western Nepal in 1767 is the history of the Newars. The exact number of Newari speakers is not known; it may be between 200,000 to 300,000 now.

These 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids appear to have mixed with Aryan-speakers in the East Panjab Hills. The Khasas were an Aryan-speaking tribe who appear, like the Gorkhas of a later age, to have absorbed a good deal of Indo-Mongoloid blood. The Kunindas, an ancient Eastern Panjab

Hill people, are believed to have been of mixed Indo-Aryan and Indo-Mongoloid origin—Indo-Mongoloid on the mother's side, Indo-Aryan on the father's. The Kunindas were an important Aryan-speaking tribe in Eastern Panjab in the centuries round about Christ. Their descendants now form the considerable Kunet community of the Simla Hills (57% of the total inhabitants, 285,741 persons out of a total population of 501,300 in the area, according to the census of 1871: and there were some 400,000 Kunets in the Trans-Satlej areas—between the Bias and the Satlej, and in the States of Kahlur, Mandi and Suket: cf. Alexander Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XIV, 1878-1879, pp. 125ff.). Cunningham in his study of the area inhabited by the Kuninda-Kunet people suggested the presence of Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman) and Austric (Kol) elements in names of rivers and other physical features. Thus the Tibeto-Burman *-ti*, *-di*, 'water, river' is said to occur in river-names in the Kunet area: e.g. *Rāwa-ti* = 'Ravi River', *Nyung-ti* = 'Bias', *Zang-ti* = 'Satlej', *Pāra-ti* = 'Para River', etc. The feeders of the Paeal river have names ending in *-ti*—like *Gumo-ti*, *Kashia-ti*, *Matre-ti*, *Supe-ti*, *Chu-ti*, *Andre-ti*; those of the Giri river—*Chigaon-ti*, *Chehu-ti*, *Ure-ti*; of the Tons—*Hāmal-ti*, *Buraha-ti*; of the Satlej—*Ghail-ti*, *Manyao-ti*, *Khanyao-ti*, *Wal-ti*, *Ti-dong*, *Nangal-ti*, *Kha-ti*, *Shel-ti*, *Nare-ti*; of the Spiti river—*Kyok-ti*, *Ling-ti*, etc. Cunningham suggested that it is the Tibeto-Burman which occurs in Sanskritised names of rivers like *Jāra-ti*, *Goma-ti*, *Parba-ti*. This suggestion is certainly wide of the mark, but the possibility of the Tibeto-Burman *-ti* is not to be entirely excluded in studying toponomastics in North India. (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 133.)

An Indo-Mongoloid substratum therefore is quite possible in North-eastern Panjab even: and this substratum is possibly from among the first batch of 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids.

### 32. THE 'BOD' (=BHOṬA) OR TIBETANS

After the 'Himalayan' group of the Indo-Mongoloids, we have to consider the other groups. The Tibetan people, whose national name *Bod* (as it was pronounced in the 7th century A.D.: this has now become *Pö* or *Phö*) has been Indianised as *Bhoṭa*, were a numerous and a well-organised tribe, and a fairly powerful one. They had developed the basis of their characteristic culture on the soil of Tibet, where they had also formed their religion, the pre-Buddhistic *Bon* religion, and had also probably come to evolve the epic story-cycle of a national hero in the saga of Kesar (or Gesar) king of Gling, prior to the 7th century A.D. When in the middle of the 7th century, the king of the Tibetans Srong-btsan-sgam-po adopted Buddhism, and by matrimonial alliances linked up his country with both India (Nepal) and China, the Tibetans emerged into history from their pre-historic state. They adopted the Indian alphabet as current in Kashmir for their language, and began assiduously to cultivate the literature of Buddhism. They adopted *in toto* the religious art and ritual of Buddhist India, and at the same time they took over many an item of civilised life from China. The Tibetans as staunch Buddhists always looked upon India as their holy land, but they did not seek to penetrate into India, on a large scale, seeking to emulate the earlier 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids. But some groups of them came south towards India nevertheless, notably in Sikkim and in Bhotan. On the whole, the Tibetans remained foreigners so far as India was concerned—ardent borrowers from Indian culture, particularly in the artistic, intellectual and mystic and religious sides. They were thus never of the comity of Indian peoples, and they did not add

anything to the sum-total of Indian culture (although some Tibetan influence in the shaping of the Tantric cults in North-eastern India has been assumed, quite erroneously in my opinion, by some). The census of 1931 enumerated some 252,000 Tibetan-speakers in India, of whom 137,000 were Bhotias of Baltistan, and 42,000 Bhotias of Ladakh.

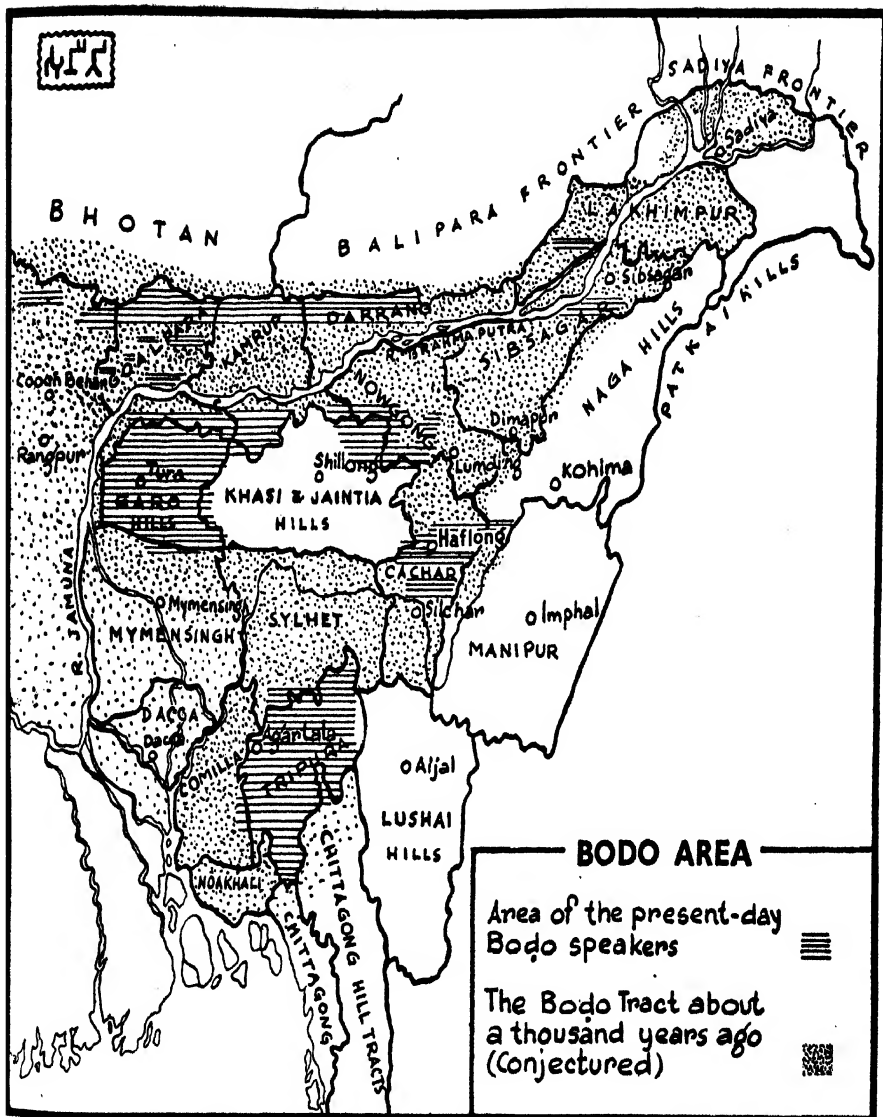
### 33. THE NORTH ASSAM TRIBES OF INDO-MONGOLOIDS

From their centre of dispersion, other Tibeto-Burman tribes took up their trek into India along the Brahmaputra river westwards. Some of them found homes in the mountainous tracts to the north of Assam, where we find them in the Balipara Frontier Tract to the east of Bhotan as Akas (Hrussos), Abors and Miris, and Daflas, and in the Sadiya Frontier Tract to the east as Mishmis. These have always remained in a very primitive state, and never had any occasion to advance in civilisation like some of their cousins and brothers in the plains and in Nepal. The North Assam tribes, however, appear to be connected with the Nagas and Bodos living to their south. In any case, some sacrificial rites among the Abors appear to be of the type current among the Nagas. The speakers of these North Assam speeches come up to only about 18,000 now (1931 census), of whom 14,000 speak Abor.

The Tibeto-Burmans who came down to Burma in succeeding waves became diversified as the common ancestors of the Bodos and Nagas on the one hand, who came to Assam and the Brahmaputra valley in fairly early times, and on the other the ancestors of the Kachins or Singphos and the Lolos who have always remained in Burma, the primitive Kuki or Chin people who are found in south-east Assam and Burma (the Manipuris or Meitheis being the most important group among them), and the Mramā (Myamma or Byamma), i.e., the Burmese proper, who have partly infiltrated into Chittagong through Arakan. All these groups are together classed as the *Assam-Burma* section of the Tibeto-Burmans, by virtue of some common points of linguistic and cultural resemblance among them.

### 34. THE BODOS (BĀRĀS)

The Bodo tribes are linguistically connected with the Nagas, but whereas the Nagas have always remained isolated and primitive, one may say that the Bodos, who spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra valley and North Bengal as well as East Bengal, forming a solid *bloc* in North-eastern India, were the most important Indo-Mongoloid people in Eastern India, and they form one of the main bases of the present-day population of these tracts. Judging from the wide range of extension of their language, the Bodos appear first to have settled over the entire Brahmaputra valley, and extended west into North Bengal (in Koch Bihar, Rangpur and Dinajpur districts); they may have pushed into North Bihar also, and the Indo-Mongoloids who penetrated into North Bihar might equally have been either Bodos or 'Himalayan' tribes allied to the Newars. They skirted the southern bend of the Brahmaputra and occupied the Garo Hills, where, as Garos, they form a *bloc* of Bodo speech. South of the Garo Hills they spread in northern Maimansing, where the semi-Bengalised Hajong tribe is of Bodo origin. From Nowgong district in Assam their area of occupation extended to Cachar district (particularly in the North Cachar Hills) and into Sylhet, and from Cachar and Sylhet they extend further to the south, to Tripura State, where there is still a Bodo-speaking *bloc* in the shape of the Tipra tribe which founded the State; and from Tripura they spread into Comilla





and possibly also Noakhali districts: and thus they occupied the mouths of the Ganges by the eastern sea. With the exception of the isolated Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the whole of Assam (barring the eastern parts inhabited by the Nagas and the south-eastern parts inhabited by the Kuki-Chins) and North and East Bengal was the country of the great Bodo people. But at the present moment, except where some islands of Bodo speech still remain, the Kirāta Bodos have merged into the Bengali and Assamese speaking masses, Hindu as well as Musalman, in the area.

According to the census of 1931, the Bodo speakers in India numbered 911,000 persons—close upon a million, of whom 220,000 were Garos, 291,000 Kacharis and 198,000 Mrungs or Tipras, and the rest Rabhas, Meches, Koches, etc. For Bodo tribes, see Sidney Endle, *The Kacharis*, London, 1911; J. A. Playfair, *The Garos*, London, 1909.

### 35. THE NAGAS

Two other groups will complete the survey of the Indo-Mongoloids of the Tibeto-Burman group in Assam: the Nagas and the Kuki-Chins. The Nagas are in occupation of the Naga Hills area in the east of Assam, and are found also in the State of Manipur. Linguistically they are said to have a close affinity with the Bodo speakers. But they have absorbed some Negroid blood; and in their culture, their ways of life, they have remained very primitive. The name *Naga* given to them by their Aryan-speaking neighbours the Assamese, means 'naked' (*Nagā*), and they were dreaded and detested as being addicted to head-hunting. Numerically they are some 350,000 souls (census of 1931), but they are split up into a number of mutually exclusive tribes who do not understand each others' speech. The Aryan Assamese (and occasionally Hindi) forms a common *Lingua Franca* among the various Naga tribes. Christian missionaries have furnished some literature to some of the Naga dialects (or languages) by translating in them portions of the Christian scriptures (e.g. in Ao, Angami, Tangkul). There are some very good monographs on the Nagas as a whole and on the different tribes of the Nagas by European ethnologists, from which we are enabled to form a good idea of the Naga milieu. In Manipur, there is a tendency among the Nagas to be absorbed linguistically and culturally among the ruling Meithei or Manipuri people.

The following works can be mentioned for a study of the Nagas: T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911; J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, London, 1921; *ibid.*, *The Sema Nagas*, London, 1921; *ibid.*, *The Lhota Nagas*, London, 1922; William Carlson Smith, *The Ao Naga Tribes of Assam*, London, 1925; S. N. Mazumdar, *Ao Nagas*, Calcutta, 1925; J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, London, 1926; Christoph von Furer Haimendorf, *The Naked Nagas*, Calcutta, 1946.

The Nagas are just now entering the domain of Indian civilisation in an official or formal manner. Some of their religious notions and ceremonies present a strange similarity with those of the later Vedic Aryans.

### 36. THE KUKI-CHINS

The Kuki-Chin tribes present an important branch or section of the Assam Indo-Mongoloids. They have their kinsmen in Burma, and appear to have settled in fairly ancient times in Manipur and the Lushei Hills, as well as in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. From Lushei Hills and Manipur they came in large numbers to Tripura State, where they form an important



section of the people. These Indo-Mongoloids are known to the Assamese and Bengalis as *Kukis*, and to the Burmese as *Chins* (written *Khyin*), and *Kuki-Chin* has been adopted as a composite and inclusive name for them. The Meitheis or Manipuris appear to have entered the Hindu fold at least as early as the 15th century when Vaishnavism spread among them: but Meithei Hindu traditions would take their admission into the group of Hindu peoples to a remote antiquity. They developed an alphabet, a modification of the Indian system of writing, the actual time and provenance of which is not known. But from the middle of the 18th century, they adopted the Bengali script with the conversion of the ruling Manipur king Gharib-nawaz to Chaitanya Vaishnavism, through Bengali Vaishnava preachers from Sylhet in 1740. The Meitheis are now staunch Hindus, and through them Manipur has been made the easternmost outpost of Hindu culture in India. In modern times, the Manipur Vaishnava dance—the *Rāsa*—has been a great contribution to the art of the Dance as an expression of Modern Indian culture. The Meitheis are very proud of their language which has a growing literature—of translations from the Sanskrit, of original poems, of dramas, and of novels and general prose essays. The eminent Manipuri Sanskritist and leader of the Hindu culture, Paṇḍitarāja Atombapu Vidyāratna, has brought out editions of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Gūṭa-gōvinda*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* and other Sanskrit works with Manipuri translations; dramas in Manipuri, original or translated from Bengali, are staged in the public theatres in Imphal, and a huge narrative poem of some 39,000 lines on the love and adventures of the hero Khamba and the princess Thoibi (who are supposed to have lived during the first half of the 12th century), based on popular ballads on the theme, have been composed by the late Hijum Anganghal Singh (d. 1944), the greatest writer of Manipuri at the present day. Manipuri as a mother tongue is studied up to the B.A. examination, and unquestionably it is the most important language in Eastern India, after Bengali and Assamese.

The number of Manipuri speakers according to the census of 1931 was 392,000; but as the language is taught all over the State, both the Kukis, linguistic relatives of the Meitheis, and the Nagas are acquiring it, so that the language may have doubled its extent, and may hit the million mark ere long. Manipuri Brahmans have penetrated into Burma also, and they have been for the last few centuries important missionaries of the Sanskrit culture of India in South-eastern Assam and Burma. The total number of Kuki-Chin speakers in India, according to the 1931 census, is 973,000, coming close up to one million. For the Kuki-Chins, see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Volume III, Part 3, Kuki-Chin and Burma Groups, Calcutta, 1904; Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912; Tarak Chandra Das, *The Purums, an Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur*, Calcutta University, 1945.

### 37. OTHER INDO-MONGOLOIDS OF ASSAM

There are a few other Indo-Mongoloid tribes of Assam, small in number and insignificant in influence, who form intermediate groups among the Bodos, the Nagas and the Kukis. Thus the *Empeos* (10,280, LSI estimate), the *Khoirao*s (15,000, LSI) and the *Kabuis* (11,073, LSI estimate) are looked upon as Nagas, but they are in language intermediate between the Bodos and Nagas. Then there are the *Mikirs* (129,000, census of 1931), living in the Mikir Hills (Nowgong and Sibsagar), who linguistically are between the Kukis and the Nagas. The Mikirs appear to be a gifted people, with an imaginative turn of mind, as is noticeable in some of their folk-tales.

## 38. THE AUSTRIC-SPEAKING KHASIS

The Khasis of Assam (253,000, census of 1931) require a special notice. They form an island of Mon-Khmer (Austrie, or Austro-Asiatic) speakers within the original Bodo area. They are by race Indo-Mongoloid, but their language is different. They would appear to be a Mongoloid people who have adopted the language of the earlier race, the Austries (or Proto-Australoids), after they came down south from the Tibeto-Burman area of dispersion. They may have changed their speech to the Austrie (Mon-Khmer) Khasi even while they were in Burma; and after that they may have come to Assam and ensconced themselves in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, successfully resisting all possible attempts of the Bodos who followed them in dislodging or absorbing them. It is equally likely that they were a congeries of diverse Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and in the plains of Sylhet, settling among original Austrie speakers, whose language the Tibeto-Burman settlers in this area found convenient to adopt when their own tribal dialects were too numerous and too diverse. Possibly this linguistic change-over occurred before the coming of the waves of Bodo expansion. Their linguistic uniqueness they have preserved among the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans (Bodos) and Aryan-speakers (Bengalis and Assamese).

The Khasis are a gifted people, and contact with the Bengalis in the south and the Assamese in the north and east, and with European Christian missionaries within their own country have been of great help in making them advance in the scale of civilisation. They study their language which has been Romanised, and they have produced educators and administrators of note. In importance, they are to be mentioned after the Newars, the Bodos and the Manipuris among the Indo-Mongoloid peoples of India.

## 39. THE AHOM (AHAM, ASAM) PEOPLE OF THE SIAMESE-CHINESE GROUP

The various Tibeto-Burman groups thus came to be established on the soil of India in times of which we have no historical memory or notion. But within historical times, another Mongoloid people, this time not of Tibeto-Burman but of Siamese-Chinese speech, entered into North-eastern Assam from Burma through the Patkoi Range and along the Noa-Dihang river. They were the *Asams*, or *Ahams* (Ahoms), a people who gave their name to the province of *Assam*. They advanced into India as a group of invaders who established themselves in the easternmost part of the Brahmaputra valley under their chief Su-ka-pha in 1228 A.D. Gradually they extended their power and rule, conquering the local peoples, Hindus of diverse origin, mostly Bodos. By the middle of the 16th century, after conquering the powerful Hindu Bodo kingdom of the Kacharis, they became paramount in the valley of the Brahmaputra. The Ahoms ruled over Assam right up to the annexation of the province by the English in 1824. The Hinduisation of the Ahoms, at first in culture and religion and then in language, commenced with great vigour in the 17th century; and 1750 it was all but complete. They cultivated their language and wrote *Buranjis* or *Chronicles* in them, a practice which they continued in Assamese after they abandoned Ahom for Assamese. Their most glorious period was the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, when they had progressed a great deal in their Hinduisation. In their political history and their achievements (successful resistance to the Muslims from the west) the Ahoms formed a most important and a very powerful Indo-Mongoloid group in North-eastern India.

#### 40. INDO-MONGOLOID FUSION IN THE INDIAN BODY-POLITIC STILL CONTINUING—IN NEPAL, AND IN ASSAM AND IN NORTH AND EAST BENGAL

Mongoloid participation in the enacting of the common drama of political history and in the evolution of the common culture of North-eastern and sub-Himalayan India is not yet a thing of the past. It was operative in the Panjab Himalayan areas, in North Bihar, and in other tracts, in ancient times. We see the process of fusion working before our eyes, in two distinct areas particularly—Nepal, and Assam and North and East Bengal. The following tribes or peoples have been affected by it: the 'Himalayan' Indo-Mongoloids who have now merged into the Kunets, the Khasas and other mixed peoples in the area between the Satlaj and the Bias in the Panjab Hills; the tribes living in the East Panjab and North-west United Province Hills, including Garhwal and Kumaon (like the Manchat, the Rangloi, the Bunan, the Kanash and the Kanawari: the Rangka, Darmiya, Byangsi and the Chaudangsi tribes—all belonging to the western group of 'complex pronominalised' Himalayan Tibeto-Burman dialects); the Magars and Gurungs of West Nepal; the Newars, Buddhistic and Brahmanical inhabitants of the Nepal valley; the Kirānti peoples of Central and Eastern Nepal (the Vayu, the Khambu, the Yakha, the Limbu, the Dhimel and a few others, belong to the eastern group of the 'complex pronominalised' Himalayan dialects). Of these, the Magars, the Gurungs and the Newars, members of the Himalayan branch of the Indo-Mongoloids whose language has not been affected by Austric, have become largely modified by admixture with high-caste Hindu elements from the Indian plains—at least in their upper classes. Then, outside of Nepal, are the Bodos (Koches, Meches and other tribes in North Bengal and Assam, Kacharis in Assam, and Tipras in Tripura in East Bengal) and the Ahoms in Assam; besides the Austric-speaking Khasis and Jaintias in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills; and finally, the Meitheis in Manipur.

The contribution to Indian culture of some of these peoples has been quite noteworthy: particularly of the Newars, the Bodos, the Ahoms, and, in recent times, of the Meitheis.

#### 41. NATURE OF INDO-MONGOLOID PARTICIPATION IN HINDU CULTURE

What were the general lines of the Indo-Mongoloid participation or contribution in the evolution of Indian culture and in the course of Indian history in the areas where they were active? Briefly, it was of a piece with evolution of culture and history in other parts of India: it was largely a case of progressive Indianisation or Hinduisation of these Mongoloid peoples, bringing them within the fold of what may be called 'Sanskrit culture'. This was a culture which was brought to the Indo-Mongoloids in Nepal by both the Brahman priest and the Buddhist monk, and in Bengal and Assam by the Brahman priest mainly. Hindu military adventurers and merchants also participated. But it was not a case of one-sided influence or absorption only. It was also a case of the Mongoloid speeches and ideologies, cults and customs being engrafted on the stock of Hindu (i.e., Indo-Aryan-cum-Austric and Dravidian) speech and ideology and cults and customs. Culture and race contacts are never one-sided in their influence. The later Mahāyāna Buddhism of Nepal as it was taken from Bihar and Bengal, in its ideas and its ritual; the Śaiva and Śākta cults, in their pure Hindu form as the Hindu *tantra* and in their Buddhist environment as Buddhist *tantra* in Nepal; and the local Śākta, Śaiva and Vaishnava developments of Hinduism in Assam and Bengal, are due, partly at least, to the reaction of the early

Mongoloids in North Bihar, and to the temperament of the Newars in Nepal and of the Bodos, the Ahoms and the Khasis in Bengal and Assam. Bengal's culture has now become more or less uniform, with persistent North Indian influences, and has a predominantly West Bengali character, more free from Indo-Mongoloid elements than in Assam and Nepal. We have to consider the sanctuaries of Hindu faith in Nepal, Assam and Bengal, some of which, like that of Pasupatinath in Nepal, of Kamakhya in Assam (Gauhati), of Kali at Kalighat in Calcutta, and of Chandranath near Chittagong, have acquired a pan-Indian importance. Local feasts and festivals, local ways of life, local arts and crafts, with certain modifications in the different areas, are the result of the special social and mental environment of the Indo-Mongoloid peoples. We have also to consider certain types of artistic expression in the fine arts and the crafts, e.g., in architecture, as among the more advanced Indo-Mongoloids like the Newars, the Koches, the Tipras, the Ahoms and the Kacharis, and in painting and sculpture and in decoration, in the textile arts in both cotton and silk, in dress, etc., generally. In this connexion, we have further to take note of the coin-legends and aniconic coin types which were evolved in Nepal on the one hand and in Bengal-Assam on the other, in the courts of the Newar kings of Nepal, and the Koch, Tripura, Ahom and Kachari and Jaintia kings, from the 15th century onwards. That the mentality and the emotional quality of the Indo-Mongoloid peoples as a whole (now merged or in the process of being merged into the Hindu and Hindu-Buddhist and in some cases into the Bengali Muslim masses of Nepal, Assam and Bengal) would be reflected in their history and in the changes that took place in Hindu religion and ritual and culture in general, is easy to understand.

#### 42. THE MONGOLOID 'CHARACTER': AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS

It will be difficult to label the 'character' of the Mongoloid peoples as a whole in certain categorical terms. But it may be said, without being dogmatic on the point, that a great optimism and a cheerfulness of temper, combined with a *bon-homie* and a *cameraderie* that are the result of a sense of happy-go-lucky freedom, appear to be the most salient qualities of the character of the Mongoloid peoples. Self-reliance and courage, as well as resourcefulness, are other good points in the Mongoloid character. On the debit side, however, they appear to be rather credulous, and at times they can be very cruel to both man and beast; and, besides, they lack a depth of thought and possibly also a depth of feeling or emotion (in this they are quite unlike their kinsmen the Chinese). A habit of indolence, after their immediate needs are satisfied, seems to be present as an occasional characteristic; but when roused to action, they are capable of concerted and sustained work. They are factual and not philosophical, and pragmatic and practical rather than argumentative. They have also an innate sense of decoration and colour and of rhythm. In the blankets and loin-cloths they weave there is a harmonious combination of colours—scarlet reds, and blacks, and yellows and blues, sometimes with geometrical patterns. Dance as an art is well-developed among them—among some tribes forming a part of their religious ritual, both pre-Hindu and Hindu. They like mimicry; and on the basis of this, where they have developed the drama, they take to it with great enthusiasm. In certain matters, particularly in the fine arts, they make very good pupils, but they seldom go beyond the traditional paths.

The Indo-Mongoloids were the great transmitters of the culture they received from the Hindus of the plains. The Newars passed on the art of

the Pala dynasty of Eastern India to Tibet and beyond; the early Kukis, and the Bodos of Assam and Eastern Bengal, in the Patṭikera kingdom in the district of Comillah, and in certain Hindu or Hinduised principalities of Chittagong and Arakan, were the intermediaries in the transmission by land routes of the Brahmanical and Buddhistic culture of India to Burma and beyond, during the greater part of the 1st millennium A.D., and probably in the early pre-Christian centuries as well.

Another great contribution of the Indo-Mongoloids was in the successful resistance they gave, after they took initiation into Hindu culture, to the aggressive spirit of Islam in India. Assam was never permanently conquered by the Musalmans. From 1198 onwards, there were a dozen invasions of Assam, but in 1681 the Moguls in the time of Aurang-zeb were driven out for good by the Ahom king Su-pat-pha (or Gadādhār Siṃha). His son Su-khrung-pha (or Rudra Siṃha) even contemplated attacking and conquering Bengal from the Moguls, with the help of a confederacy of the Hindu princes of Eastern India whose friendship he was cultivating with this end in view; but death put an end to all his objectives on the eve of his projected advance against the Moguls in Bengal with well-trained and well-prepared armed forces. It is also a moot point if at any time the Musalmans from India were able to create an impression upon the Newars, even if they penetrated into the valley of Nepal. Hill Tipperah—the kingdom of Tripurā—was never conquered by the Muslims from Bengal, and, as in Assam, the Tripura kings with their Tipra and Kuki troops in many cases drove out the Muslim invaders by brilliant generalship and superb courage. The Kachar and Jaintia kingdoms always remained independent Hindu states on the fringe of a Bengal which was ruled by Muslim Sultans and *Subahdars* (Viceroys of the Mogul emperor in Agra and Delhi) and Nawabs. The Koch king Nara-nārāyana was no mean contemporary of the great Akbar; the Tipperah king Dhanya-mānukya who ruled c. 1500 A.D., and one of Dhanya-mānukya's successors Vijaya-mānukya who was a contemporary of Akbar, were great soldiers and great rulers, and they built up strong and extensive kingdoms which very well merited the title of *empires*; and the Ahom kings Gadādhār Siṃha and Rudra Siṃha, contemporaries of Aurang-zeb and Bahādur Shāh of Delhi, were also enlightened and powerful kings.

The Newar kingdoms were centres of a great school of plastic art for centuries from the days of the Palas of Bengal and Bihar, and latterly of music and the drama.

In giving successful resistance to Muslim aggression, distance from Delhi was no doubt a great factor; and the rainy season in Bengal and Assam was a great asset for defence. Yet all these invasions had their bases in Bengal, at Dacca and at Gaur; and the distance from Delhi to Koch Bihar, Gauhati and Rangpur (Jorhat) in Assam, and to Udaipur in Tripura, is not greater than that from Delhi to Bijapur or Golconda. The doughty light-armed foot-soldiers (*pāiks*) of Mongoloid origin, as a mobile body of troops, were more than a match for the Turki, Pathan, Mogul and Rajput mail-clad horsemen in the terrain of North and East Bengal and Assam. And these light-armed and very mobile *pāiks* of Bengal, particularly of North Bengal and Tripura and Assam, who stemmed the tide of Muslim advance on many an occasion, have to be given their due recognition, side by side with the other and more famous fighters of India—the Panjabi Hindus (Jats and Rajputs), Muslims and Sikhs, the Rajputs of Rajasthan and North India, the North Indian Hindus and Musalmans, the Marathas, the Oriyas, and the Telugus and the Gonds, the Bhils and the Minas, the Kannadigas and the Tamilians, and the Nayars of Kerala.

#### 43. SOME OUTSTANDING CHARACTERISTICS OF MONGOLOID (TIBETO-BURMAN) CULTURE (ACCORDING TO W. C. SMITH)

In his  *Ao Naga Tribes of Assam : a Study in Ethnology and Sociology* (London, 1925), Dr. W. C. Smith, a Christian Missionary as well as a sociologist from America, among the Nagas, has given 13 outstanding characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Assam, whom he attaches racially to the 'Indonesians', i.e. the people of Malaya and the Islands of Indonesia. These are: (1) Head-hunting; (2) Common Sleeping-houses for the Unmarried Men, which are taboo to women; (3) Dwelling Houses built on Posts and Piles; (4) Disposal of the Dead on raised Platforms; (5) a sort of Trial Marriage, or great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage; (6) Betel-chewing; (7) Aversion to Milk as an article of diet; (8) Tatooing by pricking; (9) Absence of any powerful political organisation; (10) the Double-cylinder Vertical Forge; (11) the Simple Loom for weaving cloth; (12) a large Quadrangular or Hexagonal Shield; and (13) Residence in Hilly Regions with a crude form of Agriculture (pp. 120ff., *op. cit.*). All these traits are of course not found among all the Indo-Mongoloids (whether of Bengal and Assam or of Nepal) of today, but there is evidence to show that these were at one time spread or current among most or all of their tribes. Some of these traits would appear to be of genuine Mongoloid origin; others, like the common club and sleeping house for bachelors, and betel-chewing, would seem in all likelihood to have been adopted from the Austric predecessors of the Mongoloids in their present habitat in Burma and Assam. This matter, of course, requires closer investigation—the nature and extent of Sino-Tibetan and Austric cultural and racial miscegenation in Eastern India and Farther India.

#### 44. EARLY MONGOLOIDS AND HINDU HISTORY AND CULTURE: SOME ANCIENT POINTS OF CONTACT

Before considering the question of Indo-Mongoloid or *Kirāta* participation in Hindu history and culture in some detail, regionally and chronologically, we may note some early points of contact in the domain of religious, philosophical ideas and religious cult and ritual.

The Aryan speech with the Vedic fire-cult does not appear to have been established over Northern India beyond North Bihar—Videha or Mithila—before 700 B.C. Prior to that, in the area of North Bengal and Assam, a powerful non-Aryan, possibly Tibeto-Burman, state may have arisen, with a mixed population of Austries, Dravidians and Tibeto-Burmans—the last, as representing a group of aggressive invaders from the East, perhaps being dominant and furnishing the ruling class, as it happened many centuries later when the Ahoms came to Assam. This non-Aryan state, possibly ruled over by Indo-Mongoloids, was susceptible to upper Gangetic Brahmanical influences from the beginning. Traditionally, a ruler of this early Indo-Mongoloid state, Bhagadatta, took part in the Kurukshetra battle. Further to the west, probably in the valley of Nepal, and in the hill area watered by the Satlaj and the Bias, beyond Kumaon and Garhwal, penetration by barbarous mountain-dwelling Kirātas had taken place about that time, i.e., c. 1000 B.C., or it may be earlier still. The references to the Kirātas in the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharva-veda* have been given before. Miscegenation with the Kirātas may have started in the western areas already: a miscegenation anticipating the process which is still at work in Nepal and elsewhere, or, rather a miscegenation which is still continuing.

At the time of Buddha, we find the powerful clan or people of the Licchavis in North Bihar. It has been suggested that they were a people

of Indo-Mongoloid origin. The account of their life and culture as given in the old Buddhist texts certainly shows a number of non-Brahmanical traits: for example, exposure of the dead, and a modified form of polyandry. They seem to have abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech for the Aryan, and in this they were like the later Koches of North Bengal and Ahoms of Assam, when those people took up Bengali and Assamese and entered into the structure of a Brahman-organised society. If the Licchavis were really Indo-Mongoloids, it is no longer possible to find out if they came from Nepal or from the Assam side. In North Bihar, their power and organisation won for them the status of Kshatriyas, as has happened in the case of the later Gorkhas. The Licchavi name became an honoured one, and the founder of the Gupta empire in the early part of the 4th century A.D. was proud of his Licchavi connexion, he having married the daughter of a Licchavi house. In Nepal, we have a Licchavi dynasty ruling for over five centuries (from c. 350 to 879 A.D.), as a sort of precursor of the Newar dynasties of subsequent times. It is not impossible, as Dines Chandra Sarkar has suggested (in the *Vaisali Volume*, in Hindi) that the group of eastern tribes like the Śākya, the Koliyas, the Licchavis, the Vṛjīs or Vajjis, the Moriyas, and others, were ultimately of Mongoloid origin, or were mixed peoples with a strong Mongoloid element who had adopted or were adopting the Aryan speech.

The claim of Kshatriyahood made by all these tribes is not at all a proof of their pure Aryan origin. The non-Aryan origin or affinities of the Licchavis (along with the Mallas and the Khasas, who were in later times well-known as Mongoloid or mixed peoples of Nepal and of the lands to its west) is hinted at by Manu (X, 22) who declared them to be *Vṛātyas* or debased Kshatriyas. Brahmanical orthodoxy as typified by Manu, refused to be influenced here by the power and pre-eminence of the Licchavis (see Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. I, pp. 87, 88).

If this view is correct, then Buddha himself would be an Indo-Mongoloid. He would be racially like the Gorkhas of Nepal. There is, it must be remembered, a good deal in Buddhism (at least in its outer forms) which goes counter to Aryanism, particularly Aryan racialism. This may well be a reflex of the race minds and cultural *milieus* in conflict, consciously or unconsciously. Thus, in Aryan religion the religious man as well as householder both wore long hair and beards (a practice we find among the kinsmen of the Aryans outside India, e.g. the Iranians, the Slavs, the Spartans and other ancient Greek tribes, the Germanic tribes); but the Buddhist monk was clean-shaven. Buddhist monks were enjoined to abstain from bedsteads, and were to lie on the ground, whereas the Aryan habit was to sleep in raised beds. Buddha was, however, very anxious to have the moral path preached by him known as the 'eightfold Aryan path' (*ariyaṭṭhaṅgiko maṅga*) and this solicitude for the 'Aryan' name would appear to be on a different footing from the jubilant and rather fervent pride, racial and patriotic in character, which the Achæmenian emperors of ancient Persia manifested in their inscriptions. With Buddha, *ariya* was more a moral attribute in the sense of 'noble' than a racial or national name, such as it was among the Vedic Aryans and the ancient Iranians—although the racial contrast between *Ārya* and *Dāsa* or *Śūdra*, i.e., non-Aryan, persisted, traditionally at least, to a much later date than Buddha. Then, we have to note Buddha's throwing overboard completely the Vedic sacrifice. Krishna Vāsudeva who was a reformer too, before Buddha, in the 10th century B.C., substituted the cultivation of moral virtues for Vedic sacrifices, but he did not seek to suppress the time-honoured Aryan religious usages. Further, Buddha was democratic and he did not want his teachings to be confined

to the sacred or literary language of the Brahmans who retained their allegiance to the Vedas—he wanted his message to reach all and sundry in their own languages.

It may be questioned if the response given to the teachings of the Buddha by the Mongoloid peoples of South-eastern Asia and of Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan had something racial behind it—at least partially.

Moreover, when already in the Vedas (*Yajurveda* and *Atharva-vēda*) the Kirātas or Indo-Mongoloids of the hills are known, it would not be unreasonable to assume further that there was a likelihood of the Aryan-speaking followers of the Vedic religion and the Mongoloids with their primitive religion influencing each other in certain aspects of their religious and social life. The elaborate nature of later Vedic age sacrifices when sheep, goats, cows or oxen and horses were killed, sacrifices which took up days and in which the householder and his wife had to take part in a strictly ordered sequence of the ceremonial, show a strange agreement in both form and spirit with the elaborate ceremonial of 'the feasts of merit' like the 'bull-killing' sacrifice and 'the *mīthan* or wild bison killing' sacrifice as is still in use among the Ao Nagas (cf. *The Ao Nagas* by J. P. Mills, London, 1926, pp. 370ff.). The resemblances between the Vedic *Śūla-garya* sacrifice and the Ao Naga *mīthan* sacrifice are striking: the animal was killed in each by means of a sharp stake of wood piercing its heart. It has not yet been established if like the Ao Nagas and other Naga tribes, and also like the Kukis and some of the North Assam tribes like the Abors, other Indo-Mongoloids like the Bodos had ever had similar elaborate animal sacrifices; but it is exceedingly probable they had. The Newars, in spite of their Buddhism, have never abandoned their elaborate and very cruel method of sacrificing buffaloes, and animal sacrifices by the Bodos and other Indo-Mongoloids have continued down to our times. The Hindu Gorkhas in Nepal perform hecatombs of buffalo and goat sacrifices before the Śakti goddess during the second day of the Durgā Pūjā particularly, and similar goat and buffalo sacrifices in Bengal and Assam before Durgā and Kālī have no Aryan basis or background; and these may be an inheritance from the Indo-Mongoloids. Only the method of killing the animal by decapitation at one blow, may have been a Hindu (but *not* Aryan) innovation. The elaboration of these animal sacrifices in the later Vedic age on a scale not known to the Indo-European peoples outside India appears to have developed within India, and there was always a strain of protest even in Aryan-speaking society against it all. Some influence of a submerged Indo-Mongoloid element in this matter, emanating from the sub-Himalayan tracts in Northern India and in Eastern India, is not unlikely.

The following points in the Naga and Kuki ideology show a noticeable agreement with the Aryan sentiments and practice in the matter. Among both the Kukis and the Nagas 'a very prominent and important place is always given to the wife of a man performing sacrificial ceremonies. Indeed, a Naga widower would be unqualified to perform a feast of social status.' Then, again, the Nagas and the Kukis have a series of 'graded "Feasts of Merit" by which the individual celebrates and reinforces his prosperity and attempts to infect with it the whole community.' (Observations of Dr. J. H. Hutton in N. E. Parry's work on the *Lakhsers*, London, 1932, pp. xii, xiii.) At the present day, similar 'Feasts of Merit' are current among the Hindus of Bengal in the shape of the *Durgā-pūjā*, the *Kālī-pūjā* and other festivals mostly Śākta and some Vaiṣṇava, and among the Musalmans in the form of *Milād Sharīfs*, in which the entire community is asked to participate in the house of the person who holds these 'feasts'.



In the philosophical development of Brahmanism, the most noteworthy things are the ideas of *Karma* and *Samśāra* (the effect of one's actions and transmigration of the soul), which are to be taken together. The Indo-Europeans did not develop ideas like those connoted by *Karma* and *Samśāra*, to start with. The Indo-European notions of life after death we find among the Vedic Aryans, the Greeks, the Germanic peoples, and others. These centre round a *Pitr-lōka* or an Elysium or a Valhalla, a place for heroes and good men and the fathers and ancestors who of course were both good men and heroes. The moral basis of the law of *Karma* and of metempsychosis was not yet developed among the primitive Indo-Aryans when they came to India. But in India, contact and commingling with the Dravidians and the Austrials and then with the Indo-Mongoloids brought in a new conception—a synthesis, in this matter, in the spiritual perception of the descendants of the Aryans, pure and mixed; and the result was the doctrine of *Karma*, which appears to have become accepted among most classes of Indians during the first half of the first millennium B.C. The Mongoloid belief which is noticeable among many primitive tribes speaking Tibeto-Burman and other Sino-Tibetan languages in man possessing more souls than one may well have assisted in the evolution of the idea of metempsychosis in India.

In the story of the five Pāndava brothers having married one wife in common, Draupadī, some have seen an influence of the Indo-Mongoloids, considering that fraternal polyandry is found among the Tibetan Mongoloids, and among the Hindus claiming to be Kshatriyas in the Simla Hills. Particularly we are reminded in this connexion that the Pāndavas themselves were born in a polyandrous though supernatural atmosphere, and they passed their early life in the Himalayas, in a possible Indo-Mongoloid environment, in tracts where mixed Aryan and Indo-Mongoloid Khasas and other tribes had their origin and home. This particular matter remains an unsolved problem in Indo-Aryan legend and history, and considering the fact that racial mixture was quite common in the *Mahābhārata* period (i.e. c. 10th century B.C.), Indo-Mongoloid contact and influence here is not unlikely.

#### 45. THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS IN NEPAL: THE NAME 'NEPAL' (NEPĀLA)

The *Mahābhārata* tradition makes Bhagadatta, a *Mlērcha* or Indo-Mongoloid king of Western Assam, *Prāgjyōtiṣa* (later Kāmarūpa), participate with golden or yellow complexioned Kirāta and Cina warriors on the Kaurava side in the Kurukshetra battle and be killed by the Pāndava hero Bhīma. Bhagadatta fought from an elephant, and the pre-eminence of Assam for elephants is well known. Leaving aside the possible but problematic connexion of an Indo-Mongoloid king like Bhagadatta with happenings in the heart of Aryavarta in the 10th century B.C., and the unsolved question of the Licchavis and other possibly Hinduised Mongoloid tribes of Eastern India in the 7th-6th century B.C., and also the Nepalese Mahayana Buddhist tradition of the Maurya emperor Asoka having visited Nepal and founded the city of Patan or Lalitapātana with its four stupas still intact, we first find ourselves on firmer ground about the Indo-Mongoloid doings in the Indian scene in Nepal in the 4th-5th century A.D., when we find that the great Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta obtained the homage of 'the frontier ruler of Nepal' (*pratyanta-Nepāla-nṛpati*), who in all likelihood belonged to the Sūrya-vamśī Licchavi clan, which was spread from Nepal to Bihar and the eastern United Provinces. An inscription of a king of this dynasty,

that of Māna-deva, dating from c. 496 A.D., has been found in the precincts of the Changu Narayana temple in Nepal valley.

The very late chronicles of Nepal, in the Tibeto-Burman Newari language, and in their Indo-Aryan Parbatiya or Gorkhali adaptations, represent a traditional school of Nepal history which was set up in the court of the Nepal (Newar) kings in the 14th century. These may have some germ of historicity in them, but they are on the whole generally unreliable. Various derivations of the name *Nepāl* (*Nepāla*) were proposed by the Pandits of Nepal in medieval times, both Buddhist and Brahman. It would appear, however, that the name came from that of a Tibeto-Burman speaking tribe, the ancestors of the present-day Newar people, and consists of two elements, a prefix *Ne-*, of uncertain meaning (it may be the name of some hero-king or priest among the tribe), and the proper tribal name *Pal* or *Bal*, the meaning of which in Newari is lost, although in Tibetan the word *bal* means 'wool'. The Tibetans call the Nepālis, i.e., the Newaris particularly, *Bal-po*, i.e., 'the *Bal*-men'. (Cf. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Paris, 1905, Vol I, pp. 66-68). It may also be questioned if *Pal-pa*, the name of the region immediately to the west of the Nepal valley, the home of the Newars, is connected with this *Pal* or *Bal*. *Ne-pal* became with the Sanskrit and Prakrit using Indians of North India *Nēpāla* during the period round about Christ, if not as early as the time of Asoka, or earlier still. Already in Kautilya's *Artha-Śāstra*, the original of which may go back to the 4th century B.C., we have mention of sheep's wool (*āvīkam*) blankets of Nepal make (*Nāipālikam*). (Cf. Radha-govinda Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, Calcutta, 1934, p. 239.) In Newari, the sounds of *r* and *l* interchange. Through later phonetic change, *Nepāl* became *Newār*, and in Modern Newari, the loss of the final *r* has further modified the name, particularly as the name of the Newar people, to *Newāh* or *Newā*.

#### 46. EARLY DYNASTIES OF NEPAL: THE GOPĀLA OR ĀHĪRA KINGS: THE KIRĀTA KINGS WITH NON-ARYAN NAMES

According to these Newari chronicles—*Vamśāvalis* or 'Dynasty Lists', Nepal was inhabited and ruled over by tribes of 'Gopālas' and 'Ābhīras' or 'cowherds' in most ancient times, and names of a number of kings of these dynasties or tribes are given, names which are all in Sanskrit. (See Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 72-73, 74). We do not know how to take these names. They probably refer in a vague way to Hinduised groups of mixed Austric and Dravidian and probably also Indo-Mongoloid speakers who were in occupation of Nepal valley prior to a wholesale influx of purer Mongoloids—the Nepāl or Newār people, probably sometime before the Christian era, who are known to the *Vamśāvalis* as *Kirātas*. Then came a line of Kirāta kings. The *Vamśāvalis* give some 26 or 29 names of these Kirāta kings. The possibility of some historicity subsisting behind the *Vamśāvalis* becomes a probability when we find that most of their names are non-Sanskritic, although they have not yet been identified with names or words in any Sino-Tibetan language. (Cf. the lists in Lévi, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 78-79: names like *Yalamba*, *Pambi* or *Pabi*, *Dhaskam*, *Balamba*, *Jitedāsti*, *Galiñja*, *Puška* or *Punchem*, *Thuñka* or *Thumu*, *Keñke*, *Gighri* or *Jeghri*, *Luk*, *Thor*, *Guñja*, *Kesu* or *Juśa*, *Sungu*, *Sansa*, *Gunnāñja*, *Khimbu*.) These Kirāta kings were undoubtedly preparing the way for Newar and other Indo-Mongoloid domination in the affairs of Nepal and for their fullest participation in the development of its Hindu (Buddhist or Brahmanical) culture in the centuries to come. The *Vamśāvalis* have sought to synchronise some of these Kirāta kings of Nepal with Indian Aryan kings, legendary

and historical: e.g. with the Pāṇḍavas, with Buddha and with Asoka. The Kirāta rulers had their capital at Gokarna in the north of the Nepal valley.

47. THE SOMA-VAMŚI AND SŪRYA-VAMŚI (LICCHAVI) KINGS OF NEPAL, FROM BIHAR: AMŚU-VARMAN

The Kirātas were suppressed by a new dynasty, this time Hindu, which came from Bihar and conquered Nepal, establishing their capital in the extreme south of the valley at Godāvari. They were a *Soma-vamśi* or Lunar line of kings, five in number; and after them we have the *Sūrya-vamśi* or Solar Licchavi dynasty, with whom the historical period of Nepal begins. We know something about the Licchavi kings of Nepal from their inscriptions and their coins: they ruled from c. 350 A.D. to the end of the 9th century A.D. The Caṅgu Nārāyaṇa Temple Pillar Inscription of *Māna-dēva* of this dynasty tells us something about the earlier kings. Buddhism and Brahmanism (Vishnu and Śiva worship) were their cults, and during their rule the Vaiṣṇava as well as Śaiva and Śākta shrines of Nepal came into prominence, by 650 A.D., particularly the shrine of Śiva Paśupati-nātha.

While the Licchavis were formally in power, Mahāsāmanta Amśu-varman of the Thākuri dynasty came into great prominence as *de facto* ruler of Nepal, during the first half of the 7th century A.D. Amśu-varman, in spite of his Sanskrit name, was in all likelihood of Indo-Mongoloid origin. During the first half of the 7th century, Northern India was ruled by Emperor Harsha-vardhana of Kanauj, and the Deccan by Pulikeśin Cālukya. In Tibet, during the same period, ruled the national hero-king of the Tibetans, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who had made Nepal his vassal. Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po married a daughter of Amśu-varman. This Nepal princess, probably Newar in race, married to a Tibetan king, was largely instrumental in converting her husband to the Buddhist faith, which led to the Tibetans as a people to become Buddhist, and later on to modify the Mahayana Buddhism of their adoption to Lamaism, or Lamaistic Buddhism, in the atmosphere of their original Bon religion.

The Licchavis regained their power shortly after the death of Amśu-varman and of Jishnu-gupta, another chief who had stepped into the place of Amśu-varman after he had passed away. The cult of Matsyendra-nātha was introduced into Nepal in 657 A.D. during the reign of the Licchavi king Narendra-deva. In this way the specific Nepali character of Mahayana Buddhism was taking shape with its rites and festivals under the Licchavis. Soma-deva, first quarter of the 8th century, married into the Maukhari family of India, his queen Vatsa-devī being a daughter of the Maukhari king Bhoga-varman and a grand-daughter of Āditya-sena, a later Gupta king of Magadha (c. 672-73 A.D.) Soma-deva's son Jaya-deva married an Assam-North-Bengal princess, Rājyamatī the daughter of Harsha-deva who is described as belonging to the royal house of Bhagadatta and as king of Gauda or North and West Bengal, Odra or North Orissa, Kalinga or South Orissa and the Telugu country and Kosala or Eastern Central Provinces and Central United Provinces. This Harsha-deva of the Nepal record is believed to be the same as the Śrī-Harsha mentioned in the Tejjpur plate of Vana māla, and as Harsha-varman of the plate of Harjara, as a king of the Śāla stambha dynasty of Assam (c. 650-800 A.D.). We have thus two of the important Hindu Mongoloid kingdoms in Northern and North-eastern India united by matrimony as early as the middle of the 8th century A.D. Similar intermarriages among the Indo-Mongoloid princely families have taken place later on.

## 48. NEPAL IN THE 8TH-9TH CENTURIES: TIBETO-NEPALESE RELATIONS

We need not enter into details of Nepal history—the work of Sylvain Lévi and that of Hem Chandra Ray (*Dynastic History of North India*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. I) have attempted to find out a path in the jungle presented by the *Vaṃśāvalis* on the one hand and the inscriptions and other positive historical references on the other. According to Tibetan and Chinese statements, the Tibetan kings are said to have been suzerains over Nepal throughout the 8th century. The Tibetans were in the height of their power in the 7th-8th century, from Nepal to Shen-si, and Urumtsi and Kucha. In the Lagantol inscription of king Śiva-datta of Nepal (? 714 A.D.), we find mention of a *Bhoṭṭa-viṣṭi* or a Tibetan tax or forced labour. Here we have perhaps the oldest employment of the term *Bhoṭa* (< *Bod* = Tibetan) in a Sanskrit document—barring the name of Thon-mi *Sambhoṭa* or ‘the Good *Bhoṭa*’, the Tibetan scholar contemporaneous with Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po who brought the Indian alphabet to Tibet and employed it for the Tibetan language.

There is other evidence of Tibetan overlordship in Nepal. During the second half of the 8th century, Jayāpīḍa, king of Kashmir, invaded Eastern India as far as Bengal, and he invaded Nepal, but the Nepal king Aramuḍi fought with him and took him prisoner, although Jayāpīḍa later escaped. Sylvain Lévi suggested that the Nepal king Aramuḍi was really a Tibetan—his name is not Sanskrit, ‘its strange consonance may hide a Tibetan name’ (Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 177). It could however be a local Indo-Mongoloid name: a conclusion that Aramuḍi was a Tibetan is perhaps not warranted from the assumption that the name is Tibetan. Tibet became torn by religious wars which started with the accession of king Glang-Darma in 838 who started a violent anti-Buddhist regime in favour of the pre-Buddhist Bon religion of the country. This led to the destruction of Tibetan power. According to Hem Chandra Ray, it was probably the assertion of the Nepalese and their throwing off the Tibetan yoke that was signalled by the foundation of a new era in Nepal from 879 A.D.

## 49. THE THĀKURI KINGS OF NEPAL, 9TH-12TH CENTURIES: NEPAL BECOMES CULTURALLY AN INTEGRAL PART OF INDIA

The Thākuri dynasty reigned in Nepal from the 9th to the end of the 12th century. In the 11th century, the line was bifurcated into the Thakuris of Nayākoṭ (1046-1197) and the Thakuris of Pāṭan (1080-1098). We do not get much positive information about the Thākuri kings of Nepal, except a few inscriptions and references from colophons of MSS. written or copied in Nepal, particularly during the 10th and 11th centuries. The Thākuri period was one of very close cultural connexion of Nepal with India (Bihar and Bengal) on the one hand, and with Tibet and China on the other. New towns were built, like Kāntipura (later Kāṭh-māṇḍō or Kāṭh-māṇḍō = Kāṣṭha-maṇḍapa) and Sanku, and old towns were renovated, like Pāṭan. The plastic arts and trade flourished exceedingly, Sanskrit learning was greatly advanced, and the corpus of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature of the Mahāyāna school was copied and preserved in the monastery libraries (*śāhals*, *ṭōls*) of Nepal. The latest developments of the Mahāyāna in Bengal and Bihar found a congenial soil in Nepal, and Nepalese scholars, Tibeto-Burman speakers, possibly mostly Newars, went to the Buddhist universities of India like Nālandā and Vikrama-śilā for higher studies. Indian scholars of note also would come to Nepal, like Vajra-kīrti (end of the 10th century), and Vāgīśvara-kīrti (1st half of the 11th century) who settled down in Nepal

to perform his Tantric *sādhana* or spiritual and ritualistic exercises. We hear of eminent Nepali scholars in India, like Ratna-kīrti, Vairocana and Kanaka-śrī; and Nepalese scholar monks like Pham-mthin and his brother Jñāna-vajra were great preachers of the Mahāyāna in Nepal. The Indo-Mongoloids of Nepal may be said to have found themselves as a distinctive section of the Indian people, sharing in and enriching the Brahman-Buddhist culture they adopted, from the time of the Thakuris. The outward paraphernalia of religion—the gorgeousness of ritual and ceremonial and processions (*yātrās*), etc., became established in the temple of many a deity in Nepal, Brahmanical or Buddhist, like the *yātrās* of Matsyendra-nātha, of Lokēśvara (=Avalokiteśvara) and of Paśupati (=Śiva). The all-round development of cultural life in Nepal which was in full swing under the Thakuris entered its apogee under the Malla kings, Newars equally with the Thakuris, in the 17th century in Nepal. After the irruption of the Turks in Bihar and Bengal and their destruction of monasteries and temples and massacre of scholars and monks as at Nālandā, Nepal gave asylum to scholars and others fleeing the Muslim Turki terror with their books and their gods. This fresh and large-scale advent of refugee scholars and artists from India—Bihar and Bengal—gave rise to a sort of Renaissance in the artistic and religious life of Nepal from the 13th century onwards. The importance of the sacred places of Nepal also grew—Paśupatinātha-Guhyēśvari and Caṅgu-nārāyaṇa attracted Hindus from India, and Svayambhū-nātha Buddhists from Tibet. The district of Palpa was then part of the Nepal kingdom. The scholarly world has to thank Newar scholars of this period for having kept up the study of Sanskrit all through and for having been largely responsible for the preservation for posterity of the Mahāyāna Buddhist literature in Sanskrit.

#### 50. THE KARNĀTAKA KINGS: THEIR CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION

A new royal dynasty with fresh cultural elements came to Nepal about the middle of the 12th century, when the Karnāta kings became established at Simrāon in Southern Nepal. The Karnātas were Marāṭhi or Kannāḍa-speaking barons or military chiefs from the Deccan who followed the victorious arms of Vikramāditya the son of the Cālukya emperor Someśvara I (1040–1069 A.D.) into North-eastern India. Some of these carved out principalities for themselves in West Bengal and Bihar and elsewhere. The Śūras and the Senas of West Bengal were such Karnāta houses, and Nānya-deva who founded a dynasty in Mithilā and Nepal was one such Kannāḍa chieftain. In certain matters, Newari and Buddhist Nepal came in touch with the Brahmanical culture of Dravidian Deccan, and we have to note the presence of a sacred place named Godāvari in South Nepal, as well as the establishment of the shrine of Tulajā-mātā or Tāleju-mā, a Śakti goddess held in high esteem by the Newars, who later became the tutelary deity of the Malla (Newar) dynasty of Kāntipura (Kāthmāndo) in the 17th century: the goddess was equally the specially worshipped deity of the Maithilā dynasty started by Harisimha at Simrāon c. 1325 A.D. We have to note that Ambā Bhavānī of Tulajāpur in Hyderabad State is one of the most important Śākta shrines in the Deccan, and the great Śivāji, hero of Hindu national revival, was a devotee of this deity in the 17th century. The institution of Deccan Brahmins (Mahārāṣṭriyas) as priests in charge of Paśupati-nātha was probably a direct result of this Karnāṭaka connexion. The Karnāṭaka rule did not extend beyond the first quarter of the 14th century. By that time a new dynasty, a national one for the Newars of Nepal, established itself, after one of the earlier founders of this new line,

Jayasthiti-malla, had married Rājalla-devī, a princess of the Karnāṭaka house.

#### 51. THE MALLA KINGS OF NEPAL, TO 1768 A.D.

This was the Malla dynasty, which, in its three branches, ruled Nepal valley up to the conquest of the country by the Gorkhas, a virile group of Brahmanised and mixed Mongoloids with Brahman and Kshatriya upper classes from the plains whose leading houses were admitted to be of Rajput blood. The Mallas, however, were related to the Licchavis, and they were in all likelihood a mixed Indian and Indo-Mongoloid people speaking the Tibeto-Burman Newari language, but cultivating at the same time Sanskrit and the advanced Aryan languages which were contiguous to Nepal—Maithili and Bengali and Kosali or Eastern Hindi, and the earlier Apabhraṃśa. The Mallas appear originally to have belonged to the tracts to the west of Nepal valley. The chief source of our knowledge about the Malla kings are the *Varṇāvalī* chronicles, which for the Malla period would appear to be largely authentic. These chronicles (e.g. the one translated by Daniel Wright from a Purbatiya or Gorkhali version) form delightful reading with their copious references to the religious and social conditions of the people.

We have names of a series of Malla rulers from Arimalla-deva (c. 1201 A.D.) to the middle of the 18th century. The highest achievements of the Newars as an Indo-Mongoloid people who had adopted both Buddhism and Brahmanism with Gangetic culture took place under the Mallas, particularly in the 17th century. After Yakṣa-malla's time, c. 1474 A.D., the single kingdom of Nepal was split up into four small states of Bhatgron, Banapa, Kathmando and Patan. Thus divided, the Newars were unable to resist their racial kinsmen but religious and political foes the Gorkhas from West Nepal, and finally they succumbed to Gorkha power in 1768.

#### 52. NEWAR CULTURE, PARTICULARLY UNDER THE MALLAS

The Newars were quite remarkable in many matters—particularly the plastic arts (painting, calligraphy, sculpture, bronze and metal casting, wood-carving and architecture, gem-cutting, etc.) and in textiles. It took them a little long to discover their own language and to write serious literature and inscriptions in it—in the second half of the 14th century. But they produced the oldest literature extant in any Sino-Tibetan language within the frontiers of India (the only rivals of Newari are Ahom and Manipuri). This literature was in quite a flourishing state in the 17th-18th centuries, but its stream almost dried up through neglect, apathy and persecution, particularly during the present century. It is indeed a great testimony to the vitality of Newari culture that in recent years, hand in hand with a revival of Buddhism under the inspiration of Ceylon and Bengal (with the discovery of the Hinayāna form of the religion through the study of Pali by Newar scholars), a revival of literary effort in Newari has started, and this revival shows great promise: mention may be made of a very fine narrative poem named the *Sugata-Saurabha* on the life of Buddha in 19 cantos running up to 355 pages by Cittadhar Upāsaka 'Hṛday' which has been published in 1948, with illustrations by a Newari artist Candramān Māske; and from Benares and Kalimpong, which have become centres of Newari literary activities, original works, religious and secular poems, stories and translations from the Pali and Sanskrit, are now steadily coming out. Long predominance of Sanskrit and of the Middle and New Indo-Aryan vernaculars—of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, and of Bengali,

Maithili, Kosali and latterly Parbatiya (or Khas-kura or Gorkhali) in the valley of Nepal, has imposed upon Newari its very large percentage of Aryan words, Sanskrit and vernacular Indo-Aryan. Newari has now come in line with the modern Indian languages (excepting Urdu) in going to Sanskrit for all its higher words. Newari was written in the local Nepal modification of the Kuṭila or Eastern form of the script current all over North India up to the 7th century—a script from which developed also the Maithili-Bengali-Assamese and Oriya alphabets. But as the Newari script was never put in type, Devanagari, in which Gorkhali or Parbatiya is written, is now employed in printing Newari books. So that one may say that Newari has entered into the community of script with Hindi, Gorkhali and Marathi, and Rajasthani and Maithili, and to some extent Panjabi also. The intimate culture of Sanskrit by the Newari monkish scholars (*Bāras* or *Vandras*) and lay scholars (*Vajrācāryas*) could only have a direct and a natural influence in shaping the orientation of the Newari speech towards Sanskrit.

In one respect, Newari stands apart from the general run of Indian languages, agreeing with the Ahom speech and with Assamese, viz. it has a valuable historical literature (the *Vamśāvalis*). The *Buranjis* of Assam alone are comparable with the historical literature in Newari. It is remarkable how the art of writing historical works in prose originated among two of the chief Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid peoples of India—the Ahoms and the Newars.

The Newari drama was a polyglot affair; the oldest works go back to the first half of the 17th century. The subjects are from Hindu legend and semi-history. The dramas so far published give the prose portions in a corrupt Newarised Bengali or Kosali or Maithili, and the songs or verse portions are generally in Maithili. The stage directions are all in Newari. I have not seen any which is composed entirely in Newari. They are said to exist, but none has been published. Possibly the Newari-speaking king and his court entourage all understood the Indian Aryan languages, and it did not occur to them to cultivate the Newari entirely. Possibly it was fashionable to sport the more advanced Aryan languages of India. The technique of this drama appears to have been obtained directly from the Maithili drama, and it goes back in direct line to the *Īta-gōvinda* of Jaya-deva, where narrative portions are in ordinary Sanskrit verse, and the songs are in rimed verse in Sanskrit, which look like having been originally in the Apabhramśa or in Old Bengali. A. Conrady edited for the first time one of these Malla dramas, the *Hariscandra-nṛtyam*, from Leipzig in 1893: subsequently a few more were published by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad of Calcutta. The 15th-16th century Assamese drama with similar religious or legendary subjects, known as the *Aṅkiyā Nāt*, belongs to the same school, owing its inspiration to Mithila. The Nepal drama as it developed in the Malla courts shows the enormous influence of the Aryan languages on the literary life of the Newars in the 17th century, and possibly earlier still.

The Malla kings were great patrons of music, like the drama, and in this they resembled the Karnāṭaka and other kings of Mithila. Some of the Malla kings vaunted even in their coins of being expert poets or musicians (e.g. Jaya-yoga-narendra-Malla of Patan, c. 1688, who described himself in his coins as *Sanḡitārṇava-pāraḡa* 'one who has crossed the ocean of music'; and Vīra-Bhūpālendra-malla, Girīndra-rāja-rājendra of Kantipura or Kuthmando, c. 1700, who prided in the epithet *Kavīndra-cūḍāmaṇi-samrāt* 'an emperor, the crest-jewel of chief poets': cf. E. H. Walsh, *The Coinage of Nepal*, JRAS., London, 1908, pp. 669-759).

In religion, the Newars were Mahāyāna Buddhists, but their kings (and following them the people in general also) were quite eclectic, Brahmanism

and Buddhism being equally patronised by them. King Jayasthiti-malla (fourth quarter of the 14th century) brought some Maithil Brahmins from India, and on their advice divided Newar society into a number of castes and guilds on the model of Brahmanical Hindu society. Maithil, Bengali and United Provinces Brahmins were received with great honour in the Newar courts. These acted as a powerful force in maintaining a general Hindu orientation of Newar society—in spite of its Buddhist faith. King Siddhi-narasimha-malla of Patan (c. 1620–1657) built in front of the royal palace of Patan a gem of a stone temple to Krishna, and the eaves of the polygonal structure in two stories have a most delicate series of small high-relief friezes giving the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of the *Mahābhārata*, unique of its kind in India and testifying to the great devotion as well as artistic sense of the founder of the temple. King Siddhi-narasimha-malla is said to have lived the life of an ascetic, disciplining the flesh in all ways, and left his kingdom, evidently to pass away as a religious recluse. As a builder, he may be mentioned with his contemporaries in India—the Mogul Emperor Shāh Jahān, and the Tamil prince Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura.

The glory of the cultural achievement of the Newars can be also appraised from the beautiful buildings they created—palaces and temples and halls. The distinctive Newar style of temple architecture should be studied historically with similar types of buildings—the Chinese pagoda of many stories, and the Travancore and Cochin temples in wood and stone. These structures in their rose-pink brick-work, and their marvellous wood carvings (mostly mellowed by age and by paint into a black colour) and burnished bronze or copper or brass reliefs and furnishings form veritable architectural gems. The Darbar Squares at Patan, Kathmandu and Bhatgaon form priceless museums of Newar architecture, and for their beauty these architectural shrines can be mentioned with some of the most famous groups of medieval buildings in the West, e.g. the Grand-Place Square of Brussels. A visit to these places will more than anything convince anyone of the artistic qualities of this gifted Indo-Mongoloid people. The new Darbar Hall decorated by Newar artists which has been built by Maharaja Joodha Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana some years ago in Kathmandu is eloquently expressive of Newar artistic skill even at the present day.

The Malla kings developed in the 17th century a very characteristic aniconic style of coins in silver, with Tantric and other symbolic designs of a geometrical character, and Sanskrit legends giving the names and titles of the rulers and sometimes of their queens, as well as invocations to particular divinities, in beautiful Newari writing. Most of these coins are very beautiful, and they present a remarkable series of artistic designs in the world's coinage. (See E. H. Walsh, *The Coinage of Nepal*, *JRAS.*, London, 1908, where a good survey of the achievement of the Newar and other peoples of Nepal in this direction will be found, with full illustrations.)

### 53. THE GORKHAS IN NEPAL: GORKHA VALOUR AND MILITARY VIRTUES

But with their high material culture and their artistic achievement, the Newars developed neither great fighting qualities nor political wisdom or foresight. They fell an easy prey to the Gorkhas, who, after conquering the Nepal valley from the Newars in 1768, inaugurated a new era for Nepal. The Gorkhas, in so far as they represent the ruling classes among the warlike peoples of Nepal, particularly of Western Nepal, show a considerable amount of Rajput and Brahman elements. But there are among the fighting classes of Nepal, who are all loosely classed as *Gorkhas* in India and abroad, large



masses of pure Indo-Mongoloids who even now speak their Tibeto-Burman (Himalayan) dialects. They are even loosely described as, or are tolerated when they describe themselves as Kshatriyas: e.g. the Magars and Gurungs, who in spite of their Tibeto-Burman language have rapidly been transformed into orthodox Hindus, and the Limbus, the Rais, the Tamans and others. The organisation and discipline of the original Gorkha ruling houses headed by the *Sāh* family which gave to Nepal its Gorkha conqueror Prithwi-nārāyaṇa Sāh and the present reigning house, and the family of the *Rīnās* which furnish the *de facto* rulers of Nepal, have made the Hindus and the Hinduised Indo-Mongoloids of Nepal one of the finest military races of the world. The courage and military virtues of the 'Gorkhas' in their totality have been demonstrated over and over again; and these qualities have been made the fullest use of by the English in India who employed Gorkha troops in many a theatre of war. Gorkha valour has won 10 of the 31 Victoria Crosses awarded to members of the Indian army for conspicuous gallantry during the Second World War. But the ruling Gorkhas are a very conservative people who have looked askance at progress in the shape of emancipating the masses, and barring an impetus given to the development of literature in the Gorkhali (Parbatiya or Khas-kura) language (which, officially known as *Nepali*, is the first language of the State and is spreading rapidly among all Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes, who are receiving through this Nepali a common medium of intercourse), and the opening of some hydroelectrical and other mechanical schemes and arms factories, the main contribution of the Gorkha to the culture of Nepal has been the *khukri*, the curved knife symbolical of Gorkha and Nepali military prowess. This military valour of the pure and mixed Indo-Mongoloids of Nepal is not the least among the achievements of the Indian people as a whole in modern times.

#### 54. THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS IN ASSAM AND BENGAL: LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES

Kirāta or Indo-Mongoloid achievement in Nepal has been that of the 'Himalayan' tribes of the race, particularly the Newars who gave their name to the tract over 2,000 years ago. In Bengal and Assam, however, it was the four other groups of the Indo-Mongoloid people which flourished and which participated in the local history and in the development of the local culture: and they were the Bōḍos (in Koch Bihar and Tripura and in Kachar particularly), the Ahoms, the Khasis with their Austric Mon-Khmer tongue, and to some extent the Kukis or Kuki-Chins (the Meitheis of Manipur).

We now take up the story of the Indo-Mongoloids in Assam. Almost as much as, or even more than Nepal, Assam is the tract where the Indo-Mongoloid elements are present in their largest number in India. In Assam they dominated the scene, politically, mostly, and to some extent culturally also (although in matters of culture, including religion, the composite Hindu culture of the Ganges valley has always had the outward victory). Excepting the members of a few of the higher castes from the west (and these are as much mixed Austric-Dravidian-Ārya as any), the masses of the people are Indo-Mongoloid with some Austric and Dravidian substratum. The Indo-Mongoloid inheritance therefore belongs in a special manner to the people of Assam as to the people of Nepal, irrespective of the Aryan language they may speak. In the development of the Aryan Assamese language (as much as of Khas-kura or Gorkhali, and to some extent of Bengali, particularly in its eastern dialects), the influence of the Bodo and Naga as

well as the late Ahom languages is noticed. The Austric Khasi speech of the Indo-Mongoloid Khasis and Syntengs (Jaintias) has similarly influenced the contiguous Aryan. Prof. Banikanta Kakati in his valuable work *Assamese, its Formation and Development* (Gauhati, Assam, 1941) has discussed the matter, and has given lists of words and toponyms of Khasi (and other Austric) origin as well as Bodo and Ahom origin in Assamese (pp. 32-56). A good number of Assamese words of Indo-Mongoloid provenance are also to be found in Bengal. At least one syntactical device in Bengali and Assamese was due to Bodo influence, as it has been suggested by the late J. D. Anderson (in the pronounced preference for the conjunctive verb-form: see S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 1011). A close study of the evolution of Bengali and Assamese syntax, in comparison with the Bodo (and Khasi) speeches particularly, is sure to reveal further and surer points of contact between Indo-Aryan and Indo-Mongoloid. The peculiar syntactical devices of Sylhet Bengali, for instance, which mark the dialect off from Standard Bengali, have also to be taken note of.

In Assam, the following matters in phonetics are suggestive of Tibeto-Burman (Bodo) influence: (i) Loss of distinction between the cerebrals (retroflex sounds, cacuminals) and pure dentals, both of these being substituted by alveolars (teeth-ridge sounds); (ii) the dentalisation of the palatal affricates—of *c*, *ch* to *s*, and of *j*, *jh* to *z* (in recent Assamese, *ch* > *ʃ* has become *ś*); and (iii) the change of *s* to *h*, and then to *x*, the guttural unvoiced spirant, like the Persian sound as in *Khudā* (= *xudā*), *khush* (= *xuṣ*), etc. These novel pronunciations were introduced into the Aryan Assamese when it was being adopted by Indo-Mongoloid peoples who were abandoning their own dialects hundreds and hundreds of years ago. Prof. Kakati has noted two formative affixes in Assamese as being of Bodo origin (*op. cit.*, pp. 50-51). The use of the post-positional pronominal affixes to indicate ownership or connexion in the case of some words of relationship which is so characteristic of Assamese (cf. Assamese *bopāi* = 'my father', *bāper* = 'thy father', *bāperā* = 'your father', *bāpek* = 'his father'; so *ām*, *mār*, *mārā*, *māk* = 'my mother, thy mother, your mother, his mother' respectively) is believed to be due to Tibeto-Burman (Bodo) influence, although other explanations have been proposed (cf. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, § 724; *Assamese, its Formation and Development*, pp. 270ff.). It is exceedingly likely that further points of agreement between the Indo-Aryan speeches of the East (Bengali, Assamese, Parbatiya, Maithili, etc.) and the dialects spoken by the Indo-Mongoloids will come out with closer enquiry.

## 55. EARLY CONTACT BETWEEN ASSAM AND NORTH INDIA

The Indo-Mongoloid background of Assam ethnology and history and culture is pretty clear from the earliest times. Traditionally the *Mahā-bhārata* happenings are contemporaneous with the compilation of the Vedas by Krishna Dvaipāyana Veda-vyāsa. About the middle of the 10th century B.C., as we have seen (§ 14), has been proposed as the date of the Kurukshetra battle round which the great epic centres. Bhagadatta the king of Prāgiyotisha or Western Assam took part in this battle, as the *Mahā-bhārata* tells us. He is described as a *Mleccha* king—a king of the barbarians, or a barbarian ruler himself: he was followed by troops of Kirāta and Cina race. He is the earliest ruler of Assam of whom we have any reference in tradition. According to later legends, he was the son of Naraka Asura, who was born of Viṣṇu and Pṛthivī, the Earth Goddess. From Bhagadatta

of the *Mahābhārata*, c. 950 B.C., except for the mention of Kāmarūpa as a vassal frontier state under the Gupta emperors (c. 400 A.D.), we have no definite information about Assam and its rulers right up to the middle of the 7th century A.D. (c. 640 A.D.), when we obtain some facts from the Dubi and Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper-plates of king (Kumāra) Bhāskara-varman, a contemporary of Harsha-vardhana of Thaneswar and Kanauj, and of Hiuen Ts'ang the Chinese pilgrim. In these Sanskrit inscriptions we find a pedigree given of the family of Bhāskara-varman for some twelve generations. This pedigree may be quite authentic. It is mentioned that Bhagadatta's family ruled over Prāgyotisha for 3,000 years. Then Pushya-varman came to the throne, and after him names of 10 kings and those of their queens are given, the 11th from Pushya-varman being Susthita-varman *alias* Śrī-Mṛ-gāṅka whose queen was Śyāma-devī. This king had two sons, who were both kings in this line—Supratisthita-varman or Susthira-varman, and Bhāskara-varman *alias* Bhāskara-dyuti or Kumāra. With 25 years for a generation, this line of 12 generations of kings would come up to 300 years: so roughly we have from 350 A.D. to 650 A.D. the line of Pushya-varman which regarded itself as being of the Bhagadatta family (the *Mahābhārata* tradition had evidently come to the Hinduised Indo-Mongoloids of Assam at least by the middle of the 4th century A.D., together with some accepted date for the *Mahābhārata* events as going back to something like 2650 B.C.) ruling over Assam. All the kings and queens of these inscriptions have Sanskrit names. It would appear that during 300 B.C. to 400 A.D., and probably round about the Christian era, Assam was getting to be known to the Hindu world of North India more intimately than before. *Prāgyōtisha* and *Kāmarūpa* occur as names for Assam in the *Mahābhārata*, and already in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra-gupta the name of *Kāmarūpa* occurs as a frontier State.

#### 56. PRE-ARYAN (INDO-MONGOLOID) TOPONOMY IN ASSAM: LAUHITYA, BRAHMAPUTRA, ETC.

The Brahmaputra river also came to be better known in the Hindu world outside Assam as *Lauhitya*, which would appear to be an Aryanisation, in Sanskrit, of the Indo-Mongoloid (Old Bodo?) name *Luhit* which is still the name of the easternmost branch of the river, now flanked by Mishmi (North Assamese), Singpho or Kachin (Burmese-Kuki-Lolo) and Khamti (Siamese-Chinese) speakers: but originally, the area of the Luhit river appears to have been inhabited by Bodo speakers. The *Dihang* is the name of the main channel of the Brahmaputra, the entire river is really Tsang-po-Dihang-Brahmaputra; the *Sesiri* and the *Dibang* are other branches from the north, while the *Luhit* is the main feeder from the east, which beyond the eastern frontiers of India, is known as the *Zayul*. Conceivably, the name *Luhit* at one time extended further to the west, for the entire river now known as Brahmaputra. In any case, in *Di-bang* and *Di-hang* we have the common Bodo element for water or river, *Ti* or *Di*. Other explanations for the name *Luhit* have been proposed, but these do not appear to be convincing: e.g. an Austrie \**Lao-tu*, or Bodo *Ti-lao* = 'clean water' (cf. Bani-kanta Kakati, *op. cit.*, p. 53; E. Gait, *History of Assam*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1926, p. 6).

The commoner name of the river, by which it is now generally known, viz. *Brahma-putra*, is certainly a Sanskritisation of some other Indo-Mongoloid name. A Bodo expression *Bhullam-buthur* has been suggested as the Indo-Mongoloid (Tibeto-Burman) basis of the word *Brahma-putra*, by Mr. Bishnu Rabha (*Asamiyā-Kṛṣṭi* or 'the Culture of Assam', Gauhati, 1947,

p. 10), but this expression in Bodo has not been attested by me. Mr. Bishnu Rabha explains *Bhullam-buthur* as *kala-kala-nādinī*, i.e., 'making a gurgling noise'. \**Burum-buttur* might very well be an intermediate form, before it was fully Sanskritised to *Brahma-putra*; and even at the present day the vernacular pronunciations of the Sanskrit word will approximate this *Burum-buttur*. *Brahma-putra* is comparatively a late name, later than *Laṅghīya*. Similarly the name for the Ganges—*Gaṅgā*—would appear to be an Austric word meaning just 'river'.

The name of the shrine of the Great Mother at Kāmākhyā near Gauhati, which attained India-wide celebrity much later, probably after the erection of the present temple by king Nara-nārāyaṇa of Koch Bihar in the second half of the 16th century, is in all likelihood of pre-Aryan origin. This name has been explained by B. K. Kakati as being Austric in origin; so also the place-names *Kāma-rūpa*, *Āmatī* and *Comillī* (Comillah) (*op. cit.*, pp. 53-54). But it seems more probable that these names are Bodo, to start with, and are from a tribal name before they became associated with localities. There is an element *Kam* or *Kum* which occurs in all these names, which also occurred in the name of the most western tribe of the Bodos, the *Koches* (modern *Kōc*, *Kōc*, from an earlier \**Kawōca* or \**Kamoca*, Sanskritised as *Kambōja* in the 10th century in a North Bengal inscription: cf. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I, p. 69). Nagendra Nath Vasu in his *Social History of Kāmarūpa* (Calcutta, 1922, p. 176) has given a number of likely non-Aryan (Tibeto-Burman?) names from Assam and North Bengal inscriptions. These words refer to place-names and natural topography. Thus we may note the following: *Haruppa*, *nokka*, *josa*, *naukubā*, *chamikākachi*, *dijjinā*, *heṅsibā*, *koppā*, *diddesa*, *nauki*, *candenauki*, *diyambāra*, *hāpyoma*, *kuntavita*, *kamakuti*, *lākkhabā*, *dijjumma* (river), *digdola*, *debbari*, *sobbaḍi*, *cammalya*, *nekkā*, *bādiḥjuratibhuḍi*, *abhañca*, *hakūka*, *thiasāsādobbi*, *cakkojana*, *dijamakkā*, *nokka-naḍā*, etc., etc. The meanings of the above cannot be known—some can only be guessed. Some of the words appear to be Austric (e.g. *cammalya*=*camalla*, which I have sought to explain as an Austric word, as an old form of our New Indo-Aryan word for 'rice'—*cāwāl*, *cāmal*, *cāwal*, *cāul*, *cāl*: cf. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Vol. 9, Part I, 1932, pp. 31-37). Others must be Indo-Mongoloid (Old Bodo). A few of these words, again, are Indo-Aryan (Prakrit, and Old Bengali-Assamese): e.g. *khagga*=*khaḍga*, Bengali-Assamese *khūg*= 'sharp reed'; *mākkhiyāna*=*maksikānām*; *jaugalla*=*jatu*+*gal*=Bengali *jau* and *gālī*, both meaning 'lac'; *go-santīra*= 'cow-swim, Ox-ford'; *pārani*= 'crossing'. Evidently by 1000 A.D., Bodo and Aryan were spoken side by side in the Assam and North Bengal plains.

## 57. BHĀSKARA-VARMAN OF KĀMARŪPA: THE GLORY OF HIS REIGN

Long before the time of Bhāskara-varman, i.e., before the first half of the 7th century A.D., and probably during the early days of the Gupta empire, Prāggyotisha or Kāmarūpa had entered into the comity of Hindu states with her dynasty of Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid (probably Bodo) rulers. Bhāskara-varman was unquestionably one of the most remarkable men and rulers of his time—a worthy contemporary of Harsha-vardhana and of Hiuen Ts'ang. We obtain a good deal of information about him from his own inscriptions, the Dubi and Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper-plate grants mentioned above, from the Sanskrit *Harṣa-carita* (a romantic biography of king Harsha-vardhana by his court-poet Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa), and from notices of him left by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and scholar Hiuen Ts'ang, and from other Chinese sources. We need not go into details of his career and history.

He had the foresight to link Assam with the greatest contemporary ruler of North India, viz. Harsha-vardhana Śilāditya of Thaneshwar and Kanaur, whose friendship he obtained, being more an ally and a comrade than vassal; and this alliance with Harsha-vardhana was in all likelihood instrumental in obtaining for him an extension of his kingdom—he ruled not only over Western and Northern Assam (the Brahma-putra valley), but also probably over the Surma valley (Sylhet, where an inscription of his has been found), and he was able to annex Karna-suvarna in West Bengal. In his time, before the days of Nara nārāyaṇa the Koch king of North Bengal and Assam, Assam's dominion extended over the greater part of Bengal. A Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid empire was thus achieved during the middle of the 7th century A.D. Bhāskara-varman was not a mere provincial ruler of a distant frontier kingdom, in North-eastern India. In 644 A.D. he visited Harsha-vardhana in his own realm in North India, and fully participated in the cultural and intellectual life of Hindu India of his time. He was a Brahmanical Hindu himself, but he had his friend and patron Harsha-vardhana's broadness of outlook. He was host to Hiuen Ts'ang whom he invited to his court in Kāmarūpa, when the latter was staying and studying in Nālandā. Hiuen Ts'ang accepted this invitation, and came to Kāmarūpa, and the description he has left of the place is the oldest that we have of Assam from any writer, Indian or foreign. Hiuen Ts'ang by mistake described Bhāskara-varman as a Brahman, but he was just a neo-Kshatriya, a member of a Hinduised *mleccha* or non-Hindu Indo-Mongoloid family which had been accepted within the fold of Hindu orthodoxy. The Mongoloid character of the people of the country is clearly noted by the Chinese writer: 'the men are of small stature and their complexion, a dark yellow: their language differs a little from that of Mid-India' (this differing 'a little' in Hiuen Ts'ang's parlance meant, however, really differing entirely: see *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I, pp. 77-79). Hiuen Ts'ang knew that the eastern frontiers of Bhāskara-varman's kingdom were adjacent to the south-eastern frontiers of China. Communication between China and India (Assam) through the wild mountainous regions between the two countries was exceedingly difficult, being two months' march through pestilential jungles and high mountains, as Hiuen Ts'ang has noted. But it nevertheless did exist, and for centuries before the days of both Hiuen Ts'ang and Bhāskara-varman, as we know from the Chinese soldier-explorer in Central Asia in the 2nd century B.C., Chang K'ien (see *ante*, § 27), and from the Greek geographer and sailor from the 1st century A.D. (e.g. the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, and the geography of Ptolemy).

After 648 A.D., the Chinese, making the allied State of Nepal their base, invaded India to avenge the insult done to the Chinese representatives who came to Harsha-vardhana's court after Harsha had died, and they defeated and captured the faithless minister of Harsha who had usurped his master's throne and treated with scant courtesy the envoys from China. In this conflict, Bhāskara-varman aided the Chinese with supplies of cattle, horses and accoutrements. Bhāskara was quite a wide-awake ruler, with an intelligent, international outlook in both politics and culture, which was rather rare in those days in all lands, and particularly in India. We may assume that as the ruler of a frontier state in India, adjoining areas within the purview of China, he encouraged Sino-Indian co-operation in commerce and culture. T'ang China and Sasanian Persia were the only great states in Asia with which India had direct contact in those days, and the direct contact with China was effected by the land route only through Assam. There was direct contact by the sea-route from Tāmalīpti in Bengal and from the harbours in the Kāliṅga country and the Tamil land, and Hiuen

Ts'ang himself had come from China by a round-about route through Central Asia. Evidently the Mongoloid kinship of the people of Assam with that of China and of the intermediate lands served as a link.

#### 58. BHĀSKARA-VARMAN AND CHINA: THE 'TAO-TEH-KING' OF LAO-TZŪ

From Chinese sources, we find interesting side-lights about Sino-Indian culture contacts through Assam and about the enlightened curiosity of the Indo-Mongoloid ruler of Assam Bhāskara-varman in matters relating to Chinese thought. In 619 A.D. a Chinese prince, a son of the T'ang emperor Kao-tsu, had defeated some rebels against 'the Son of Heaven', the Chinese emperor. A song was composed in celebration of the event, and in praise of the emperor of China. This song travelled to India (it was probably the melody only which came to India—the Chinese words could possibly not have come, but a translation of the song in some Tibeto-Burman language, it may be Old Bodo, might have also been current). Bhāskara-varman had taken note of this Chinese song, which was popular with his people; and when he saw Hiuen Ts'ang in 638 A.D. in his capital, he, on the testimony of Hiuen Ts'ang, told him as follows: 'At present in various states of India a song has been heard from some time called "the Music of the Conquests of Ts'in-wang (i.e., of the Prince or King of Ts'in)" of Mahācina (i.e., China Proper). All his subjects having their moral and material wants cared for by this ruler sing the song of Ts'in-wang's conquests, and this fine song has long been known (in Kāmarūpa)'. This narrative related by Hiuen Ts'ang shows how, in spite of the difficulties of communication between India and China in these days, a piece of music composed in China could find its way to India; and it testifies to some sort of cultural connexion between the two countries.

Bhāskara-varman was also curious to have precise information about the philosophy of Lao-tzū. Before the advent of Buddhism in China, the highest and the most profound expression of the mind and soul of China in philosophy and mysticism was through the doctrines of Lao-tzū, who lived, an elder contemporary of the other great philosopher of China, Confucius (K'ung-fu-tzū), about 600 B.C. Buddhism after its introduction into China was in close and generally sympathetic connexion with Taoism, the philosophy of Lao-tzū, and it borrowed some of its technical terms from Taoism. Taoist and Buddhist teachers read each others' scriptures, and Taoism was reorganised as a church and as a popular religion on the lines of Buddhism. Taoism in its general outlook is like the Vedānta of the early *Upaniṣads*, and the basic work of Taoism, the *Tao-teh-king*, attributed to the sage Lao-tzū himself, is comparable to the earlier *Upaniṣads* of India. The philosophy centres round the conception of the Ultimate Reality behind Life and the Universe as the 'Way' (the word *Tao* meaning 'way' in Chinese), which was like the Indian conception of the Unmanifest (*nir-guṇa*) and the Manifest (*sa-guṇa*) *Brahman*: 'the Way', as a philosophical conception, lays stress on the inevitability of things in life as a manifestation of the inner principle of existence. The Chinese pilgrim-scholars who came to India and studied Indian philosophy must have been impressed by the agreements between Taoism and the Vedānta, and they were, many of them, well-versed in the literature of Taoism. Already about 520 A.D., over a hundred years before Hiuen Ts'ang and Bhāskara-varman, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Song-yun had discoursed on Lao-tzū and his great expositor Chuang-tzū (4th century B.C.) before the King of Udyāna in the North-west frontier of India. Bhāskara-varman, too, it may be reasonably presumed, was also acquainted with Lao-tzū's philosophy through Hiuen

Ts'ang in 638 A.D., if not earlier through other sources. The curiosity of Bhāskara-varman was aroused, and when subsequently he met the Chinese envoys Wang Hiuan-tzū and Li Yi-piao who were sent to the court of Harsha-vardhana, he asked the latter to send him from China a Sanskrit translation of the *Tao-teh-king* and a portrait figure (picture or image) of Lao-tzū. Li Yi-piao had also spoken to Bhāskara about the doctrines of Lao-tzū and about the fact of his book not having come to India. Bhāskara-varman gave some valuable presents to the Chinese envoys, and sent to the Chinese emperor a map of his kingdom (including, evidently, the wide tract of country in Eastern India, Assam and Bengal both comprised, to impress the Chinese emperor of his power and importance). The mention of this map of the territories of Bhāskara is noteworthy: it shows a certain high standard of intellectual attainment in an Indo-Mongoloid Assam of the 7th century A.D. Li Yi-piao returned to China and reported to the emperor about the request of Bhāskara-varman in connexion with the *Tao-teh-king*; and the emperor at once appointed a board of Taoist and Buddhist scholars to prepare a Sanskrit translation of the Chinese work, Hiuen Ts'ang as the most erudite Sanskritist of China taking a leading part in the discussions which preceded the work of the translation. Chinese documents giving an account of a learned and friendly controversy which started around the proper Sanskrit rendering of the Chinese word *Tao* have been found, and translated into French by Paul Pelliot (in the *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Vol. XIII, 1912, pp. 381ff.). Hiuen Ts'ang suggested that the proper word for *Tao* was *mīrga* in Sanskrit, but the Taoist scholars, who were conversant with Buddhism, thought that *bōdhi* was the correct word. (It seems that the proper word in Sanskrit to render the word *Tao* of Chinese in both its literal and philosophical sense is *Rta*—*Rta* in the Vedas and the Upanishads indicating the Cosmic Order, the Law or Principle centering in Being, and this word appears to have indicated also 'the Way', being derived from the root *r* 'to go'—*Rta* being 'that through which things go or move'). It is not known whether the translation (which was completed apparently) was ever received by Bhāskara-varman. In any case, it is a stimulating story of intellectual fellowship between China and India in the early medieval times, and it centres round an enlightened Indo-Mongoloid prince of Eastern India.

## 59. BHĀSKARA-VARMAN'S PRESENTS TO HARSHA-VARDHANA

The material and intellectual culture of Assam in the days of Bhāskara-varman is brought out in a remarkable manner through the description by Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa of the presents sent by the king of Prāgjyotiṣa to his royal friend and sovereign lord Harsha-vardhana Śilāditya when the latter ascended the throne after the death of his elder brother Rājya-vardhana. These presents were brought to Harsha by Bhāskara's confidential messenger Haṃsa-vega. They included, in the first instance, a white silk umbrella, an ancient heir-loom in the family of Bhāskara, and there is an elaborate description of this wonderful creation of ancient Prāgjyotiṣa craftsmanship in the *Harṣa-carita*. The other presents were displayed and inspected by Harsha. To quote from the *Harṣa-carita* (in F. W. Thomas's translation, London, 1897, pp. 213ff.): 'Among them were famous ornaments inherited from Bhagadatta and other renowned kings, ornaments which crimsoned the heavenly spaces with the light of the finest gems; the prime of sheeny crest jewels: pearl necklaces which seemed the source of the Milk Ocean's whiteness: silken towels pure as the autumn moon's light, rolled up in baskets of variously coloured reeds: quantities of pearl, shell, sapphire,

and other drinking vessels, embossed by skilful artists : loads of Kārdarāṅga leather bucklers with charming borders, bright gold-leaf work winding about them, and cases to preserve their colour: soft loin-cloths smooth as birch-bark: pillows of *Sāmūraka* (a kind of deer) leather, and other kinds of smooth figured textures: cane stools with the bark yellow as the ear of the millet: volumes of fine writing with leaves made from aloe bark and of the hue of the ripe pink cucumber: luscious milky betel-nut fruit, hanging from its sprays and green as young *hārīta* doves: thick bamboo tubes containing mango sap and black aloes oil, and fenced round with sheaths of *kāpōtikā* leaves, tawny as an angry ape's cheeks: bundles contained in sacks of woven silk and consisting of black aloe dark as pounded collyrium, *Goçirṣa* sandal stealing the fiercest inflammation away, camphor cool, pure, and white as bits of ice: scent bags of musk oxen, *kakkōla* sprays, clove flower bunches, and nutmeg clusters, all bristling with masses of ripe fruit: cups of *ullaka* (a fruit-juice? a kind of decoction?), diffusing a fragrance of the sweetest wine: heaps of black and white chowries: carved boxes of panels for painting, with brushes and gourds attached: curious pairs of *kinnaras*, orang-outangs (*vana-mānuṣa*), *jivāñjivaka* birds, and mermen (*jala-mānuṣa*) with necks bound in golden fetters: musk deer scenting the space all round them with their perfume: female *camara* deer (=yak cows), used to running about the house: parrots, *çārikās*, and other birds enclosed in gold-painted bamboo cages and chattering copious wit: partridges in cages of coral: and rings of hippopotamus (*jala-hastin*) ivory, encrusted with rows of huge pearls from the brows of elephants'.

The above list of presents enumerates some of the most remarkable artistic and economic products of Assam. Fine silks and various kinds of silk weave, and books on aloe bark, as well as cane and bamboo work and ivory ornaments, were the artistic crafts in which Assam excelled then as now.

#### 60. THE 'MLĒCCHA' DYNASTY OF ŚĀLA-STAMBHA IN ASSAM

It appears that after Bhāskara-varman's demise his family or line was supplanted by another dynasty, equally Indo-Mongoloid in origin, which ruled Assam roughly from 650 to 800 A.D. This is the dynasty of Śāla-stambha, who is described in an inscription of king Ratnapāla of a subsequent dynasty (the Bargaon copper-plate grant of this king, dating from the first half of the 11th century) as a *Mlēccha* or non-Hindu overlord (*mlēcchād-dhinātha*). From the inscriptional evidence from various sides, it would appear that the line started by Śāla-stambha had some 20 kings, names of some of whom have been given in the various inscriptions, namely, Vigrha-stambha, Kumāra, Vajra-deva and Harisha or Harsha-varman. It appears that the daughter of Harsha-varman or Harisha of this dynasty, Rājyamati, was married to King Jaya-deva Para-cakra-kāma of Nepal, as mentioned in the Paśupati inscription in Nepal dated c. 748 A.D. (see § 47 *ante*). In the Nepal inscription, Harsha-varman, or Harisha of the Assam records, has been described as Śrī Harsha-deva, *Gauḍ-Ōdrāli-Kaliṅga-Kōśala-pati*, and Rājyamati has been called *Bhagadatta-rājakula-jā*: this would suggest that by the middle of the 8th century, the line of Śāla-stambha claimed to be or was regarded as being descended from the renowned hero from Assam mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. But the distinct mention of Śāla-stambha as being a lord of the Mlecchas, as in the Bargaon copper-plate of the 11th century, would appear to make it clear that he was Bodo chief of the *Mēch* tribe (Sanskritised as *Mlēccha*), who followed Bhāskara-varman in assuming the rulership of Assam.



## 61. THE DYNASTY OF PRĀLAMBHA

The next dynasty to follow in Assam was that of Prālambha. It is a moot question whether Prālambha started a new line entirely, or that he was a scion of the same family as that of Śāla-stambha, Professor Padmanath Bhattacharya supporting the latter view (cf. Hem Chandra Ray, *Dynastic History of North India*, Vol. I, pp. 241ff: Calcutta 1931). The Prālambha family, also undoubtedly Indo-Mongoloid (Bodo), ruled Assam from c. 800 A.D. to 1000 A.D., and we have six names of this line—Prālambha (queen Jivadā), Harjara (c. 830 A.D.; queen Tārā), Vanamāla (c. 875 A.D.), Jayamāla, Virabāhu (c. 900 A.D.; queen Ambā), Bala-varman (c. 925 A.D.), and finally Tyāga-simha (c. 1000 A.D.), who died without an heir, and after whom came the dynasty of the Pālas of Assam who ruled the province for a century (1000–1100 A.D.). The kings of the Prālambha dynasty were Śaivas, and they were instrumental in settling Brahmans in their realm. We have a few Sanskrit inscriptions of this dynasty. Harjara appears to be the most powerful king of this line, the real founder of it. His name is non-Aryan, and the ‘ancestral camp’ of the Prālambha line, their original seat, is mentioned as *Hāruppēśvara* in which word the element *Hāruppa* is non-Aryan (Prof. B. K. Kakati has sought to explain *Hāruppa* as an Austric word, see p. 54 of his work on *Assamese*: but this is extremely doubtful). These kings also claimed descent from Naraka (and Bhagadatta)—Harjara for instance is described as a scion of the line of kings descended from the Earth (alluding to the legend of Vishnu and the Earth-goddess being the parents of Naraka: *kṣiti-tanaya-nṛpati-vaṃśa*).

62. THE KĀMARŪPA PĀLAS: BRAHMA-PĀLA, HIS QUEEN KULA-DEVĪ:  
RATNA-PĀLA

The Prālambha dynasty was followed by the Pāla dynasty of Assam. The first king of this line, Brahma-pāla, was equally an Indo-Mongoloid, and he is described in an inscription of his son Ratna-pāla as being a relative of Tyāga-simha of the preceding line, and a member of the *Bhauma* or Earth-born, i.e., pre-Aryan clan, of the dynasty of Naraka. It was by popular election that Brahma-pāla was made king: the people of the country thought it well that a Bhauma, a Son of the Earth, should be appointed as their lord, as the Bargaon inscription says. Herein we probably see self-determination by the local Indo-Mongoloid people of Assam. The names of the rulers of this dynasty all end in *pāla*; herein they would appear to be influenced by the powerful *Pāla* dynasty of the neighbouring Bengal and Bihar, although they were themselves of Assam Indo-Mongoloid origin. The marriage of Brahma-pāla is described in these democratic terms, suggestive of the simple manners of Indo-Mongoloid society. ‘His desire being stimulated by the taste of the joys due to his prosperity, he married a young woman who by reason of her devotion to her people bore the name of Kula-devī, which is, as it were, the standing name for Lakshmī (or ‘good fortune’) attainable by (all) rulers sprung from any (noble) family in the world’. Evidently here was no hankering for alliance with exalted ‘Kshatriya’ families of the West: king Brahma-pāla was content, after his elevation to the throne, to marry a young woman of the people. Ratna-pāla, the second king of this line, appears to have been a powerful and ambitious prince, who knew he might come in hostile contact with the kings of Gurjara (i.e., of Kanauj), of Gauḍa (i.e., Bengal), and of certain tracts in South India (Dākṣiṇātya or Deccan and Kerala or Malabar), and with the Bāhikas (i.e., Panjab peoples) and the Tāikas (i.e., Tājikas, the Turks who were making

their presence felt in Western India). His capital city, known as Durjaya, probably ancient Gauhati, was a city of a thousand plastered turrets, adorned by learned men, religious preceptors and poets, encompassed by a rampart and a strong stockade, and rendered beautiful by the Lauhitya—as has been described in his Bargaon grant. Scholarly Brahmans like Prahāsa from Bālagrāma in Varendrī or North Bengal (c. 1050 A.D.) made their home in Assam, and Sanskrit culture evidently received a fresh impetus from the Pālas of Kāmarūpa.

#### 63. TIMGYA-DEVA, c. 1100 A.D.; VAIDYA-DEVA AND BUDHA-DEVA; THE LUNAR DYNASTY KINGS

The Kāmarūpa Pālas were staunch Śaivas. Towards the end of the 11th century, the power of the Kāmarūpa Pālas waned, and there is record of invasion of Assam by Jāta-varman, the Varman king of East Bengal. It seems likely that by 1100, the powerful Pālas of Bengal interfered in the affairs of Assam, and one Assam chief, whose relationship with the Kāmarūpa Pālas is not known, but who bears a non-Aryan sounding name (Timgya-deva) seems to have become king of Assam (c. 1100) with the approval of the Pāla king of Gauḍa and Magadha, Rāma-pāla—probably as a vassal of the Pālas. But Timgya-deva rebelled; and the Pāla king of Bengal, Kumāra-pāla (c. 1126–1130 A.D.), appointed his minister Vaidya-deva to the kingship of Kāmarūpa, and Vaidya-deva and his brother Budha-deva defeated and killed Timgya, and they ruled over Kāmarūpa as vassals of the Bengal Pālas probably up to the middle of the 12th century.

Vijaya-sena of West Bengal (c. 1097–1159 A.D.) and his grandson Lakshmaṇa-sena, the last Hindu king of West Bengal, attacked Kāmarūpa, the former probably defeating Vaidya-deva or his brother and the latter some ruler of a new dynasty called the *Candra-vamśa* or Lunar Dynasty which established itself in Assam during the second half of the 12th century. Names of four princes of this Lunar Dynasty have been found in an inscription of Vallabha-deva, son of Udaya-karṇa, who may have ruled about 1200 A.D. One of the rulers has a vernacular-sounding name, Rāyāri (=Rājārya?), and also a queen of this family, Abiava-devī (=Avidhavā: cf. Middle Bengali *āiḥa*, *āyṣa*), wife of Udaya-karṇa. They appear to have been Śaivas. It is not known what they were by race—pure Indo-Mongoloids or not. But from their vernacular names, we may assume that they spoke Old Assamese.

#### 64. THE TURKI INVASION OF KĀMARŪPA

In 1205 A.D., the Turks under Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyār Khalji, after conquering North Bengal (Gauḍa) and West Bengal (Nōḍiyah) in 1198 A.D., invaded Kāmarūpa, with a view to conquer Tibet. Their objective was evidently to control the rich trade between Tibet and beyond and North Bengal and Assam. According to Minhājū-s-Sirāj, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, the Persian history which narrates the conquest of Bengal by the Turks (compiled c. 1261 A.D.), Kāmarūpa was inhabited by the *Kwnc*, the *Myj* and the *T'h'rw* (i.e., the *Kōc* or *Koch*, *Mēc* or *Mech* and *Tharū*) peoples, whose Mongoloid race and speech made a distinct impression upon the Turks, themselves also of the same race; for we read in the Persian history that these races had 'Turki countenances' (i.e., slanting eyes, snub noses, high cheek-bones and yellow complexion of the Mongols), and they spoke a 'different idiom' from the language of India proper. Whoever was the king of Kāmarūpa, he and his people gave a stiff fight,

and showed great skill in conducting the campaign; and the Turks were beaten back, being almost entirely annihilated. In the 13th century there was another serious attempt to conquer Kāmarūpa by the Turks, and although it was successful at first, the capital of Kāmarūpa being occupied by the Turks from Bengal, the Kāmarūpa king (to his east a new power and a formidable rival was arising, but nevertheless he was still an efficient soldier) attacked the invader Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn Yuzbak Tughril Khan and destroyed him and his army (1258 A.D.). Subsequent attempts on the part of the Mohammadan rulers of Bengal and North India to conquer Assam failed ultimately, in spite of initial successes, thanks primarily to the power and organisation of the Ahom rulers of the province, who came into the field early in the 13th century, and brought a fresh and a vigorous Mongoloid element in shaping the history of Assam and North-eastern India for the next five centuries.

#### 65. THE COMING OF THE AHOMS

In the history of Assam and of the Assam-Bengal States of Koch Bihar, Kachar, Jaintia, Sylhet and Tippera, it would appear that it was mainly the Hinduised Indo-Mongoloids who took part in it, Brahmans and other purer Hindu elements hailing mostly from the West being numerically too small to take effective part in the local affairs; and the work of the Brahmans and other Hindus from the West settled in these parts was to act as a powerful leaven in gradually bringing about a uniformity of religion and culture through Puranic Hinduism. The history of Assam from 1250 to 1700 A.D. was to some extent the history of a struggle between the original Indo-Mongoloid inhabitants of the country (mostly Bodo) and the newly arrived Ahoms who belonged to a distant branch of the same Sino-Tibetan stock. The Ahoms belonged to the Tai or Shan section of the Siamese-Chinese branch of the Sino-Tibetans. They arrived in Assam by way of North Burma, through the course of the Noa Dihing river, at the beginning of the 13th century. Probably they were preceded by allied tribes—as they were followed by others, equally their kinsmen, e.g. the Khamtis. They had not yet accepted Buddhism, and followed their old animistic religion, although they had learned a modification of the Indian alphabet as used in Burma and Indo-China to write their own language.

#### 66. AHOM VS BODO IN ASSAM

When the Ahoms came into Assam, they met with at least two powerful Hinduised Bodo States, that of the Chuṭiyās in the extreme east, round about Sadiya, and that of the Dima-sa or Kacharis in the Dhansiri valley. The exact situation in Western Kāmarūpa is not known. Probably the Lunar Dynasty of Vallabha-deva, an Old Assamese-speaking dynasty which may or not have been of Bodo origin, was in power there. But it is exceedingly likely that in Kāmarūpa and the adjacent Kāmatā Bihār and Koch Bihār, the Western Bodos—the great Koch tribe, were going strong; and it was undoubtedly Koch and Mech resistance (it may be under the leadership of the Lunar Dynasty) that brought disaster to the Turks. A branch of the Koches were undoubtedly the royal house of Khens or Khyans, which was ruling in Kāmarūpa up to 1498 A.D., when Nilāmbar, their last king, was overthrown by Husain Shāh of Bengal. After 1500 A.D., a great Koch chief and organiser took his rise, viz. Viśva-Simha; and his son Nara-nārāyaṇa and his house prevented the Ahoms from spreading their power in Western

Assam during the greater part of the 16th century. Out of this struggle between the Tibeto-Burman Bodo and the Sino-Chinese or Thai Ahom, the Ahom emerged victorious. But by the time of this final triumph, the Ahom and the Bodo had both lost their nerve as independent peoples—they had both lost their language, or were fairly advanced on the way to lose it, and had merged into a single Aryan Assamese-speaking people in Assam.

The Chutiyas had probably been receiving earlier Thai or Ahom immigrants from the east, and they had become considerably intermixed with them. Their religion was a primitive kind of animism in which a great goddess to whom human sacrifices were offered obtained highest honour; and this goddess, known by her Assamese name *Kesī-khūtī* or 'the Eater of Raw Flesh', was identified with Kālī; and thus inclusion of the Chutiyas within the Hindu Brahmanical fold through Tantricism was rendered easy. They and the other Bodo tribe of the Morans, living by the Dibru river, were conquered by the Ahoms; and the Chutiyas were to some extent absorbed by the Ahoms. The Ahoms, it would appear, were forced to take wives from among their Bodo subjects, and it is thus likely that they approximated more and more with the original people. But it was certainly a clear indication of their being a real *Herrenvolk* in Assam, that they were able to keep their institutions intact, and even to improve them, and held on to their language for five centuries.

#### 67. THE EARLY AHOM KINGS

Su-ka-pha (1228-1268), the first Ahom king of Eastern Assam, came with eight noblemen and his tribe of 9,000 men, women and children; and he had two elephants and 300 horses. This was the nucleus of Ahom power and the great Ahom army in Assam, that kept the troops of the Great Mogul at bay in the second half of the 17th century. Su-ka-pha's son and successor Su-teu-pha (1268-1281) forced the Bodo Kacharis to abandon the country to the east of the Dikhu river, and Ahom territories and Ahom power began to be extended and consolidated by the following kings. Su-khang-pha (1293-1332) left the Chutiyas and the Kacharis before fully conquering them, and tried his strength with the Western Bodos, the Koch Raja of Kamata, who later made peace by giving his daughter Rājani in marriage to Su-khang-pha. From the time of Su-dang-pha (1397-1407), whose mother was succoured by a Brahman when through a harem intrigue she was sent adrift on a raft in the Brahma-putra while she was pregnant, during the absence of her husband the Ahom king Tyāo-khamti in campaign against the Chutiyas (Tyāo-khamti being himself murdered in 1389), Brahmans came to have a great influence in the Ahom court, and with it the gradual complete Hinduisation of the Ahoms started. Su-dang-pha made war on the Koch rājā of Kamata as the latter refused to give up a chief who had incensed Su-dang-pha and who sought asylum with the latter; and the war was brought to a close by the Koch rājā giving to Su-dang-pha his daughter Bhājani in marriage, together with presents of elephants, horses, gold and silver and slaves. Su-dang-pha died in 1407, and he brought all hostile or recalcitrant tribes allied to the Ahoms completely under his power.

The Nagas, who were in a very primitive state then as now, were a thorn on the side of the Ahoms, who waged fierce war on the former, although they did not try seriously to conquer them in their hills. In the reign of Su-hen-pha (1488-1493), the Nagas defeated Ahom forces; and the Ahoms were equally unsuccessful in a campaign against the Bodos of Kachar, whose king made peace on receiving an Ahom princess in marriage.

# 68. HINDUISATION OF THE AHOMS: AHOM GODS AND GODDESSES AND HINDU EQUIVALENTS

As a first step in Hinduising the Ahoms, their gods and their legends were in a loose way identified with Hindu gods and Hindu (Puranic) legends, so that both the Ahoms and the masses of the Hindus were made to feel that after all the religions and pantheons of the two peoples were essentially the same, the only difference being that of language and of emphasis. This of course is the right attitude to take when a synthesis is in view; and when we do not have a scriptural religion with a jealous God, which abrogates all truth and a special grace of the Divinity to itself and looks upon all other religions as so many forms of error or devilry which must be destroyed, that is, when we have a natural religion or religions which have arisen among the people without claiming an exclusive revelation or dispensation from God, this synthesis becomes easy. Thus, as we find in the *Asam Buranji* of Kashinath Tamuli Phukan, (*Chao-pha*, i.e., King of Heaven (*Svarga-dēva*) was identified with *Leng-dan* or *Indra*, and he was regarded as the progenitor of the Ahom kings, who came to be known as *Indra-vaṃśa* kings (side by side with the *Candra-vaṃśa* and *Sūrya-vaṃśa* kings of Hindudom); so *Ja-ching-pha* was identified with *Saraswatī*, *Lung-chāi-net* with *Vāyu*, *Khan-Khampha-pha* with *Devī* or *Śakti* or the Primeval Mother Goddess, *Khun-tun* with the Sun-god, and *Khun-bān* with the Moon-god, and *Iāu-khe* with *Viśvakarman*. The Ahoms it would appear were also sympathetic towards this kind of synthesis, and this made their Hinduisation easier, and inevitable.

# 69. THE LATER AHOM KINGS: HIGHEST GLORY OF THE AHOMS IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES: KINGS GADĀDHAR SIMHA (SU-PAT-PHA), 1681-1696, AND RUDRA SIMHA (SU-KHRUNG-PHA), 1696-1714.

King Su-hung-mung (1497-1539) first assumed a Sanskrit name, *Svarga Nārāyaṇa*, and this shows that the Ahoms had definitely declared their Hindu sympathies. He made his capital in the east by the Dihing river, and he punished the Nagas, who sent a daughter of a chief to the royal harem as a peace-offering. There was protracted war with the Chutiyas, whose king Dhira Nārāyaṇa fought the Ahoms with varying success, in 1513, 1520 and 1523, and finally the Chutiya power was crushed for ever, although they revolted fruitlessly in 1527. War with the Kacharis also started, and there were campaigns in 1526 and 1531, when the Kachari capital Dimāpur was attacked. Su-hung-mung deposed the Kachari king Khunkhara and placed a nominee Detsung on the Kachari throne, and Detsung gave his sister in marriage to Su-hung-mung. In the meanwhile, the Mohammadans (Turks and Pathans) from Bengal had made a conquest of North Bengal where they consolidated their power, and attacked the territory of the Ahom king. From 1527 to 1532, the hostilities continued, but finally the Ahoms were victorious and the invaders expelled with great slaughter. Mohammadan prisoners were settled in Assam, and from this time we have a Mohammadan population in Assam. Su-hung-mung introduced firearms in the Ahom army after the Mohammadan war. The Nagas were also subdued (1536). Detsung, the king of the Kacharis, in spite of his relationship with Su-hung-mung, revolted against the Ahoms, and a fierce struggle ensued between the Ahoms and the Kacharis in which Detsung was taken prisoner and put to death, and the northern portion of the Kachari kingdom was annexed. Su-hung-mung received in 1537 a friendly visit from the Koch king Viśva Simha who had built up an independent Koch State in North Bengal wresting it from the Mohammadans; and he exchanged envoys presents with the king of Manipur. He was the greatest of the Ahom kings up to his time, but

he was murdered at the instance of his son Su-klen-mung who had become estranged from him in 1539, after an eventful reign of 42 years.

The great Assamese reformer Śankara-deva was born during his reign. Su-hung-mung inclined to Hindu ways, but he was a good Ahom in following his ancestral religion and its practices, and the elaborate *Rikkhvān* ceremony as enjoined by the Ahom religion he performed several times. The Hindu Śaka era was introduced, as the old Ahom system of calculating dates by the cycle of sixty years was rather cumbersome.

The parricide Su-klen-mung ruled from 1539 to 1552. He consolidated the Ahom conquests in Kachari territory, and engaged in a long war with the Koch king Nara-nārāyaṇa in which the Ahoms were not successful. This was a great tussle for power between these two sections of Indo-Mongoloids, and ultimately the Ahoms were successful, but, not, as has been said above, before they and their rivals had transformed themselves completely.

Su-klen-mung was the first Ahom king to issue coins in his own name. The legends were in Ahom language and script.

The war with the Koches continued unabated during the reign of his son Su-kham-pha (1552-1603). The Koch king Nara-nārāyaṇa had an able general in the person of his brother Sukla-dhwaj *alias* Cilā Rāy or the 'Kite King' (because of his swooping tactics in attacking), and peace was ultimately made, after the Ahoms had been hard pressed, through the intervention of the Mohammadan Sultan of Bengal. Su-kham-pha's long reign was punctuated by risings of local chiefs and tribes, and there were further wars with the Koches in 1563, 1570 and 1577. But finally, through a division of the Koch kingdom their power having weakened, the Koch rājā of the Eastern Koch State, Raghu-deva, made peace with Su-kham-pha in 1585 and gave a daughter in marriage to the latter.

Su-seng-phā or Pratāpa-simha, one of his sons, succeeded Su-kham-pha, and ruled for 38 years, up till 1641. During his reign there were protracted wars with the Mohammadans from the West and with the Kacharis within the frontiers of the State, and alliances with the Eastern Koch king. The Ahom State made a very great progress in all the domains of life. Brahman influences were on the increase, and non-Ahom Hindus began to take a greater share in the affairs of the State. The arts, and literature in Assamese began to flourish. The successful war with the Mohammadan invaders was no mean achievement. The border tribes like the Miris and Dafias in the North and the Nagas in the East were kept in check.

After Pratāpa-simha's death he was succeeded by two of his sons who ruled indifferently from 1641 to 1648, and then came to the throne Su-tam-la or Jaya-dhwaja Simha (1648-1663). He waged war against the Dafias, the Nagas and the Miris, and for the first time the Ahoms interfered in the affairs of the Hinduised Khasi (Jaintia) State. During Jaya dhwaja's reign, war with the Mohammadans (this time the Moguls) began, and Mir Jumlah, the Mogul governor of Bengal, attacked Assam and pushed as far as and occupied Garhgāon, the Ahom capital. But the Ahoms put up a stiff fight, and what with the rains and with the determined resistance of the people Mir Jumlah was glad to make peace in January 1663 and return with his forces to Bengal, after annexing Assam as far as the Bharāli river. Jaya-dhwaja Simha first issued coins with Sanskrit legends in the Bengali-Assamese character, and the legends were in the style of that affected by the Koch kings beginning from Nara-nārāyaṇa.

Assamese and Ahom culture was at its height in the 17th century, and Mohammadan historians have testified to the beauty and magnificence of the wooden palaces of the Ahom kings at Garhgāon.

Hostilities were renewed by the Moguls in the reign of the next king, Su-pung-mung or Chakra-dhwaja Siṃha (1663–1669), and Chakra-dhwaja distinguished himself in this war, having conquered Gauhati and Pandu from the enemy. With fresh reinforcements, the Moguls made an attack in 1669, with a Hindu general Rāma Siṃha (the son of Rājā Jaya Siṃha of Amber) leading the attack on the Mogul side. The Moguls ultimately were forced to retire, and the Ahoms recovered Kāmṛup in 1671. During this campaign, the Ahom general Lāchit Barphukan distinguished himself. He got the better of the Mogul generals Saiyad Sana, Saiyad Firoz and Rāma Siṃha (who was supported by reinforcements sent by Aurangzeb under Sharif Khān), and won finally signal victory at Sarāighāt, which led to the close of hostilities in 1678.

Between 1669 and 1681, seven weak and incompetent kings sat on the Ahom throne, mostly the pawns in the hands of the nobles; and finally, in 1681, came to the throne Su-pāt-phā or Gadādhara Siṃha, who ruled until 1696. A great warrior and a strong king, who countenanced the Hindus but retained to the fullest his Ahom faith and Ahom ways, he finally drove the Moguls from Assam, besides organising successful punitive expeditions against the Miris and the Nagas. After his death his body was interred in the royal Ahom cemetery at Charaides, and the Ahom rites were followed at the funeral and after.

Gadādhara Siṃha, before he became king, was at one time a fugitive to save himself from the ruling king the *Loṛā Rājā*, and his wife Jayamati Kuṃwari was apprehended and tortured inhumanly to give information about her husband's whereabouts. This she refused to do, even when her husband himself came in secret and asked her to do so. She died, and became Assam's paragon devoted wife whose memory still lives.

Gadādhara Siṃha's son Rudra Siṃha, or Su-khrung-pha (1696–1714), was a great king, and a visionary who strove to form a confederacy of the Hindu States in Eastern India, including Tripurā, Koch Bihar, Morang or Mithila-Nepal (Newar) State, Vishnupur, Badnagar or Rajshahi, and Burdwan, to fight the Mogul in Bengal and restore Hindu sovereignty in Eastern India. With this end in view he was preparing for war, and had actually taken the field against the Moguls in Bengal, when death cut him short. The secret letters he wrote to the Rājā of Tripurā and other Hindu states asking for their co-operation in saving 'the (Hindu) religion as set forth in the Vedas' from the aggression of the Moguls and other Muslims indicate his staunch Hindu nationalistic sentiments. He could have been a Sivāji for Eastern India—he wanted to push to its final end the work of clearing the country of the anti-Hindu Mohammadan power which his father had begun. He was withal a great patron of arts and letters, and had become a devoted Hindu, having sent Brahmans to Gaya to perform the *śrādh* of his father king Gadādhara Siṃha. Artists, artisans, musicians, dancers and architects, as well as scholars, were invited by him to Assam, and in general he had considerably raised the material culture of Assam. He had also conquered the Kachar and Jaintia kingdoms, and thus had made himself complete master of both the Brahma-putra valley and the Hill States to the south.

The apogee of the Indo-Mongoloid Ahom State was thus achieved by 1715. After this, we have a period of gradual decay of Ahom power, and their complete merging (along with the majority of the Bodo-speakers of the Assam valley) into an Assamese people, speaking the Aryan *Asamiyā* language. This history need not detain us.

## 70. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE AHOMS

The Ahoms unquestionably made a great contribution to the life and culture of Assam and Eastern India. They were not thinkers or dreamers—religion or philosophy or literature was not their *forte*. They appear not to have given anything worth mentioning in the domain of religion in the evolution of Hinduism in Assam. But as a practical people they gave to Assam a system of administration in which among other things the population was organised on a military basis, and this organisation enabled Assam to give the stiffest resistance to the several Mohammadan invasions quite successfully. Above all, the Ahoms were great soldiers, and they could train other peoples to fight beside them. They were open to ideas—they took to the use of the firearms and were able to succeed in it well, and they were eager to profit by the more advanced culture of the Bengalis and other westerners. They adopted the land-revenue system of the Moguls after it had once been introduced by them in West Assam. They had a sense of actualities—the historical sense; and they gave to Assam a unique thing in Indian literature—systematic chronicles of a country or a dynasty or an episode, in a series of history books written in Ahom, and then in Assamese, on the model of Ahom. In the formation of the *Buranji* style of history-writing, there might have been some indirect Chinese influence on Ahom; and in Assamese *Burañji* writing, it is to be looked into if the Indo-Persian histories had anything to do. Although a comparatively small ruling class, we cannot conceive of medieval and modern Assam without this remarkable Indo-Mongoloid people. They did a great deal to organise the people of Assam socially. In their work of consolidating the social organisation of Assam, the statesmanly minister of king Su-hung-mung, Momai Tāmuli Barbaruā (c. 1530) did great service. The very name of the province comes from that of the class which gave it a strong and quite a national government for well-nigh 600 years. The resistance given to the Turks, Afghans and Moguls in Assam under Ahom leadership is one of the most brilliant achievements of Hindu arms to preserve Hindu culture and religion in North-eastern India.

## 71. THE KOCH EMPIRE OF THE 16TH CENTURY: EARLY HISTORY OF THE BODO-KOCH TRIBE

The Koch empire under king Nara-nārāyaṇa and his brother Sukla-dhwaja during the second half of the 16th century is another great achievement of the Indo-Mongoloid Bodo people, and preparations for this climacteric were going on for some centuries before that age. If the assumption is warranted that the Licchavis, Koliyas and Vajjis or Vrijis of North Bihar in the 6th century B.C. (see *ante*, § 30) were of Indo-Mongoloid origin, pure or mixed, then it is quite easy to think of North Bengal as much as Assam as having an Indo-Mongoloid population from quite early times. Brahman and other western Hindu settlements in North Bengal appear to have been scanty, and it has been mainly during the recent centuries that Brahmans and 'caste Hindus' have felt attracted to North Bengal districts like Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rangpur, and the state of Koch Bihar. The masses of the North Bengal areas are very largely of Bodo origin, or mixed Austro-Dravidian-Mongoloid, where groups of peoples from lower Bengal and Bihar have penetrated among them. They can now mainly be described as *Koch*, i.e. Hinduised or semi-Hinduised Bodo who have abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech and have adopted the Northern dialect of Bengali (which has a close affinity with Assamese); and when they are a



little too conscious of their Hindu religion and culture and retain at the same time some vague memory of the glories of their people, particularly during the days of Viśva Simha and Nara-nārāyaṇa, they are proud to call themselves *Rāj-bamśis* and to claim to be called *Kṣatriyas*; yet they are quite content at the same time, for the sake of political advantages, to be classed as a 'scheduled caste,' among the lowly in Hindu society whose past disabilities are sought to be atoned for by giving them some special privileges now. Nothing much is definitely known about the Koches of North Bengal prior to the 16th century: they may be described as *Western Bodos*, an extension of the great Bodo race of Assam and East Bengal which at one time peopled the entire Assam valley from Sadiya right up to North Bengal, the Garo Hills, Maimansingh and Sylhet districts, Kachar district, and Tipperah (Comillah) district and Tripura State, forming a ring round the Austrie (Mon-Khmer) area of the Khasi and Jaintia hills and flanked in the east and south-east by their near kinsmen the Nagas and their distant cousins the Kuki-Chins. During the rule of the Pālas in Bengal (the Pālas as a house appear to be of Panjab origin—in any case they were ordinary North Indian Hindu, and not Indo-Mongoloid), with their capital at Gauḍ (Lakṣmaṇāvatī), the Koches were gathering strength, and, like their kinsmen in Assam, had become, at least formally, Hinduised; and it would appear that by the middle of the 10th century A.D. they ousted the Pāla ruling house from Gauḍ and established themselves as rulers, at least in Northern Bengal. The short Bāṅgaṛh inscription in Sanskrit from Dinajpur giving a date 880 Śaka = 966 A.D. briefly states the erection of a temple to Śiva by a king of Gauḍa who was of the race of the Kambojas (*Kambōjān-vaya-Gauḍapati*). As R. C. Chanda suggests, *Kambōja* here can only mean the Koch people of the period (cf. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. I, pp. 308-309; S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, Vol. I, p. 69). The present-day Bengali word is *Kōc*, or, rather *Kōc*, and this can well be from a middle Indo-Aryan source-form \**Kaṭṭōca* written \**Kamōca*, which could be properly Sanskritised as *Kambōja*, as we noted before. A later Sanskritisation of the non-nasalised form of the name, *Kōca*, occurs in the *Yoginī-tantra* as *Kuvaca*. Another Sanskritised form of the name *Kōca*, viz. *Kuvācaka* (this of course gives good sense as 'Evil Speakers' or 'Bad Speakers' in Sanskrit), is found in the *Padma-purāṇa*, where certain disparaging statements about this people are made, showing how they were held in disrepute by the orthodox Brahmans:—

*sarva-bhakṣya-ratā mūḍhā mlēcchā gō-brahma-gṛhatakāḥ,  
Kuvācakāḥ parē mlēcchā ētē kūṭa-yōnayaḥ:  
tēṣāṃ pāśīśīkī bhāṣā, lōkacārō na vidyatē.*

—*Padma-Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Chap. 57, quoted by N. N. Vasu in his *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1922, p. 71.

'These *Mlēcchas* or barbarians are accustomed to eat everything, they are idiotic, and they kill cows and Brahmans: these other *Mlēccha* *Kuvācakas* have their birth-place in the hills. Their language is of *pīśāca* (demoniac) character, and they have no (good) social usage.'

There is thus no doubt that the reference is to the Koches before their Hinduisation, as a barbarous Tibeto-Burman-speaking Indo-Mongoloid people, who had not as yet any regard for the Brahmans and for the cow, and whose language had no meaning for the Aryan-speaking Hindus.

Here cannot be any question of the *Kambōja* tribe from North-western Panjab, known several centuries earlier, as coming to Bengal and conquering the Pālas and founding a new ruling house. The *Kambōja* or Koch-Bodo

domination, however, did not last long—the Pāla king Mahīpāla I (c. 992–1040), from the evidence of the inscriptions, drove out the Kambojas and obtained back his paternal or ancestral sovereignty. But the fact of the Indo-Mongoloids assuming power over the mixed Hindu people of North Bengal indicates the organisation and vitality of these people as early as the 10th century. There was a serious set-back to Pāla power in Bengal, however, during the second half of the 11th century, when East and South Bengal became independent under the Candras and the Varmans, and in North Bengal another dynasty of Hinduised non-Aryan origin, that of the Kaivartas, was set up (c. 1080–1100), when three rulers of this line which drove the Pālas out of Gauda flourished—Divvoka, Rūdoka and Bhīma. The Pāla king Rāma-pāla (c. 1084–1126) with the help of friends and allies (*Sāmantas*) mostly from West Bengal, Bihar and North Bengal, crushed the Kaivarta power and re-established Pāla rule, which endured after that for nearly a century. The exact racial affinity of these *Kaivartas* (Sanskritised from a Prakrit tribal name *Kēvaṭṭa*) is not known. The *Kēvaṭṭa-Kaivartas* are found mentioned in the Asoka inscriptions, evidently as an Eastern Indian people, whose humble calling (that of fishermen) indicated their non-Aryan origin. They were Austric, rather than Mongoloid, and in the Kaivarta upheaval in North Bengal, which was formidable enough, we have to see a successful though temporary rising of the submerged local pre-Aryan people against a Hindu-Buddhist ruling house of ultimate North Indian origin.

From the evidence of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, as given above (§ 64), it is clear that the Koches, Meches and Tharus, of pronounced Turkic or Mongoloid features and a distinct Sino-Tibetan speech, populated North Bengal early in the 13th century. The Eastern Bodos (Chutiyas and Kacharis) and the Western Bodos (the Koches of Hajo and Kamata and of Koch Bihar) disputed the possession of the Brahma-putra valley with the Ahoms; and the Western Bodos asserted themselves against the decadent Pālas and Senas, and resisted the Mohammadans, during 1250 to 1500 A.D.

A number of Koch chieftainships or principalities appear to have been in occupation of the entire country from the Bharālī to the Tistā and Karatoyā rivers and beyond, probably also including Dinajpur district, during 1250 to 1500 A.D.. A dynasty of considerable power, the Khen or Khyan dynasty, established itself at Kamatapur in the first half of the 15th century, under a chief called Nīla-dhwaja. He built his capital city, the ruins of which extending over a circumference of 19 miles are found by the Dharla river. Nīla-dhwaja is said to have actively worked for the Hinduisation of his people, although he fought and overthrew the last scion of the Pāla family of Bengal. The Khens claim to be Kāyasthas, but it would appear they are Indo-Mongoloid in their affinity. Nīla-dhwaja was succeeded by his son Cakra-dhwaja, and after him came his son Nīlāmbara, who was quite an able and powerful ruler. But he was defeated and his kingdom was annexed by the Bengal Sultān Husain Shāh in 1498.

## 72. KING DANUJA-MARDANA-DEVA: AN EARLY KOCH PRINCE?

In 1416–1418 (Śaka years 1339–1340) ruled in Bengal a Hindu prince named Danuja-mardana Deva whose personality and exact position in the history of Bengal still remain a mystery. Fine silver coins of him bearing the Śaka years 1339 and 1340 have been found, giving in Bengali characters his name *Śrī Danuja-mardana-dēva* on one side and the description *Śrī-Canḍi-carāṇa-parāyaṇa* 'devoted to the feet of Śrī-Canḍī', date and mint on the other. The mint-names are Pāṇḍu-nagara (Pāṇḍua

in Hughli district), Cātigrāma (Chittagong), and Svārṇa-grāma (Dacca), and they show that Danuja-mardana had the greater part of Bengal under his control for these two brief years. He has been sought to be identified with Rājā Kāns (*Kāśa* or *Kamśa*: the name is wrongly read as *Gāns* = *Gaṇēśa*) mentioned in Mohammadan histories, with the Vārendra Brahman chief of Bhātūria, with a Rājā Gaṇēśa of Dinājpur mentioned in some Bengali Vaishnava works, and with another king definitely named Danuja-mardana in another Bengal Vaishnava work, and further with a Kāyastha chief from North Bengal (see *Coins of Danujaniardana-deva and Mahendra-deva, two Hindu kings of Bengal* by H. E. Stapleton, pp. 5ff., *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numismatic Supplement, Sept. 1932, Vol. XXI, 1930, No. 2). He has been made to fit in with the history of the period, according to which his son was Yadu, or Jalāluddīn as he came to be known on his conversion to Islam. Danuja-mardana tried to effect a Hindu revival in Bengal: but his personality continues to be a problem. For aught we know, Danuja-mardana may have been just one of the North Bengal Koch chiefs who with his sturdy Koch *pāiks* created a diversion in favour of the Hindus by seizing the kingship of Bengal, repeating the feat of the Koch conquerors of the Bengal throne in the 10th century. The district of Dinājpur, the name being given as *Dināwūr* or *Danōj* (*Danūj*) in Persian histories, unquestionably preserves his name: a large principality thus came to be associated with him, and the people have remembered him in this way. As Rakhal Das Banerji had observed—for the first time after the conquest of North India by the Turks, Danuja-mardana was the only Hindu king who coined money in his own name, using the Sanskrit language, and his name ('the Crusher of the Demons') was probably a sobriquet taken by himself to celebrate his triumph over the Mohammadans who were the enemies of his faith. Mahendra-deva, who ruled after him for a year was probably his son, and he too issued coins in the same style as Danuja-mardana.

73. LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF THE INDEPENDENT HINDU (INDO-MONGO-LOID) KINGS OF EASTERN INDIA, FROM 1400 A.D.

One thing is noteworthy: the style of legend which Danuja-mardana adopted on his coins became the model for the Indo-Mongoloid rulers of North-eastern India after him, in the 16th century (the Koches) and the 17th (the Ahoms when they adopted Sanskrit legends on their coins), as well as the Kacharis, the Austric-speaking Jaintias and the Tipras (slightly different, perhaps original, in the case of the Tipras). The coins of Nara-nārāyaṇa of Koch Bihar (c. 1540–1584), the first to coin money in his line, bore legends like the following: obverse—*Śrī-Śrīman-Nara-nārāyaṇasya-Śakē 1477* (=1555 A.D.); reverse—*Śrī-Śrī-Śiva-carana-kamala-madhukarasya*. Jaya-dhwaja Siṃha *alias* Su-tam-la (1648–1663) was the first Ahom king who adopted Sanskrit legends, and in one of his coins we find the following: obverse, only title of the king—*Śrī-Śrī-Svarga-Nārāyaṇa-dēvasya Śakē 1570* (=1647 A.D.); reverse—*Śrī-Śrī-Hari-Hara-carana-parāyaṇasya*. The subsequent Ahom kings followed styles which were reminiscent of both the Danuja-mardana coins as here, and of the Koch coins. The earliest coin of the Kachari kings known has the following legend: *Śrī-Śrī-Yaśōnārāyaṇa-dēva-bhūpālasya, Śakē 1505* (=1583 A.D.); reverse—*Hara-Gaurī-carana-parāyaṇa: Hācēṅsa-vaṃśaja*. Similarly the oldest coin of the Jaintia kings, that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, gives the following legend: *Śrī-Śrī-Jayanti-pura-purandarasya: Śakē 1592* (=1619 A.D.); reverse—*Śrī-Śrī-Śiva-carana-kamala-madhukarasya*. The oldest coin of Tripurā hitherto known is that of Dhanya-māṇikya (c. 1500). This is,

however, slightly different in style: on one side are the names of both the king and his queen (a style later followed by some Ahom kings in the 18th century)—e.g. obverse—*Tripurēndra Śrī-Śrī-Dhanya-māṇikyā-Śrī-Kamālā-dēvyāu*, and reverse, figure of lion in conventional Bengal or East Indian style (the lion is the vehicle of Durgā), with the date *Śaka 1412* (=1500 A.D.) below. Subsequently the Tripura kings brought in the names of their tutelary deities.

All these coins of the Indo-Mongoloid rulers of Koch Bihar, Assam, Kachar, the Jaintia Hills and Tripura of the 15th–18th centuries thus have a family resemblance, and in their Bengali-Assamese lettering and Sanskrit names they present a characteristic expression of Hindu Bengal-Assam culture under Mongoloid auspices. There is another coin of a similar type in the Indian Museum of Calcutta which has not yet been properly read: it undoubtedly belongs to some Indo-Mongoloid king of the 15th–16th century. (Cf. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, Oxford 1906, plate XXXI, figure 13; *Annual Report for 1913-14 of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 248ff.: *Notes on Indian Numismatics*, by R. D. Banerji, plate LXIX.) I read the legend as (obverse) *Śrī-Śrī-Kāma-Vijaya-nārāyaṇa-Canḍi-carāṇa-parā-* (reverse)—*yaṇa-Hari-Candramālāja-Madana-dēva*, with illegible dates (*1415 Śaka* = 1523 A.D.?) at the bottom of each side: the late Nalinikanta Bhattachāli (in a letter written to me on 2-2-1947, four days before his sudden and very greatly lamented death) proposed the following reading: (obverse)—*Śrī-Śrīkantha-Vijaya-nārāyaṇa-Canḍi-carāṇa-parā-* (reverse)—*yaṇa-śrī-cakra-mālāja Madana-dēva*... He declared his inability to read what I thought were the dates. Here we have a possible Indo-Mongoloid ruler of the 16th century whose name was... *Vijaya-nārāyaṇa Madana-dēva*, and whose parents appear to have been named *Hari* (Śrī?) and *Candra* (or *Cakra*)-*mālā*: but he remains otherwise unknown and unidentified.

#### 74. THE GREATEST PERIOD OF KOCH HISTORY: VIŚVA-SIMHA, NARA-NĀRĀYAṆA SIMHA, AND ŚUKLA-DHVAJA (CILĀ-RĀY), 16TH CENTURY

With the full Hinduisation of the Koches, and the rise in power of their chiefs, Kshatriya origin was, as was natural, found out or suggested for them. One powerful Koch chief Hārīā (whose name was Sanskritised to Hari-dāsa) was elected, according to the Koch chronicles in Assamese and Bengali, a sort of suzerain (*maṇḍala*) over all the Koch chiefs of the present-day Goalpara district of Assam. Hārīā had a son Biśu or Biśā, about whose birth a number of miraculous tales have grown up: he has been even described as the son of Śiva by a Koch woman, his real paternity being in this way exalted. Biśu or Biśā was the real founder of Koch power. He ruled from 1496 to 1533 (or 1540?) A.D., and he first made himself king of Kāmātā after conquering the local petty chiefs and expelling the Muslims who were in possession of the area. Biśu is said to have taken the Hindu name of Viśva-simha. He fought with the Ahoms also. Viśva-simha was a staunch patron of Hinduism. He himself was a worshipper of Śiva and Durgā, revived the Śākta shrine at Kāmākhyā, invited Brahmans to settle in his kingdom, and even sent two of his sons to be educated in Sanskrit at Benares. He organised his Koch and other subjects on a military basis like the Ahoms, and this was probably one of the secrets of his military prowess. He died, leaving, it is said, 19 sons, of whom eldest three were Nara-nārāyaṇa, Śukla-dhvaja and Nara-simha. Nara-simha usurped the throne during his elder brothers' absence at Benares when Viśva-simha died, but Nara-nārāyaṇa (who was known also as Malla-deva) and Śukla-dhvaja hurried back to their

homeland, and Nara-siṃha was driven out. Nara-siṃha eventually after some wanderings is said to have gone to Bhotan, where he established himself as the local *rājā*.

From 1533 (or 1540), Nara-nārāyaṇa began his great career as a ruler and a conqueror, an organiser and a reformer; and in many respects (particularly through his patronage of Sanskrit learning) he was an ideal Hindu king. We need not go into details of his career—his wars with the Ahoms, his victories over Jaintia, Tippera and Sylhet kings (wars in which his brother Śukla-dhvaja, who was also known as *Cilā Rāy* or 'the Kite King' because of his 'Blitz' tactics, showed great generalship), his rebuilding of the temple of Kāmākhyā near Gauhati in 1563, his patronage of Vaishnava reformers, his temple and road building activities, and his long and prosperous reign of over 40 years. All this makes him one of the greatest kings of India, a worthy contemporary of Akbar, and a pre-eminent personage among Indo-Mongoloids. The English traveller Ralph Fitch visited the Koch country during Nara-nārāyaṇa's reign, and he speaks of the institution of hospitals for animals and of the aversion of the people to taking life, as well as of the abundance of cotton and silk cloth and of musk in the country. Evidently the neo-Vaishnavism of Śāṅkara-deva of Assam had made great progress among the people—at least among some sections of it. The part of the Koch country which Fitch visited bordered on Assam, and this was directly under Śukla-dhvaja, whom Fitch calls simply *Suckel Counse* (i.e., *Śukal* or *Śukla Kōc*)—evidently his people knew him by this plain name.

Nara-nārāyaṇa and Śukla-dhvaja, like the Ahom rulers patronising Brahmans and Hinduism, did a great deal to raise the cultural level of their people. Hinduism was the dominant religion, but the aboriginal beliefs and rites were allowed full scope, although these were becoming transformed under the ægis of Hinduism. He granted full permission for the maintenance of the Bodo (Kachari, Koch, Mech) rites and ceremonies over a particular tract of the realm, and appointed Kachari or Bodo priests (*deori*) to minister in some Kālī or Śakti temples; and to certain other temples he appointed Brahman priests. The Vishnu temple of Haya-griva Nārāyaṇa at Hajo was restored by Nara-nārāyaṇa; and the Kāmākhyā temple, an old shrine of hoary antiquity, and of Mongoloid or possibly even earlier Austric origin, was built by the brothers. It witnessed the final Brahmanisation of a pre-Aryan cult: and it is so far the most remarkable Hindu religious structure in Assam. It is a symbol of the final Arya-nisation or Hinduisation of the Indo-Mongoloids of North-eastern India.

Regarding the campaigns and conquests of Nara-nārāyaṇa and Śukla-dhvaja, there is no properly attested history, the Koch accounts and those on the Ahom side being often in conflict. But there is no doubt that the brothers built up a great kingdom, including a good deal of North Bengal, Western Assam, the Khasia and Jaintia Hills, Sylhet, and possibly also part of Tippera—quite an Empire of the East.

But this empire did not last long. It was divided between the sons of Śukla-dhvaja and of Nara-nārāyaṇa, and a single Koch kingdom was split up into two Koch States of Koch Hajo in Goalpara (Assam) and Koch Bihar in North Bengal. We are not concerned with the tedious tale of complicated fights between these two off-shoots of the Koch kingdom, and of the gradual submission of both of them, of Koch Bihar to the Moguls on the one hand, and of the Koch Hajo state to the Ahoms on the other. Disunion, and absence of a master-hand like the builders of the Koch fortunes the two brothers Nara-nārāyaṇa and Cilā Rāy, put an end to Koch glory—the Western Bodos gradually became partitioned into a number of

petty feudatories, and so they pass out of history, being transformed into the Hindu castes of Rājbaṁśīs on the one hand, and into the remnants of the race in the still Bodo-speaking Rābhās and Meches of North Bengal and Western Assam. (For Koch history, see E. Gait, *History of Assam*, Calcutta, 2nd edition, 1926; Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri, *The Cooch Bihar Land Settlement*, Cooch Bihar, 1900; Khan Chaudhuri Amanatullah Ahmad, *Kōc-Bihārēr Itihās*, Part I, in Bengali, 1936, with an appraisalment of the sources of Koch Bihar history in the last work, Chap. I.)

#### 75. THE GAROS

The fortunes and achievements of the Koches or Western Bodos have been briefly narrated above. The Garos geographically belong to the Western Bodo area, and their language and the all but extinct language of the Koches are said to be practically identical. But their isolation in the Garo Hills was responsible for their backward position and primitive ways—they have not been drawn into the cross currents of history and cultural influencing, and until recently, when Christian missions started converting them, there has not been any disturbance in their old way of life. Yet the Garos like their Bodo and other Indo-Mongoloid brothers and kinsmen possess all the latent qualities of the race, and their imagination has found expression in a number of folk-tales, among which that of the chaste and loving wife Singwil is singularly beautiful. Their comparative isolation is suggested by the *Yōginī-tantra*, which calls the Garo Hills *Mandu-śaila*, from Garo *mandi* = 'man', the national name of the Garos for themselves.

#### 76. THE CHUTIYAS OF EAST ASSAM

The Bodos of the East, the Chutiyas and the Kacharis, had to give resistance to the Ahoms, and although they had on the whole to retire before their more vigorous and militarily better organised Mongoloid kinsmen, their history is equally full of movement and their cultural achievement is also noteworthy. It is largely mixed up with that of the Ahoms, and to some extent with that of their western neighbours the Khasis (Jaintias). The Chutiyas under Brahman inspiration have built up a traditional history which takes their kings back to the mythical ages of the Hindu Purāṇas: this traditional history, and similar traditional 'histories' of all other branches of the Indo-Mongoloids (e.g. the Koches, the Kacharis, the Tipras and others) and other non-Aryans, are of the nature of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum* tracing the origin of the British Celts to a supposititious Brutus of Roman legend; or Vergil's deriving the lineage of Rome to Æneas of Troy. (See Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 41.) In the case of totally new conquerors whose antecedents were matters of common knowledge and who had their own strongly established traditions and legends, this affiliation to some fictitious eponymus ancestor from the Hindu Purāṇas was not possible, as in the case of the Ahoms; and where an old or well-known house became powerful in very recent times, as in the case of the Koches, this fictitious affiliation was equally difficult. The fact, however, seems to be that, as an overflow of Hindu influences from the Hinduised Bodo people of Kāmarūpa, the Chutiyas in the extreme east of Assam (Sadiya) had also become partially Hinduised by the beginning of the 13th century, when they came into clash with the Ahom invaders. Their earlier religion entailing human sacrifices to a Mother Goddess was assimilated to Tantric Hinduism. They put up a stiff enough fight against the Ahoms, which was continued for some centuries. But finally, after being in

part absorbed by the Ahoms, they have mainly become transformed into the Assamese-speaking masses of Eastern Assam.

## 77. THE DIMA-SA OR KACHARIS

The Kachari section of the Eastern Bodos have now taken their name from the district of Kachar forming in part the eastern part of the Surma valley and including the range of hills which make up the watershed between the Brahmaputra and Surma valleys: the name *Kāchār* meaning 'low lands', or 'border lands', comes from a Sanskrit *kakṣa-vāṭa* (*kachāḍa*, *kāchār*). Originally, their seat of power was further to the north, along the south bank of the Brahma-putra and along the Dhansiri river: they have preserved the memory of their original home through their own name for themselves—*Dimā-sā*, 'Sons of the Big Water,' that is, the Brahma-putra. The capital city they built after they came within the pale of Hinduism, which happened probably as early as the 13th century, was known as *Dimāpur*. It was their metropolis as early as the 15th century. Fuller Hinduisation of the Kachari ruling class appears to have begun from the 16th century: from the end of this century, we have their kings bearing Hindu or Sanskrit names. It was probably from the 13th or *circa* 12th century that the name *Dimāpur* was quite arbitrarily Sanskritised into *Hiḍimbā-pura*, and in this way a connexion was established between Kacharis and Hiḍimbā, the Rākṣasī or non-Aryan wife of Bhīma the Pāṇḍava hero of the *Mahābhārata*. It was then believed that the first line of Kachari kings were descended from Ghatotkaca, the son of Bhīma and Hiḍimbā, who was slain in the Kurukshetra battle. Ghatotkaca's son Sasempha was the king of the Kacharis. Sasempha's line became extinct, and a new line was started by a king about whom there was a native Kachari (non-Hindu) legend—he was born miraculously of a virgin. But the Kachari kingdom continued to be described as the State of Hiḍimbā (or *Hēramba*, as a modification of the name) and a connexion with Ghatotkaca was tacitly admitted. (The Chutiyas, own brothers to the Kacharis, similarly were looked upon as descended from Bhismaka, the father of Rukmiṇī, one of the wives of Kṛishṇa.) The Kacharis (and also the Chutiyas—and similarly the Mon-Khmer speaking Jaintias) did not preserve their old traditions—what little we get, we get from the Assamese *Buranjis*. We find the Kacharis in conflict with the Ahoms soon after their arrival; and we find the first historical king of the Kacharis mentioned in the *Buranjis*—he was Khun-kara, who died c. 1531 A.D. He was followed by Detsung, who like his predecessor, fought with the Ahoms. The Kachari king Yaśonārāyaṇa-deva, ruled during the last quarter of the 16th century, and his silver coin of Śaka 1505=1583 gives his name in Sanskrit and a poetic expression of his being a devotee of Śiva and Umā (Hara-Gauri), and mentions, evidently as a matter of pride, that he is of the family of Hācengsā (see § 73). We do not know anything of this Indo-Mongoloid prince with an unquestionably Bodo name. Before Yaśonārāyaṇa, during Detsung's wars with the Ahoms, the Kacharis got the worst of it when their capital Dimāpur was captured by the Ahoms, and they deserted their old capital and pushed southwards and built a new capital at Māibong. Yaśonārāyaṇa was defeated by the Koches, who were akin to his own people in race and language, though more advanced with their Hindu culture.

We have a series of Kachari kings from 1606 onwards. The Kacharis, after the eclipse of Koch power, had to struggle with the Ahoms on the one hand and their western neighbours the Jaintias (or Khasis) on the other. These tripartite wars went on throughout the 17th century, and we have a number of romantic episodes in the course of them, which we find narrated

in the Assamese *Buranjis*. The Kachari king Śatru-damana, who later assumed the title of Pratāpa-Nārāyaṇa, fought the Jaintia king Dhana-mānikya and forced him to pay tribute; and when through the machination of Dhana-mānikya's son Yaśomānikya the Ahoms attacked the Kachari king, the latter defeated them, and in honour of his victory assumed the name of Pratāpa-Nārāyaṇa and gave his capital Māibong a Sanskrit name Kīrti-pura. In the reign of Jahāngīr, Pratāpa-Nārāyaṇa had to fight with the Moguls who invaded Kachar territory, and peace was made by the Kachar king paying tribute.

Subsequent Kachari rulers have no importance, excepting that their wars with the Jaintias and Ahoms continued off and on. The Kachari king Tāmra-dhwaja was worsted by the Jaintia king Rāma Siṃha and taken prisoner. But his wife Candra-prabhā managed to send a letter to the Ahom king Rudra Siṃha (Su-khrung-pha) for help, and Rudra Siṃha intervened, and in this conflict the Ahom king obtained the submission of both Kachar and Jaintia rulers (1708 A.D.).

The Kacharis had come within the pale of Hindu peoples, although a great many pre-Hindu customs obtained among them. In 1790, the Kachari king Krishna Candra and his brother Govinda Candra both obtained from the Brahmans a formal declaration that they were Kshatriyas, descended from Bhīma, after performing a ceremony of passing through the copper effigy of a cow, and a pedigree of the royal line up to Bhīma was found for them. During the reign of Govinda Candra, there was a rebellion in North Kachar, and attacks by the Manipuris, which gave the *coup de grace* to the already decadent Kachar State. Govinda Candra was driven out of his kingdom and fled to Sylhet, and he appealed to the British for help. Then took place the Burmese invasion of Assam. The army of the East India Company repulsed the Burmese from Kachar and the Surma valley, and war against the Burmese continued in the Brahma-putra valley, where the Burmese committed most cruel atrocities on the people. Finally the Burmese were driven out of Assam, and a Manipur prince Gambhīr Singh joined the campaign against the Burmese and drove them out of Manipur. After the peace with the Burmese (1826), Govinda Candra was reinstated as a tributary of the East India Company. Govinda Candra proved to be a most ineffectual and exacting ruler, and he could not bring peace in his country from internal troubles. As he died childless, his kingdom was taken over by the English with the full support of his people in 1832. So ended the Kachari line of kings.

The Kacharis did not achieve much in art or letters, but in the early stage of their power when they built Dimāpur they showed themselves to be gifted architects. The ruins of Dimāpur with its huge structures and hall of stupendous decorated columns all in brick show something quite unique in the culture of the Indo-Mongoloids. The Ahoms who built in wood were impressed by Dimāpur as a city of brick, and they called Dimāpur *Che-din-chi-pin*, or 'Town Earth Built Make,' i.e. 'Brick Town.'

## 78. THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS IN SYLHET

We now come to the Bodos of the South, who occupied Sylhet, probably also Maimansingh to the East of the Brahma-putra, Comilla and Tippera (Tripura). The early history of Sylhet is not known, but it would appear that the fertile Surma valley area attracted Aryan-speaking settlers from the West, Dacca and Maimansingh and beyond, and the Aryan language spread in the wake of the spread of agricultural communities; and in this way a wedge of Aryan language was spread through the plain lands of Sylhet



between the Bodos of the East and those of Tripura. The local Bodo chiefs were Aryanised, and they were given the same pedigree as the ruling house of Kachar, as they had the same speech—Bhima and Hiḍimbā's son Ghatotkaca was made their ancestor. We have two copper-plate grants of two Sylhet princes, Keśava-deva *alias* Ripurāja-Gopī-Govinda, and his son Īśāna-deva, recording gifts of land for two temples, one of Śiva from Keśava-deva and the other of Viṣṇu from Īśāna-deva. From these two grants we get a line of 5 kings up to Īśāna-deva: the founder of the family was Khara-vāna or Nava-gīrvāna, and a date in the Kali era in Keśava-deva's grant is supposed to agree with 1245 A.D. These princes trace their descent from Ghatotkaca: so that already the affiliation of the Bodo princes to the Pāṇḍavas had become established as early as the 13th century, and the Dima-sa (or Dimāpura)=Hiḍimbā equation had spread from the Brahmaputra side to the Surma valley. In Sylhet, there are a number of place-names ending in the element *canga* or *cam* (*cañ*, pronounced *tsōng*, or *sōng*): this seems to be the Bodo word for 'country', found in Garo as *sāng*.

Sylhet had practically become a part of Bengal, having become the home of a large population of Brahmans and others from West Bengal after the Turki conquest of that part of the province early in the 13th century, when it too was brought under the power of the Muslim Sultan of Bengal in 1303 A.D. Prior to that, there was considerable penetration of Sylhet by Muslim preachers from the West, and its present Muslim preponderance seems to go back to the end of the 13th century.

#### 79. ISLAM AND THE INDO-MONGOLOIDS OF NORTH AND EAST BENGAL

The masses, who are the descendants of the Bodos pure or mixed in North Bengal and East Bengal—in Rangpur, in Bogra, in Maimansingh, in Comilla and in Sylhet—are now largely Mohammadan in religion. This preponderance of the adherents of Islam over those of Hinduism is not very old—it is rather recent: yet it started with the 13th century. Islam was successful primarily, it would appear, because the Brahmanical Hinduism of the masses was not yet deeply rooted. The sociological reason for this should be enquired into, but the simplicity of the Islamic creed in front of the complications of Puranic and Tantric Hinduism, combined with its prestige as the faith of a powerful and conquering community, gave it an initial advantage, which was strengthened by certain inherent weaknesses of the Hindu social organisation (caste restrictions, discouraging marriages of widows, etc.).

#### 80. THE SOUTHERN BODOS: THE OLD KINGDOM OF PATTIKERA (COMILLA)

Connected with Sylhet in the south are Comilla and Tripura. The latter still is the home of a Bodo people and has a ruling house and an aristocracy with a Bodo background, while Comilla is entirely Aryanised in speech. During the second half of the first millennium A.D., Comilla, as recent excavations in the Lālmāi mounds near Comilla town have shown, was the seat of an important Hindu kingdom, that of Pattikera. Sylhet was probably part of this kingdom. Coins of Pattikera, with the name of the state or city *Pattikēra* and figure of Śiva's bull and trident have been found, which would show that the ruling house was Śaivite. The 7th–11th centuries formed the most flourishing period for Pattikera. It is quite conceivable that Pattikera during the second half of the first millennium A.D. was a fully Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid kingdom, an outpost of Indian culture in the farthest east of India: and we know that Pattikera

was a centre for the spread of Hindu culture and Hindu ideas into Burma by the land route.

From the Burmese side, we have some evidence about Pattikera connexions with Pagan (Pukam) in the 11th century. Pagan was then at the height of its glory under its kings of Burmese (Mran-mā) nationality and speech, Aniruddha or Anuruddha (Anowrata) and Kyan-cac-sāḥ (Kyanzittha). Kyanzittha ruled from 1084 to 1112 A.D., and he was a great warrior and a great builder who created among other structures the famous Ānanda Caitya of Pagan in 1090. We find evidence of the influence of Eastern India (Magadha and Bengal) on the art of Burma in the stone bas-reliefs and terracottas of the Ānanda Caitya, but the Burmese artists (Mon mostly, as well as Burmese) were already assimilating Indian art traditions and making them their own by evolving a distinct local style. Paṭṭikera, or Palikkara as the name is written in the *Mahārāja-vamśa* (*Mahazazawen*) and other Burmese annals, had close connexions with Pagan at this time. It is said that a prince from Palikkara found himself in Kyanzittha's court. He was in all likelihood a Hindu Bodo. He loved the daughter of the Burmese king, and this love was reciprocated. But acting under the advice of his ministers, Kyanzittha publicly disallowed their marriage. This the prince took to heart and committed suicide. Later on Kyanzittha's daughter gave birth to a son, and Kyanzittha declared this child to be his successor, who duly became king as A-joṇ-cañ-suḥ (Aloungsithu). Other accounts mention that Kyanzittha's daughter Rhwe-im sañ (Shwe-ein-thi) was married to Co-ywan (Saw-yun), the only son of Co-lūḥ (Saw-lu), the son of Aniruddha, and Aloungsithu was born after this marriage. (Cf. Lieut.-General Sir Arhur Phayre, *History of Burma*, London, 1883, p. 38; cf. also C.E. Hervey, *History of Burma*, London, 1925, pp. 18-44 for the history of Kyanzittha.) It is quite clear that the courts of Pattikera and Pagan were in close cultural and possibly also social relationship with each other. Kyanzittha's mother Pañca-kalyāṇī was a princess from the Hindu kingdom of Arakan, the capital of which was Vesali (= Vaisali, the name of the well-known city in North India which was given by Indian settlers to a city they founded in Arakan).

There is the other East Bengal kingdom of Harikela, mentioned in inscriptions (e.g. the Rāmpal plate of Śrī-candra, c 11th-12th centuries). This Harikela has been identified with Dacca and East Maimansingh districts, and again with Sylhet. In either case, Harikela is a country or area close to, may be contiguous with Pattikera. The common element (*Kēla* or *Kēra*, *Kēr*) in these two names is noticeable: its meaning and affinity are not known. But there is an ancient pre-Hindu religious rite among the Tipras which is known as *Kēr-pūjā*, which appears to be a ritual for the worship of the Earth and Creation (see Kaliprasanna Sen, *Śrī-rājanālā*, Vol. I, Agartala, 1336 Tripura era, pp. 143ff.) It is not unlikely that *Kēla*, *Kēra*, is connected with this Tipra word *kēr*, and may have some significance connected with the Earth. (See *addendum* at the end of this monograph).

### 81. THE ṬIPRĀS, AND THE TIPPERA OR TRIPURĀ KINGDOM

Tipurā State is now the only area where the Bodo people still retain a good deal of their medieval political and cultural *milieu*, although Hinduisation has made rapid strides among them. But nearly 300,000 people in the state have still kept up their old Bodo language, the Tiprā or Mrung. The Tripurā (this is how the tribal name has been Sanskritised) ruling house is, according to tradition, of North Indian Kshatriya origin, claiming kinship with the Pāṇḍavas as scions of the lunar race;

and very early immigration of Aryan-speakers from Upper India among the Tipra section of the Bodos—the Southern Bodos—is quite in the nature of things. The Hinduisation of the Tipras started quite early, and it appears to have been achieved largely by the beginning of the 15th century. The Tripurā king Dharma-māṇikya is said to have inaugurated in early Bengali a history of the Tippera royal house, and a work was created, the first version of the *Rājamālā*, in 1458, through the joint labours of the *Comtāwā* (or *Cāntāi*, in present-day Tipra), i.e. Tipra priest Durlabhendra and two Brahman scholars Śukreśvara and Bāneśvara. In this Hindu Purāṇa legends and the early traditional history of the Bodos of the South (as preserved in the Tibeto-Burman Bodo, perhaps orally) were synthesised. At subsequent epochs (c. 1660 and c. 1830) the history was continued, and in this way we get the Bengali *Rājamālā* as a verse chronicle of Tripurā. The historical value of this chronicle is worthless for the period prior to the 15th century. Some traditions of the origin of the Tripurā house, which were of Bodo origin unquestionably, are preserved in the most valuable Assamese *Tripurā Buranji*, written by Ratna Kandali and Arjun Dās in 1646 Śaka = 1724 A.D., who visited Tripurā thrice during 1710–1714 as emissaries from king Rudra Siṃha of Assam. The value of this work, being a contemporary account of Tripurā, is immense (published Gauhati, 1938). The earlier Tripurā kings show Sanskrit names where these names are traditional and fictitious; and Bodo (Tipra) names which are plentiful up to the 14th century appear to be genuine. The traditions regarding these kings with Bodo names appear to have a historical basis. Among the Tipras, the names of kings generally ended with the word *phā* which meant ‘father,’ and those of the queens with *mā*, i.e. ‘mother’. The following names are typical: *Dunguru-phā*, *Khāruṅg-phā*, *Cheng-pha-nāi*, *Mocang-phā*, *Chengkāchāg*, *Chengthum-phā*, *Dāngar-phā*, etc. The chronicles of the Tripurā kings are full of romantic tales.

In the earlier stages of their history, the Tipras appear to have been intimately connected with the Kacharis, their kinsmen in the North. About 1240 A.D., according to traditional history, the emperor of Gauda, probably the Turki Sultan of Bengal, invaded Tripurā, and the reigning king Kirtidhara *alias* Cheng-thum-phā was seized with fear and wanted to sue for peace. But his wife Queen Tripurā-sundarī was quite an Amazon—she forced her husband to fight, and herself took the command, and after feasting the Kuki and other Tripurā troops with the flesh of buffaloes, *mīthans*, sheep, goats, pigs, deer, and various kinds of game, and with thousands and thousands of jars of rice-beer, attacked the Gauda army, and the Gauda general Hiravant Khan who was dressed in a golden *zireh* or Persian mail was set upon, and finally the Gauda troops were driven back with great slaughter. This was perhaps the first victory of the Southern Indo-Mongoloids against the Turks from Bengal.

Ratna-phā (c. 1350 A.D.) sought asylum in the court of Sultān Sham-suddin of Bengal, and with the help of the Mohammadan Sultān he attacked Tripurā and forced his father king Dāngar-phā to flee to the hills where he died, and gradually defeated his brothers and made himself king. From his time the Tripurā kings took up the title or second name of *Māṇikya*, which was awarded to Ratna-phā by the Sultān. Ratna-phā is said to have settled thousands of Bengali families among the rude Tipras and Kukis; and this led to the closer approximation of both the royal family and the rank and file of the Indo-Mongoloid people of Tripurā State to the Bengalis, in religion and culture; and it meant also the establishment of Bengali and Sanskrit as culture and religious languages of the Tipra people.

According to Professor Kalikaranjan Qanungo, Ratna-phā flourished c. 1275–1290. He was a contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāsuddin Balban.

He was at first defeated by Sultān Mughisuddīn Toghril about 1280, and subsequently on his submission he was honoured by the Muslim king with the title of *Māṇikya*. Toghril was subsequently defeated and killed by Ghiyāsuddīn Balban, as the former declared his independence from Delhi and became recalcitrant.

The first great king of the Tipras was Dharma-māṇikya (c. 1431-1462). He was a patron of learning, i.e. learning in Bengali and Sanskrit, although he himself was a Bodo speaker. He inaugurated, as we have just seen, the *Rājamālā* poetic chronicle of Tripurā in Bengali, and he settled Brahmans in his realm and was himself a staunch Hindu.

## 82. KING DHANYA-MĀṆIKYA OF TRIPURĀ

Dhanya-māṇikya was perhaps the greatest of Tripurā monarchs (1463-1515), and his queen Kamalā-devī was well-known in Tipra history. Coins in their joint names were issued—the first coins of Tripurā that we know (noted above, § 73). He crushed the recalcitrant feudatories and army lords who were making Tripurā weak, and he wanted, with the active support of his queen, to do away with baneful caste restrictions among his Kuki and other troops and sought to introduce intermingling among them. The Kukis, members of a sister branch of the Tibeto-Burman people, were the inhabitants of the eastern parts of the Tripurā kingdom, and they were great fighters and loyally served the Tripurā king on many occasions; and Dhanya-māṇikya's best general was Caycāg, probably a Kuki chief, who won for him many a stiff campaign. Among the various wars which Dhanya-māṇikya waged was one against the Kacharis, and Caycāg was brilliantly successful in this war. He also brought under his master a large number of Kuki and other tribes contiguous to Tripurā. War against the Muslim Sultān of Bengal, Husain Shāh, started when Tippera troops seized Chittagong from the Muslims in 1513. Chittagong and Arakan were both conquered by Dhanya-māṇikya—his generals Nārāyaṇa, who was given the title *Rasāṅga-mardana* or 'the Conqueror of Rasāṅg or Roshang' (the capital of Arakan), and Rāycaṅg and Rāy Kacham (Kasam) distinguishing themselves in the Arakan campaign (c. 1525). War now began with the Muslim Sultān of Bengal in right earnest, and after a number of initial reverses, Dhanya-māṇikya's army, emboldened by some magical rites performed by witch women of the Dom caste, took recourse to a stratagem and fell upon the Mohammadan army under its generals Haiten Khān and Karā Khān, and defeated and chased it away from the Tripurā territories.

Dhanya-māṇikya tried to abolish human sacrifices which used to be performed very frequently before the Śakti goddess, and was able to reduce it to about three only, and then when suitable war-prisoners were available. His son-in-law He-pāk-lāu was killed by Kukis, and for this condign punishment was meted to their chiefs.

He was a patron of literature and of the arts as he was a soldier and conqueror, and sought to spread the use of Bengali among the people by encouraging translations into Bengali of Sanskrit works. He built many temples and got artists to carve beautiful images; and he was a greater supporter of the Hindu faith. He was certainly one of the greatest personalities among the Indo-Mongoloids.

## 83. KING VIJAYA-MĀṆIKYA OF TRIPURĀ (1529-1570)

Dhanya-māṇikya was followed by his two sons Dhvaja-māṇikya and Deva-māṇikya. The latter conquered Bhulūā in Noakhali district. He was

a great Śākta devotee according to the Tantric rites, and he was murdered by a Maithil Brahman who was his helping priest in these rites and who had an intrigue with one of the king's junior wives. This Brahman was killed by the army chief Daitya-nārāyaṇa, who then made Vijaya-māṇikya, a minor son of the murdered Deva-māṇikya, king of Tripurā. Vijaya-māṇikya (1529-1570) was a capable ruler. He conquered Sylhet, Jaintia and Khasia States, and fought with the Pathans from Bengal, the Sultān of Bengal Sulaimān Kirānī having sent an expedition against Tripurā under Mamārak (Mubārak?) Khān. As usual, after some initial successes, the Pathans were defeated, and their general was brought a prisoner to Udayapur, the Tripurā capital. Through the instance of the Cāntāi, the non-Brahman head priest of the Tipras, the captured general was beheaded as a sacrifice to Kālī. The Pathan Sultān Dāūd Khān was then engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Moguls, and so he could not think of revenge, and Vijaya-māṇikya, left unrivalled master of East Bengal, set forth to conquer some parts of the province. He conquered Vikrampur and Sonār-gāon, and led his victorious troops to the banks of the Brahma-putra. A masterful man, he died at the age of 47, and he had great contemporaries—Akbar the Great, and king Nara-nārāyaṇa of Koch Bihar.

#### 84. THE LATER TRIPURĀ KINGS: DECAY OF TRIPURĀ POWER

After the death of Vijaya-māṇikya, the history of Tripurā is chequered by sordid court intrigues accentuated by murders for power or for possession of the throne. But the Tipras and their generals had not yet lost their vigour, they fought successfully with the Mohammadans (Moguls), allying themselves with the Bengal Muslims. King Amara-māṇikya (1597-1611) also fought with the Maghs or Arakanese, and his two sons Rāja-dhara and Amara-durlabha distinguished themselves in this fight against the Arakan Burmese. But ultimately the Arakanese are said to have defeated the Tipras, and advanced as far as Udayapur, the Tripura capital, and sacked the place (1588). Ultimately Amara-māṇikya committed suicide in 1611.

The Moguls appear, however, to have proved too strong for Tripurā, and a Tripurā king was led a prisoner to Dacca, whence he was allowed to go on pilgrimage to Benares and Brindabān, where he died. The history of the Tipras in the 17th century was one of gradual decay, although the State of Tripurā never became a part of the Subah of Bengal. The rulers of Tippera took less and less interest in the affairs of Bengal, and were engrossed in their little affairs within the State only, spending their time in religious and literary exercises and in internecine strife. The proud description of Tippera State as *Svādhīna Tripurā* or 'Independent Tripurā' is justified, but the State has now fallen in line with the other feudatory States in India.

#### 85. RELIGION AMONG THE TIPRAS

Tripurā has thus been an arena for the expression of some of the highest qualities of the Indo-Mongoloid people under Hindu inspiration. The Tipras, like the other Bodo groups, had their tribal religion much modified by Hinduism. But among them, and under the ægis of the ruling house of Tripurā, a good deal of their old pre-Hindu religion and its rituals is preserved, as part of the State religion. For a number of centuries, the Tipra *Comtūwās* (as the Assamese writers have called them in 1724) or *Cāntāis* (as they are now called) or high priests and the Tipra *Deodhāis* or *Deodāis* (*Deoris*) have ministered to the old gods, holding a position in society almost as exalted as that of the Brahmans. *Cāntāi* and *Deodhāi* on the one hand,

and Brahmans on the other—the former preserving the old gods (though sometimes under new names) and the old rites—these are the custodians of Tipra religion: a dual arrangement is still in vogue. The ‘national pantheon’ of the Tipras consists of a group of 14 gods who are worshipped by the *Cāntāis* in a series of 14 metal heads in a temple at Udayapur which form the Tipra Palladium. These 14 gods have been identified with the Brahmanical Śiva, Umā, Viṣṇu, Śrī, Sarasvatī, Kumāra, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, the Earth Goddess, the River Ganges (Gaṅgā), the Sea, the Fire God, Kāma and the Himālayas. The use of heads only, in lieu of full images, is something unique in Hindu ritual, and this thing is found elsewhere in Tripurā (e.g. heads carved on rock at Unakoṭi near Kailāsaḥar; and in South Bengal, in the cult of Dakṣiṇa Rāya, the God of Tigers—probably an Austric cult in origin—similar heads of painted terracotta are used for images). There are two great festivals in which the *Cāntāis* and *Deoḍāis* participate—the *Khārci-pūjā*, and the *Kēr-pūjā*. In the latter rite, there is made a ritualistic use of bull-roarers (*bhemrā*, *bhamrā*) of bamboo slips—a custom not known in any Brahmanical worship. From the Assamese *Tripurā Buranjī*, we learn that before the 14 gods, non-Brahmanical sacrifices of ‘buffaloes, methans or wild bisons, pigs, dogs, ducks, pigeons, goats, *pahu* = deer or cattle (?), fish, tortoises, and spirituous drinks’ were offered, with instrumental music. The rites appear now to have become much more humane through close contact with Brahman ideals.

The late Kailas Chandra Sinha gives (in his *Rājamālā*, pp. 24–28) the original Tipra names of the various Gods worshipped by them, including those of some of these 14 gods. They are as follows:—

- (i) *Matai-Katar*—Tipra *Matai* = ‘God’, *Katar* = ‘Great, Supreme’. The Supreme Deity of the Tipras, who has been identified with Śiva Mahādeva.
- (ii) and (iii) *Lām-Prā*—Twin deities, Sky and Sea (*Khābdhi*—*Kha* and *Abdhi* in Sanskrit—or, rather, Earth and Sea, *Kṣmā* and *Abdhi*: *Prā* means ‘the Sea’).
- (iv) *Sān-gramā* or the Himalaya Mountains. *Lām-Prā* and *Sān-gramā* are looked upon as most potent or living deities.
- (v) *Tui-mā* or *Gaṅgā* (the Ganges). Specially worshipped in the month of *Agrahāyana* and generally at other times. The priests of *Tui-mā* declare the cause of illness after consulting the deity while performing worship in her honour. (*Tui-mā* = ‘Water Mother’.)
- (vi) *Māilu-mā*—The Goddess of Rice. Identified with Śrī or Lakṣmī.
- (vii) *Khulu-mā*—The Goddess of the Cotton Plant.
- (viii) *Buṛhā-chā*—The God who is worshipped specially to cure illness.
- (ix) and (x) *Bani-rāo* and *Thani-rāo*: Two brothers, sons of *Buṛhā-chā*.
- (xi—xvii) The seven *Buḍirak* sisters. Six of them are married, and the 7th is a Goddess who, like the Goddess of Love in many mythologies, attracts men and grants them her favours. They are called *Ḍākinīs* or *Yōginīs* by the Hindus (or the Seven *Parī* Sisters, among Muslims of Tripurā).
- (xviii) and (xix) The two brothers *Gōrāiyā* and *Kālāiyā* ‘the Fair One’ and ‘the Dark One’ who are worshipped on the last day of the Hindu year (*Caitra Saṅkrānti*), when the Tipras drink much rice-beer in their honour for two or three days.

The way in which these 14 main deities of this Kirāta people have been identified with the major deities of the Brahmanical pantheon, probably as early as the 13th century, is interesting. The following Sanskrit verses

(quoted by Kaliprasanna Sen, Vidyabhushana, in his *Rājamālā*, Part I, Agartala, Tripura year 1336, pp. 131-132) from the *Rājamālikā* and the Sanskrit *Rājamālā*, give the identification :

*Harōmā* (= *Hara + Umā*), *Hari-Mā*, *Vāṇī*, *Kumārō*, *Gaṇapō*, *Vidhiḥ*  
*Kṣ.* *ābāhir Gaṇgā*, *Śikhī*, *Kāmō*, *Himādrīśca caturdaśa* || (*Rājamālikā*)

*Sanṅkaraṇīca Śivānīca Murārīṃ Kamalām tathā* |  
*Bhāratiṇīca Kumāraṇīca Gaṇēśaṃ Vēdhasaṃ tathā* ||  
*Dharaṇīm Jāhnavīm Dēvīm Payōdhīm Madanaṃ tathā* |  
*Hutāśaṇ ca Nagēśaṇ ca Dēvatās tāḥ śubhāvahāḥ* || (Sanskrit *Rājamālā*.)

This selection of the 14 major deities of Brahmanism in late medieval times recalls the Greek Pantheon of 14 as given on the Parthenon frieze—Zeus, Hērē, Iris, Arēs, Dēmētēr, Dionusos, Hermēs, Athēnē, Hēphaistos, Pōseidōn, Apollōn, Artemis, Aphroditē, Ērōs—and the 12 deities of the Romans given in the old Latin Saturnine verse—

*Juno Vesta Minerva Ceres Diana Venus Mars,*  
*Mercurius Jovi Neptunus Volcanus Apollo.*

#### 86. TRIPURĀ ACHIEVEMENT

The upper classes among the Tipras have an exalted position as Kshatriyas among all the aristocratic houses of India. The military power and statesmanship of their ancestors, particularly in the 15th-17th centuries, from a brilliant and a glorious chapter in the history of India, and the heroism of these Southern Bodos and their Kuki allies in offering resistance to foreign invaders is worthy of all praise. Their achievement in architecture was of no mean order: witness the number of fine old temples and palaces in Tripurā State, now unfortunately mostly in decay. Some of the Tipra textiles in coloured silk and cotton, particularly the gold and silver embroidered silk *riyāh* or narrow breast-covers, is a distinctive and elegant production of the textile art which made Tippera famous. Metal work, wood-carving and sculpture in stone were arts in which the Tippera people excelled. Tipra contribution to the history and culture of Eastern India, particularly East Bengal, has its own unique place.

#### 87. SANSKRIT AND OTHER TEXTS, AND PRE-HINDU INDO-MONGOLOID RELIGION

The Bodos and the Ahoms in Bengal and Assam, and the Newars in Nepal, were the Indo-Mongoloids whose participation in the evolution of religion and culture and in the course of political history in North-eastern India has been most obvious. The religious *milieu* that developed on this Indo-Mongoloid background is of course apparent in the life of these peoples and their descendants. But a good deal of confused and vague information, information which mostly is based on fact, will be found in certain religious texts, some of the late *Purāṇas* and *Tantras*, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, which deal with the phases of Indian religion as it developed in Nepal and in Bengal and Assam. The chronicles in the vernacular languages like Newari and Parbatiya, Assamese and Bengali also require such scrutiny. A close study of these works is still a desideratum—from the point of view of religious and cultural development. A good beginning has been made for the earlier and pan-Indian *Purāṇas* by Dr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra in his *Studies in the Purana Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Dacca, 1940), which is quite a pioneer work seeking to trace the development of

religious ideas and organisation in Hindudom. Works like the *Svayambhū-purāṇa*, the *Kālikā-purāṇa* and the *Yōginī Tantra* can only be expected to yield important side-lights in the history of the synthesis of Indo-Mongoloid and Hindu Puranic religion, in at least some of its aspects.

#### 88. THE BACKWARD INDO-MONGOLOIDS: THE NORTH ASSAM TRIBES, NAGAS, MIKIRS

The other Indo-Mongoloid groups did not have, so far, any great part to play, except to some extent the Meitheis or Manipuris. The North Assam tribes, Abor, Miri, Aka and Daffa have remained in the background—they had dealings with the Ahoms, and that is all that we know of them. Similarly the Mishmis. This last tribe has been connected with the Hindu sacred place of Brahma-kunḍa, the easternmost place of Hindu pilgrimage in India, which Paraśurāma is said to have visited; but the visits of a few Hindu pilgrims could make no impression on the Mishmis. The Khamtis and the Singphos are late comers from Burma. In the Naga Hills, we have the Nagas, whose depredations and head-hunting raids made their name a terror to the plainsmen of Assam. The Nagas have remained the most primitive of the Indo-Mongoloids. They are related to the Bodos more closely than to the Kuki tribes to their south. They fought and were punished by the Ahoms, and at times the daughter of a Naga chieftain found a place in the harem of the Ahom king, but their influence in the flow of life and history has been almost nil. In one matter, as noted before, the Nagas (and also the Kukis) have some resemblance with the Aryans of late Vedic times—in their elaborate 'feasts of merit' involving animal sacrifice (see ante, § 27). The Nagas are abandoning their old ways. Their language is split up into a number of mutually unintelligible dialects, which are each confined to a very few people, and this is giving the Aryan language Assamese a chance to establish itself among them—first as a *Lingua Franca*, and then as the home language.

There are certain other Naga tribes, more closely related to the Bodos (like the Empeos, the Kabui, the Khoiraos) or more closely connected with the Kukis (like the Mikirs), whose cultural *milieu* is like that of the Bodos and the Kukis both. The Mikirs, living in the Mikir Hills in the areas in the north and east of Khasi and Jaintia Hill Tracts and in Sibsagar district, and to the north of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, number 129,000, and they do not have any special or distinctive culture of their own, participating in a common Tibeto-Burman way of living. One or two of their folk-tales are charming, particularly that of the Mikir youth who got a god's daughter as his bride (see Edward Stack and Sir Charles Lyall, *The Mikirs*, London, David Nutt, 1908).

#### 89. THE KUKI-CHINS

The Kuki-Chin peoples form the easternmost group of the Indo-Mongoloids and are the most recent arrivals. Linguistically they are close to the Burmese, the Lolos and the Kachins or Singphos; but culturally they have preserved their primitive ways, and having never accepted Buddhism have a totally different cultural *milieu* from the Burmese, and they agree more with the Nagas and the Bodos. The Lusheis are one of the most well-known of the Kuki-Chin peoples. Excepting in the case of the Meitheis, they have not come within the pale of Hinduism. Their movements in the districts where they are now found (Lushei Hills, Tripurā State, Southern Sylhet, Manipur, and some portions of the Naga Hills, and Kachar) have to some extent been ascertained. Manipur and the Lushei Hills, as well as



Eastern Tripurā, and the adjacent parts of Burma would appear to be the cradle of the Kuki-Chins. The Kukis of Tripurā as subjects of the Tripurā kings took a prominent part in the fight the latter gave to the Mohammadans from Bengal, and to the Kacharis and Jaintias in the North, and the Arakanese in the South. The Kukis other than Meitheis came in contact with the Hindu world in Tripurā and in Kachar by 1500 A.D. at the latest.

#### 90. THE MEITHEIS OR MANIPURIS

The Meitheis or Manipuris are the most advanced section of the Kuki-Chin people. They were known to the Ahoms as *Mekhali*, to the early Assamese as *Moglau*, to the Kacharis as *Magli*, and the Shans call them *Ka-se* and the Burmese *Ka-the*. Their early history is not known, although they have a list of 47 kings up to 1714. Sober history for the Manipuris commences from that year. The Manipuris had their own myths and legends; and these, after their Hinduisation, have inextricably been linked up with Brahmanical legends, to form a veritable *Maṇipura-Purāṇa*: only it is not written in Sanskrit, but in Manipuri. These legends and myths are not found in a single book, but in a series of tales or narratives in the Manipuri language, each giving an account of an independent legend or story. Mutum Śrī Jhulon Singh of Imphal has written a History of Manipur in both Manipuri and English (*Houkhiba Wari—Bijay Pāñcālī—Maṇipur Itihās*, 3rd ed., 1947, Imphal, Manipur; *Bejoy Panchalee or History of Manipur in English* in two parts, Imphal, 1936 and 1941) in which the traditional account of the early history of Manipur (including creation myths and myths of the gods) has been given. Pandit Śrī Atombāpu Śarmā, Vidyaratna, Paṇḍitarāja, the eminent Sanskrit scholar and Hindu religious teacher of Manipur who has brought out a large number of Sanskrit scriptures and other works in Sanskrit and Manipuri, has sought to reconcile, in the old Brahman way, Hindu or Brahmanical history as in the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas with the Manipuri or Meithei traditions in history and astronomy in a series of books and pamphlets in Manipuri, Sanskrit and English (cf. *Meitei Hareimaye*, translated into English by A. Dorendrajit Singha, B.A., printed at the Churachand Press, Imphal, no date). Similar collections of myths and legends of the Ahoms, pure and mixed Hindu, as well as those of the Kacharis, the Tipras and the Jaintias could be designated respectively an *Asama-Purāṇa*, a *Hiḍimba-* or *Hēramba-Purāṇa*, a *Tripurī-Purāṇa* and a *Jayantī-Purāṇa*: and such *Purāṇa*-like collections of old Indo-Mongoloid myth and legend may still be made, but will be impossible in a couple of generations from now when the older people who are repositories of these legends die out.

The Meitheis, before they arrived in the fertile valley of Manipur, and formed their old settlement at Moirang to the south of the Loktak lake, were preceded by other Kuki tribes who now live in Manipur and in East Tripurā, and south of them live the Lusheis and other members of the same Kuki group. The Manipur Kukis, along with the Nagas, are gradually becoming Hinduised and are being absorbed among the Manipuris. The Meitheis adopted Hinduism fairly early: when it was exactly, we do not know. Manipuri Brahmins (known in Burma as *Kathe Ponnas*) are found in Burma where they are engaged mostly as astrologers, and they must have started to visit Burma as soon as Brahman settlements took place in Manipur, and these Brahmins began to take wives locally and a mixed class of Brahmins originated which nevertheless kept up the Brahman tradition and the Sanskrit scholarship with zeal. Definite evidence of Hinduisation through the spread of the worship of Viṣṇu is found in Manipur, as early as the

15th century, when king Kiyamba ruled over the Meitheiis,—apart from traditional accounts which take the matter to a hoary antiquity. As usual, approximation of the old Meithei religion to the Hindu Brahmanical one began with the identification of the gods of the two religions. This must have gone hand in hand with the advent of the first Hindu missionaries, who were Brahmans in the first instance (not sent by any organisation, but individuals drifting on their own from the neighbouring Sylhet and Kachar and beyond) and Vaishnava mendicants in the second, belonging to the North Indian Rāmānanda order and the Bengali Chaitanya order, which had establishments in Sylhet.

#### 91. A 'MAṆIPURA-PURĀṆA': EARLY MANIPURI MYTHS AND LEGENDARY HISTORY

Thus, in this way, the god *Mai* was identified with *Brahmā*, *Ishing* with *Vishṇu*, *Nung-shit* with *Śiva*, and *Shorarel* or *Shoraren* with *Indra*, *Marjing* with *Kubera*, *Khoriphaba* with *Varuṇa*, *Wangbrel* with *Yama*, *Irum* with *Agni*, and *Taoroinai* with *Ananta*, the *Nāga* king.

Manipur is mentioned in the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, along with other lands or provinces of the East:

*Varēndra-Tāmrāliptaṇ ca Hēḍamba-Manipurakam |*  
*Lāuhityas Tripurāṇ cāiva Jayantākhyam Susaṅgakam ||*

(Quoted by Kaliprasanna Sen, *Rājamālā*, Vol. I, p. 169: *Brahma-khaṇḍa* of the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*.)

'Varendra (North Central Bengal), Tāmrālipta (South-west Bengal), Hoḍamba (the Kachar kingdom, Dimāpur), Manipura, the Lauhitya or Brahma-putra tract (Assam proper), the Tripurā country, (the land) named Jayanta (=the Jaintia country) and Susanga (=North Maimansingh, Susang-Durgāpur, the seat of a formerly powerful Brahman 'Lord of the Marches' from the 13th century, still inhabited by the Hāijangs, a Bengalised Garo or Bodo tribe).'

The above reference may go back to the 13th-14th centuries, from the mention of Susanga. (Cf. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Mymensingh*, by F. A. Sachse, I.C.S., Calcutta, 1917: the foundation of the present Susang state was by a Brāhman Someśwar Pāṭhak from Kanauj who came towards the end of the 13th century and established his family with the help of *Siddhus* among Bodos and Khasis.) By that time, the Meithei State had got its Sanskrit name of *Maṇipura*. The Manipuris have a legendary explanation of this Sanskrit name which is given below.

Śiva and Umā descended from Kailāsa with the special intention of settling down in the land of Manipur for a sojourn. They first came to *Nongmaijing* or *Nila-kaṇṭha* hill, and selected certain hills for their residence. These hills are now among the sacred places in the State of Manipur, which are visited by thousands of pilgrims. Because Śiva was a newcomer to Manipur, he was given a new name in Manipur, *Poireiton* 'He who has come to a new place'.

In Manipur, Śiva caused seven supernatural beings to descend from the seven-hilled *Sanjing* or Paradise. These were the seven planets—(1) *Nongmaijing* or the Sun, (2) *Ningthoukaba* or the Moon, (3) *Leipakpoku* or Mars, (4) *Yumsaikesa* or Mercury, (5) *Sagolsel* or Jupiter, (6) *Irai* or Venus, and (7) *Thangja* or Saturn. Of these, Mars had the head of a buffalo, Mercury that of an elephant, Jupiter that of a deer, and Venus that of a tiger.

Śiva and Umā then went to the north-west of Manipur and stopped on *Koubru* or *Kumāra Hill*. One of the reasons why they came to Manipur was that they wished to perform the *Rāsa* dance there. Once it had happened that when Krishna was dancing the *Rāsa* with the Gopīs, Śiva with the epithet of *Gopeśvara* or the Lord of the Herdsmen and Devī Umā were acting as door-keepers outside the dance area. Umā heard the music accompanying the dance and the sound of the dance, and wished to see it, but Krishna did not permit her. He suggested Śiva and Umā finding some suitable spot where they could perform the *Rāsa* themselves. Seeking for such a proper place for this great *Rāsa* dance, they came to Manipur, and thought that the *Koubru* hill would be such a place. But the land around was wet and moist because of too many streams. Śiva prayed to Krishna to make the land dry. Krishna himself came down, and a place which became dry came to be known as *Vishnupur*. Ten divinities accompanied Krishna—*Haoba Shorarel* or *Indra*, and *Kubera*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, *Agni*, and *Thangjing* or *Aśvinī-Kumāra*, or *Nirṛti*, *Chingkhei-Ningthou* or *Īśāna*, *Loiya-lapa* or *Vāyu*, and two other deities named *Nongsaba* and *Kongba-meiromba*.

Through the exertions of these gods, the land was freed of its waters and became dry, and of the ten deities, the first eight became the eight *Dik-pālas* or Guardians of the Quarters, only *Nongsaba* and *Kongba-meiromba* remained as Guardians of the East with *Indra* (*Haoba Shorarel*).

When Śiva and Umā had come to Manipur, they had found only *Kirāta* people as dwellers in the land.

When the country was cleared and purified, the *Rāsa* dance of Śiva and Umā was arranged. The gods came with various instruments to assist in the dance to be held by the Father and the Mother of the Universe. The serpent king *Ananta* illumined the whole country with the gem (*maṇi*) that was on his head for the seven days and seven nights that the dance went on. For this, the land got its name of *Maṇi-pura*, 'the City or Land of the Gem.'

In this way, at the dawn of creation, the land of Manipur was sanctified by the dance of Śiva and Umā. The gods were very pleased, and they blessed the land of Manipur, that the land will forever remain green, and the people will be devoted to the gods. The land originally was named *Śiva-nagara* after Śiva: after the *Mahārāsa* dance, it came to be known as *Maṇi-pura*. (Does this suggest the prevalence of Śaiva Hinduism before Vaishnavism became established in Manipur?)

The gods asked Śiva to reign over Manipur, but Śiva made the *Nāga Ananta* the ruler of Manipur instead. A subterranean path had been excavated in Manipur through the breath of Vishnu when he had incarnated himself as the Boar. Beside that cavity, on a hill, *Ananta-nāga* established his court and his throne. The images of *Kārttikeya* and *Gaṇeśa* were set up on either side of the entrance gate to the palace. A device to indicate the time was set up when the palace was ready. *Ananta-nāga* instituted the boat-race to please the gods, and the Gods and *Apsarases* were very pleased with this game. A sort of tug-of-war with a long pole instead of a rope was also instituted. And *Marjing* or *Kubera* invented the game of *Kang-jei* or the polo. The gods formed into two opposing parties of seven each and first played this game. They are pleased when this game is played: that is why when there are plagues or pestilences in the country, the Manipuris offer polo-sticks and balls to the gods.

Thus *Ananta-nāga* became the first king of Manipur. After reigning for sometime, he descended into his own place, *Pātāla* or the nether regions. *Ananta-nāga's* connexion with Manipur is preserved in the figure of the

Nāga being the special *insignium* of the Manipur rulers—a crowned serpent is many a complicated twist.

After Ananta-nāga, the Gandharva Citra-bhānu became the king of Manipur. There is no mention in the Manipur tradition of how he came to obtain the throne.

There is a pure Meithei tradition about the Creation of Man in Manipur which is preserved in the legend of *Loithak-loikharol* in Manipuri. It is said that Śiva first narrated this story of creation to Gaṇeśa. The tradition has it as follows.

The Supreme Lord *Atiya-Guru-Shidaba*, who lived in heaven (Meithei *Atiya*='sky or heaven,' *Guru*=Sanskrit='Master,' *Shi-daba*='immortal') decided to create mankind. He made a deity named *Kodin* issue out of his own body, and asked him to create a creature which by virtue of its birth will be subjected to death. *Kodin* then created seven apes and seven frogs, and placed them before *Guru Shidaba*. But *Guru Shidaba* was not pleased with these, as these did not possess sense of perception and discrimination between right and wrong. He told *Kodin*: 'Here I stand, make something in my form or shadow.' *Kodin* accordingly created a new shape, but he was powerless to endow it with life. Then *Guru Shidaba* gave it the breath of life from himself, and so man came into being. He let loose the frogs into water, and the apes into the hills. Man then came to live in the valley.

Then after this *Atiya-Guru-Shidaba* created the Sun (*Numit*), and the Moon (*Thā*), in the form of man. The Sun obtained the name of *Kojin-tu Thok-pa*, and the Moon *Ashiba*. Afterwards *Guru Shidaba* vanished from the earth.

*Atiya-Guru-Shidaba* had come out of the earth through the cavity which was created by the breath of Vishnu as the Boar. Seven *Apsarases* or goddesses had arrived on earth with him. These goddesses (each of whom has her name in Meithei) were married to the seven Planet-gods, and each of the divine couples had a son. These seven sons became the ancestors of the seven *Shaleis* or clans or septs, and these *Shaleis* have been identified with Brahmanical *gotras* or clans: Thus (1) *Angom*=Bhāradvāja, or Kāśika gotra; (2) *Ningthouja*=Śāṇḍilya; (3) *Luwang*=Kāśyapa; (4) *Khumol* or *Khumon*=Maudgalya (corrupted to Madhukulya); (5) *Khabangangba*=Naimisya, or Bhāradvāja; (6) *Moirang*=Ātreya; and (7) *Cheng-loi*=Bhāradvāja. The story of the seven clans being derived from these seven divine beings resembles the Hindu Puranic story of the seven celestial *ṛṣis* or sages being the ancestors of the seven clans of Brahmans. According to another Meithei version of the legend, the seven *Shaleis* were derived not from the seven Planet-gods and their goddess wives, but from different parts of the body of *Guru Shidaba*. Like the Brāhman in the Hindu legend originating from the mouth of the Puruṣa or the Supreme Spirit or Brahmā, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaiśya from the thighs or loins, and the Śūdra from the feet, so the seven *Shaleis* came out of the right and left eye, right and left ear, right and left nostril, and the teeth of *Guru Shi-daba*.

In the *Leithak-leikharol* and other works, we find other stories about the primitive gods of Manipur. One characteristic story is about *Pakhangba* or *Sentreng*, and *Shenamahi* or *Kuptreng*, two gods, sons of *Guru Shidaba*. They received their father's permission to descend to the earth, and came to Manipur. To test their love and respect for their father, *Guru Shidaba* took the form of a dead cow and came floating down the Vijayā river. The god *Sentreng* understood that this was *Guru Shi-daba*, and the two brothers dragged the body out of the water. Then *Guru Shidaba* came out in his proper form, and said he was pleased with them, for they had recognised

him, and gave to Sentreng a new name—*Pakhangba*, i.e., 'he who knows the father' (*Pa* = 'father', *khang-ba* = 'to know'). The two brothers then cut the carcass of the dead cow into seven pieces, and divided these among the founders of the seven *Shalei* or clans. One of them received the two eyes and portions of the lower limbs, one the skull, one the heart, another the four feet, and so forth. The skin of the cow was dried at a place which got the name of *Kangla* (from *Kang-ba* = 'to dry'). Then the seven ancestors of the *Shalei* clans performed a *yajña* or Vedic sacrifice in fire with parts of the cow's body. Thus in this old Kuki myth an Indo-Aryan touch has been added.

Guru Shidaba announced that he would make king whichever of the two brothers would be able to come back after making a tour round the whole world. Of the two brothers, Kuptreng or Shenamahī, left *Kangla* to make this tour; but acting according to the advice of the god *Leimaren-Shidabi*, Sentreng or *Pakhangba* circumambulated round his father's throne seven times. Guru Shidaba was very pleased, and regarded this as equivalent to a tour round the whole world, and accordingly gave the kingdom to *Pakhangba*. In the meanwhile, Kuptreng came back and found his brother already established as king. (There is a similar Hindu story that on one occasion Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, sons of Śiva, disputed who was greater, and Gaṇeśa decided to go round his mother Pārvatī, as that was equivalent to a tour round the world, which Kārttikeya undertook to make on his peacock, to establish priority.) Now, Kuptreng decided to fight his brother, disputing his right to reign. *Pakhangba* got frightened and took refuge among *Apsarases* or nymphs, and these latter received him with honour, and for his pleasure performed the *Augrihangl* dance. Kuptreng or *Shenamahī* then began to press upon the earth with his big toes, to kill *Pakhangba*. At this Guru Shidaba came up from the nether regions—there the snake-king *Taoroi-nai* or *Ananta* was his vehicle. He made peace between the brothers by deciding that they were to rule alternately for one year. During the period of rest from kingship, the brothers would receive kingly offerings and worship from Manipur householders along with the god *Leimaren-Shidabi*. Then Guru Shidaba vanished from sight, and *Leimaren-Shidabi* explained to the two brothers that Guru Shidaba was the Supreme Spirit. Then the Lord Śiva as the five-faced deity showed himself, and the Sun-god like a burning fire showed himself with excessive brilliance.

It appears that the Gandharva king Citra-bhānu became ruler of Manipur after *Ananta-nāga* and the two brothers. A synthesis or combination with Brahmanical Purāṇa stories has now been effected. From *Brahmā* born out of the navel of Vishnu was born Marici, from Marici came Kaśyapa, from Kaśyapa the Sun-god Sūrya, then successively the sage Sāvārṇa, Citra-ketu, Citra-dhvaja, Citra-bija, Citra-sarva, Citra-rāja, and Citra-bhānu. From Citra-ketu onwards, these princes were Gandharvas. Citrāṅgadā, the only child of Citra-bhānu, was married to Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava prince, hero of the *Mahābhārata*. The son of Arjuna and Citrāṅgadā was *Babhru-vāhana*, and his son was *Suprabāhu*, and *Suprabāhu's* son was *Yavishṭha*.

The *Mahābhārata* and the Meithei Purāṇa have been sought to be synchronised in this way. Legends of Arjuna's sojourn in Manipur are current among the Meitheis, and some spots in Manipur are associated with Arjuna's visit. According to one version of the legend, *Yavishṭha* was the grandson of *Babhru-vāhana* the son of Arjuna, but another version puts in 13 other kings between *Babhru-vāhana* and *Yavishṭha*, of whom the first two only have Sanskrit names (*Kalāpa-candra*—rather modern looking name, and *Śakti*), and the remaining other names are in the Tibeto-Burman Meithei. *Yavishṭha* is also known as *Pakhangba*. Possibly the

earlier Pakhangba, son of Guru Shidaba, popular as a hero-king, was identified with a descendant of Arjuna. This Pakhangba is also a popular figure in Manipur. He has been placed by Manipur chronology to a date 74-194 A.D.: he is said to have reigned for an abnormally long period of 120 years.

Pakhangba, whoever he was, captured the imagination of the Meitheis, and he may be looked upon as their first great king whose date, however, we cannot establish satisfactorily. He was the son of king *Ingou-yanba*. Some wonderful tales are told about his birth. His name was at first *Meidingu*, but later, probably emulating the earlier hero-king, he was renamed Pakhangba. His rule was remarkable for many reasons. Lists of the different clans and septs and families are said to have been made in his time, and these are still operative in the social affairs of the Meitheis. He promulgated a coinage of thin bell-metal pieces which are still current and are known as *shel*. He inaugurated the writing of an annual chronicle which continued all through early Manipur history. The chronicle is known as *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, which is still waiting proper editing and publication. He is said to have fallen in love with *Laisra*, the daughter of a chief of the Makeng clan, and there is a romantic story connected with his love and marriage.

## 92. LATER MANIPUR HISTORY: THE STORY OF KHAMBA AND THOIBI

After Pakhangba, there is a long list of kings of Manipur right down to the modern times. The first rulers after Pakhangba have been given excessively long reigns, which shows that all this history has been a later fabrication, albeit the main events of these reigns have been given. All these kings are given two names—one Meithei, and the other Sanskrit. Thus, *Koiba-tomba* or *Kshema-candra*, *Konthouba* or *Kavi-candra Simha*, *Ayang-ba* or *Akhaṇḍa-pratāpa Simha*, etc. *Loyamba* or *Lavaṅga Simha* ruled from 1127 to 1154 A.D. It was during his time that the two most famous personalities of romance in Manipur, the hero *Khamba* and the princess *Thoibi*, are said to have lived and loved and died. The story of *Khamba* and *Thoibi* may be described as 'the national romantic tale' of the Meitheis. There are ballads narrating the story which are still sung among the Manipur people, and we are told how the orphan boy *Khamba* and the princess *Thoibi* loved each other, how *Khamba* performed deeds of valour and prowess to win her, how they were finally married, and how their happy life ended in a tragedy through *Khamba's* foolish suspicion about the fidelity of *Thoibi*. The popularity of this story (an English version of which has been given by T. C. Hodson in his book *The Meitheis*, London, 1908) is proved by the fact that it has been treated into a huge poem of some 39,000 lines by a modern poet of Manipur (see § 36 *ante*).

## 93. MANIPUR HISTORY AFTER THE 15TH CENTURY: CHAITANYA VAISHNAVISM IN MANIPUR

From the Purāṇa stage we come down to sober history from the time of king *Kiyamba*, who lived in the 15th century. During his time both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava forms of Hinduism were current among the people, and Brahmans had begun to settle there. Meithei or Manipuri obtained an alphabet, probably in the time of *Kiyamba*, although a later date, 1700 A.D., has been suggested for it. It is an Indian alphabet, with rather complicated shapes of the letters, which appears to have been modelled on the Bengali alphabet. A knowledge of this alphabet was confined to the *Maibas* or

priests of the old Manipur religion—it never spread among the masses. A number of Manipuri MSS. giving old Meithei legends were written in it, and works on Manipur history and custom. But a knowledge of the script remained a specialised subject. The Manipuris accepted Chaitanya Vaishnavism from Bengal in the middle of the 18th century, and from that time they adopted the Bengali script, abandoning their old and complicated alphabet. Very little of the older traditional literature in the Manipuri script has been published. But there is a growing literature in modern Manipuri consisting of translations from the Sanskrit and Bengali, as well as English, and of original verse and prose works, which is written and printed in the Bengali script.

Bengali or Chaitanya Vaishnavism came to Manipur by way of Sylhet. It started from the beginning of the 18th century. Sylhet was the home of Chaitanya's father, although he himself was born at Nadiyā in 1487. Manipur Hinduism gradually became a synthesis of the old Meithei religion with its gods and goddesses and myths, its own legends and traditions, its social customs and usages, and its priests and ceremonials, and of Brahmanical Hinduism with its special worship of Rādhā and Krishna. The Rādhā-Krishna legend the Manipuris have made their own. Old pre-Hindu ritualistic dances like the *Lai-Haraoba* on 'the Gods' Rejoicing' were the basis on which the exquisitely charming *Rāsa* or Rādhā-Krishna dance-plays have been built up. The Manipuri *Rāsa* has been introduced to Bengal by resident Manipuris at Sylhet and elsewhere, and it was taken by Rabindranath Tagore in his school at Santiniketan, and now it has spread all over India. The Bengali or North Indian Hindu dress was adopted by the Manipuri men, and abstinence from the flesh of animals (though not from fish) as well as strict adherence to the formalities of Vaishnava religious practice and ways of life now mark off the Meitheis from other Kirāta peoples by whom they are surrounded, and give a special Hindu atmosphere and a distinction of culture to their life. Meithei influence is spreading among the other Kuki and the Naga tribes of the State, and the 5 lacs of people living in Manipur are all Manipuri Hindus, Meithei-speaking, *in esse* or *in posse*.

This intensive orientation towards Hindu culture through Bengal Vaishnavism started with king *Pamheiba* (1709-1748) *alias* Gopāl Simha or Gharib-nawāz. He may be said to be the founder of the fame of the present Manipur house. Gharib-nawāz fought the Burmese from 1725 onwards, and on one occasion pushed as far as Ava, the Burmese capital. His son, however, revolted against him to seize power himself, and he was murdered at the instance of this son. The Burmese wars went on, and the Manipuris were hard pressed, and in 1768 they sought help from the English in Bengal, then scarcely established there. After him ruled *Moramba* or *Gaura-śyāma* Simha, who was a staunch Vaishnava. *Chingthang-khomba* or Bhāgya-Chandra Jaya Simha (1759-1798) helped to bring about still more intensive Vaishnavisation of the Manipur people. From his time, in the place of the old thin fragments of bell-metal used as coins, a Manipuri coinage came in, rather crude in form, in which only the initial letters of the names of the king were given.

King Gambhir Simha (*Chinglen Nongdren-khomba*), who ruled from 1825 to 1853, was a good soldier, and he pushed as far as Kohima in the heart of the Naga country, in 1833, where he has left an inscribed memorial stone with symbolical devices to mark his victorious sojourn. He had extended the boundaries of Manipur.

The subsequent history of Manipur is nothing remarkable. A series of weak rulers followed, and the kingdom was reduced to its position as a

British feudatory, which for 16 years from 1891 was administered by the British Political Agent. In 1949 it has joined the Indian Union formally and is now a centrally administered unit, like the other sister-states in Eastern India, Koch Bihar and Tripurā. Manipur had suffered a great deal during the last World War through Japanese bombing, and it was the arena of the struggle between the British and Americans on the one side and the Japanese on the other. The Indian Army of Independence created by Netāji Subhāṣ Chandra Bose to fight the British in India had arrived as far as Kohima.

#### 94. THE CULTURE OF MANIPUR

The Hindu Meithei culture of Manipur is something quite distinctive as a creation of an Indo-Mongoloid people, and it is now evident from the natural and easy beauty and artistic environment of their life, which, isolated from the rest of India, still preserves an old world aroma and atmosphere. The old religion and cults have not been suppressed, but they have been given a new form and content through contact with the Indo-Aryan world of Hindudom through Sanskrit and Bengali. The Vaishnava and Prahman spirit is working, but the *Maibas* (old Meithei priests) and *Maibis* (priestesses) still carry on the old rites which have been harmonised with the Brahmanical ones. Old deities like *Panthoibi* 'the Daughter of the Sun,' *Yumthai Lai* 'the Establisher of Houses,' and *Taibong Khomba* 'She who makes the earth to swell,' are members of the Meithei Hindu pantheon, and there is no exclusiveness. And the Khamba and Thoibi romance is still quite popular, as much as the reading and exposition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The old dances are there, the folk element and mythical bases of which will not be understood in the rest of India; but there is the *Rāsa* which is of pan-Indian popularity now, through Rabindranath's Santiniketan School of the Dance, through the interpretations of masters of the modern Indian dance like Uday Sankar, and through performances in the cinema. The textiles, brass work, wood and ivory work and other crafts of Manipur are also beautiful. But the greatest expression of Manipur culture has been through the dance, and through literature. Mention has been made of some of the achievements of the Manipuri people in the field of literature before (§ 36). The composite Ārya-Kirāta culture of Manipur will have its own special place of honour among the different forms of provincial culture in India.

#### 95. THE KHASIS AND THE SYNTENG: 'SYNTENG' = 'JAYANTA, JAINTIA': THE OLD HINDU KINGDOM OF JAYANTA-PURA

The Indo-Mongoloid people which has been reserved last for treatment are the Khasis and the Syntengs. These, as has been observed more than once before, are Indo-Mongoloid in race, but Austrie (Mon-Khmer) in language. Their cultural *milieu* is the same as that of their neighbours the Bodos. The history of the origin of the Khasis is shrouded in mystery. They appear to be descended from some of the earliest Mongoloid immigrants into India who changed their language through contact with Austrie speakers, either in Burma or on the soil of India, in prehistoric times. It is likely they were spread over a much wider tract—probably over parts at least of the plain-lands of Sylhet and Kāmrūp, before they became finally confined to the Khasi and Jaintia hills. In the north Lalungs and Mikirs (of Naga-Kuki origin) were their neighbours; in the west, the Bodo-speaking Garos; and in the east, also the Bodo-speaking Kacharis; while it was only in the south, in Sylhet district, that they could contact, in historic times, the Aryan speakers. In their approach to Hindu religion and culture, lead seems



to have been taken by the Synteng section of the Khasi people, who from their geographical relationship to the Khasis proper of Shillong and the Khasi Hills, can be described as Eastern Khasis, as the Wār form Southern Khasis, and the Lynggam are the South-western tribe. These Eastern Khasis are now known as *Syntengs* (the word has been spelled according to the system of Romanisation applied to Khasi by the Welsh missionaries, in which system the letter *y* has its Welsh value, which is like that of the *u* in the English word *sun* or the short *ä* of Hindi and Sanskrit: *Synteng*, therefore, represents a pronunciation like *sāntēñ*). Khasi was first reduced to writing with the Bengali characters during the late 18th century, it is said; but only with the application of the Roman alphabet and the creation of a literature of translations and of folk tales by the Christian missionaries during the last quarter of the last century that the Khasi language may be said to have possessed authentic records. As in the case of all languages which have no early written records, it is difficult to trace their history, particularly in their sounds. The form *Synteng* (—*sāntēñ*) gives the modern pronunciation: but it is quite in the nature of things that an earlier pronunciation of the word some 500 years ago was *\*zaintēñ*. The Wār tribe, now quite a small one, which lives in the part of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills adjoining Sylhet, was in all likelihood a branch of the Syntengs; and possibly the Wār have not differentiated themselves much. In the Wār dialect, we find frequently initial *z-* in place of the *s-* in the other dialects. The phonetic law or the line of phonological change is not known: but *z-* may be the earlier sound, just as Khasi *š* appears to have developed out of an earlier *c*. Thus, Wār has *zia*, *zan*, 'four, five' — *sāw*, *san* in the standard dialect. It was thus easy for *Synteng* = *\*zaintēñ*, or *sāntēñ* to be Sanskritised in the mouths of the Aryan speakers as *Jayantā*, *Jayantī* (*j* has the value of *dz* or *z* in East Bengali and Assamese): and the capital of the Jaintia or Hindu Khasi kingdom, in South Khasi-land, came to be known as *Jayantī-pura*. The Western Khasis remained out of the Hindu pale, and their State was known as the State of Khyrim, with its capital at Nongkrem near Shillong. Khyrim and Jayanta or Jaintia from the beginning seem to have been separate states.

A Hinduised Jayantā or Jaintia State appears to have been in existence by 1500 A.D., and the first king whose name we know is *Parvata-rāja* 'Lord of the Hills', which is more a sobriquet than a name. The Jaintias are said to have ousted a race of Brahman kings ruling on the plains of North Sylhet; and according to Assamese accounts, the Jaintia kings are said to have been Brahmans. But that is wrong, as much as a story giving the origin of the name *Khasi*, which is derived from the word meaning 'castrated', a word of Arabic origin and Mohammadan provenance. The Khasi and Synteng traditions about their line are not preserved. But there is a legend in an Assamese *Buranjī* describing how the first Jaintia king was the son of a degraded Brahman named Lāndhābar (who used to live as a Garo and took the name of Suttangā after a Garo who had adopted him as a son) and a girl miraculously born of a fish. The Jaintia kings first came into prominence in the 16th century, when the Koch king Nara-nārāyana's forces invaded and conquered the Jaintia country. The Jaintias fought mostly with their eastern neighbours the Kacharis, and sometimes they came into conflict with the Ahoms also. We have list of Jaintia kings with Hindu names from the 16th century onwards, who appear to have been historical persons. Rāma Simha the Jaintia king (1697–1708) waged war on Tāmra-dhvaja, the Kachari king, and both of them were made his vassals by the Ahom king Rudra Simha (Su-krung-pha). Rāma Simha was quite a spirited prince. There was no outstanding personality, however, among the

Jaintias, and after a series of unimportant kings the Jaintia State was annexed to Bengal by the British in 1835.

The Jaintia ruling house was perhaps fully Hinduised—they were staunch Śāktas, and the temple of the Goddess Jayantī, a form of Durgā, in Jayanta-pura, the capital of the Jaintias, became famous all over Bengal and a great part of India as one of the 51 *pīṭhas* or sacred Śākta shrines. The Jaintia kings used to offer human sacrifices before the goddess (generally condemned criminals: sometimes the victims were self-chosen, who were given great honour and were allowed to do whatever they liked). The Hinduism of the masses was not very deep, and the matriarchal system of succession (the king's sister's son succeeding him, and not his own son) was in vogue in the Jaintia kingdom. Khasis and Syntengs were given high posts, and the royal family never cut itself adrift from its original Khasi antecedents by affecting Kshatriya origin: marriages of members of the ruling house with full-blooded Khasis who followed their own way of life and their original religion appears to have been quite the rule, as we see, for instance, from an interesting ballad in Sylhet Bengali (the *Sōnādhānēr Git*, edited by Śrī Rājmoḥan Nāth, B.E., Tattvabhūṣaṇa, Executive Engineer, and published from the Śrīhaṭṭa Sāhitya Parishad of Sylhet, 1947) in which a Jaintia princess falls in love with a Khasi young man whom she has seen in the street from her palace, and ultimately they are married, the young Khasi who is given a Hindu name Lakṣmī Simha becoming the king-consort, as the princess already had inherited her father's realm as queen.

The Khasis did not have as striking a past as the Koches, the Tipras and the Ahoms, but they are a gifted race, highly intelligent, and they are taking the fullest advantage of modern education. Of all the Indo-Mongoloid peoples who have kept up their language and customs and traditions (except where Christianity has effected inevitable changes and breaks), the Khasis are the most advanced and most progressive. Shillong the capital of Assam being within Khasi territory has had of course something to do with Khasi progress; and, of course, there were the Christian missionaries, Protestant and Roman Catholic. A good many Khasis have felt attracted to the ideals and philosophy of Hinduism in recent years. The Khasis have a strong sense of tribal patriotism, and the Roman Catholic fathers of St. Anthony's College, Shillong, have been instrumental in inaugurating a study of their tribal culture, including laws and customs, songs and traditions, etc., which they are publishing in a very useful and well got up series of books in Khasi (10 volumes projected, from 1936 onwards; up to 1947, five volumes have been published; the works and information were kindly supplied to me by Mr. Theodore Cajee, B.Sc., B.L., B.T., of Laitumkhrah, Shillong).

This Indo-Mongoloid people, though numbering not even half-a-million, have made its language and literature (entirely Christian and European in spirit) a subject for study in colleges. They have established their position among the various groups of people that go to make up the Indian nation.

#### 96. THE EARLY INDO-MONGOLOID KINGS OF CHITTAGONG AND ARAKAN

The district of Chittagong, now entirely Bengali-speaking, is linguistically a continuation of Comilla and Noakhali. The Bengali of Chittagong has undergone some noted developments, but on a Comilla and Noakhali basis: and in phonetics and phonology and syntax, if not so much in morphology, Chittagong Bengali undoubtedly shows a strong influence of the earlier languages which have receded before Bengali. The Chakma dialect of Bengali, spoken by the Buddhist Chakma tribe living in Chittagong Hills

District, is Chittagong Bengali, with some features which connect it with West Bengali and Assamese.

Nothing is known about the early history of Chittagong and the tract in Burma contiguous to it, viz. Arakan. The original inhabitants might have been Austro-Asiatics allied to the Khasis on the one hand and the Mons or Talaiings on the other—possibly they were more closely related to the Mons. Later they were overlaid by Bodo-speaking Sino-Tibetans from Comilla and Noakhali in Bengal, and by Kuki-Chin speakers of the same 'race' from the Chittagong Hills. It is not known when Mran-mā or Burmese-speaking tribes from the northern part of the Irrawaddy valley crossed the Arakan Yoma Mountains and settled in Arakan and gradually made the whole tract Burmese in speech. The Arakan dialect of Burmese preserves some archaic features in pronunciation, e.g. the retention of the *r* sound, which becomes *y* in standard Burmese. The Burmese (Mran mā) people consolidated themselves in Pagan in the 11th century, and after that they entered into a life-and-death struggle with their Mon neighbours in the South, which led, after seven centuries, to the final suppression of the Mons, forcing them (or rather their language) to a small tract at the head of the Gulf of Martaban, and Burmanising the whole of Central and Lower Burma. Their penetration into Arakan would date from a period after 1200.

While Austro-Asiatic Arakanese and Sino-Tibetans (Bodos and Kukis—and not Mran-mās or Burmans as yet) occupied Chittagong and Arakan, Brahmanical and Buddhist culture together with an influx of Aryan speakers arrived in this area, in the early centuries of the Christian era. Brahmins from Bengal came to Chittagong and spread into Arakan also; and Kshatriya and other adventurers from Eastern U.P. also arrived, and made settlements and established themselves in Arakan. The city of Vesali or Vaiśālī was built by them near the present town of Mrohaung (or Myohaung) near Akyab. Close connexions were maintained with Brahmanical and Buddhist Bengal on the one hand, and with the Irrawaddy valley Mons and later Burmese on the other. Local princely houses, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist, using Sanskrit in their inscriptions (showing the presence of a considerable Brahman element in the population), are found to flourish from the early centuries of the Christian era for over a thousand years, till after 1200 A.D. Arakan really became a part of India, and Indian (Bengali) influences continued right down to the 17th-18th centuries, long after the country in its language and national affiliation became Burmese. The Arakan court was an important centre for Bengali literature in the 17th century, when Bengali-speaking Muslims from Chittagong served the Burmese-speaking and Buddhist Arakanese kings in various capacities, and patronised Muslim Bengali poets like Daulat Kāzī and Ālāol; and the city of Roshang in Arakan was an important Brahman centre, from where Bengali Brahmins speaking Chittagong Bengali migrated to Ava and Amara-pura and Mandalay at the invitation of Aloungpra and other Burmese kings and established themselves there.

The achievements of Indo-Mongoloid kings in Chittagong and Arakan, particularly during the first millennium A.D., are not fully known. Later Arakanese chronicles in Burmese give some garbled versions, tracing the foundation of Brahmanical dynasties to the 2nd century A.D. But these chronicles do not let us have any positive evidence about the affinities of the people, nor are they reliable about the succession of rulers, or ruling houses even, and their dates.

A number of Sanskrit inscriptions and coins going back to the middle of the 1st millennium A.D., however, give the impression of Arakan (or rather North Arakan) being really the easternmost outpost of India. The most

important of these inscriptions, though not the oldest, is that of a king Ānanda-candra, inscribed in the eastern form of the Indian alphabet as current in Bengal in the early part of the 8th century. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription, which is a fairly long one, gives 65 verses in different metres, with a few lines of prose in the middle. It is on a face of a stone pillar in the Sitthaung Pagoda in Mrohaung in Arakan. It is of the nature of a *Prasasti* or Panegyric of the king Ānanda-candra; and before dwelling upon his achievements as a powerful king and builder of Buddhist and Brahmanical temples and monasteries, his largesses to the Buddhist monks and his offerings to Buddhist temples, his excavation of wells and restoration of old temples, and his marriage with Dhendā, the daughter of the Śaiva Andhra king Manodhīra of Tāmra-pattana (a place not yet identified), the first 43 verses form a sort of chronicle for Arakan (Vesālī) for some 547 years, giving lists of kings and ruling houses who ruled in Arakan (the first 200 years being rather mythological). Coins have been found which bear some of the names given in the list of Arakan kings prior to Ānanda-candra who set up the inscription. Three dynasties are mentioned, with some intervening kings between the second and third dynasties. Most of the names of rulers throughout this long period of over 500 years are in Sanskrit, but some names are in one (or more) non-Aryan speech (or speeches) which cannot be properly made out. Thus, the fourth and fifth kings of the first dynasty are Bahu-balin and Raghu-pati (the first three names are not legible in the inscription), and the third king is Candrodaya. They are given mythologically long reigns of 120 years each. Then we have some *Annaveta* kings who ruled only for 5 years: the name *Annaveta* probably suggests some indigenous rulers. After another king, whose name is lost, and who ruled for the improbable period of 77 years, we have some 6 rulers with non-Sanskritic names, *Rimbhuyappa*, Queen *Kūvērāmi*, her husband *Umarīrya*, then *Jugna*, and *Lāṅki* or *Līṅki*. After *Lāṅki* we have *Drēṇ Candra*, the founder of a dynasty, attested partly by coins, of 13 successive rulers, each bearing the name *Candra* (Dveṇ Candra, Rāja-candra, Kālā-candra, Deva-candra, Yajña-candra, Candra-bandhu, Bhūmi-candra, Bhūti-candra, Niti-candra, Virya-candra, Pṛiti-candra, Prthvī-candra and Dhṛti-candra), their total rule amounting to 230 years—a period corroborated by the Arakan Burmese Chronicles, though the dates are later. We have thus a *Candra* dynasty of Arakan, which might have been connected with a similar Candra dynasty of kings in East Bengal, who ruled during the 10th-11th centuries (see *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Hindu Period, ed. by R. C. Majumdar and published by the University of Dacca, 1943, pp. 192-197).

After Dhṛti-candra, the Candra power failed, and Mahāvīra, king of Pureppura, became king of Arakan (Vesālī). After Mahāvīra came two kings with non-Aryan names—*Frayajap* (or *Brayajap*) and *Sēvinēṇ*—names of unknown meaning and origin. Then came Vajra-śakti.

Vajra-śakti was the founder of the house to which Ānanda-candra belonged. The family was described as *dēvacandaja* and *dharmarājāṇḍaja* family: a name which is not clear—it was probably some totemistic name which was then well-understood. The kings were Buddhists after Vajra-śakti—Dharma-vijaya, Narendra-vijaya Vīra-narendra-candra, and then Ānanda-candra. He was impartially a supporter of Buddhism and Brahmanism, and Brahmins were settled in *maṭhas* or monasteries, as much as Buddhists in *vihāras*.

Names of other kings are found in later inscriptions—two with an element *Sūra-candra* (viz. Siṃha-gaṇapati-Śūracandra and Siṃha-vikrama-Śūracandra) are found, who belonged to the 10th century. Some place-names are found, which suggest pre-Aryan place-names in Bengal

inscriptions—e.g. *Naulakka*, *Domagha*, *Daṅkaṅgamargaṅga dūvāra* and *Bhūrokanaulukkala-vāraka*.

This single inscription gives us a good deal about the *milieu* for Brahmanisation or Indianisation of the Kirāta peoples of Chittagong and North Arakan before the 8th century. (See † E. H. Johnston, 'Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan' in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, Vol. XI, 1943-46, pp. 357-385.)

## 97. THE KIRĀTA WORLD BEYOND INDIA

The lands to the East of India up to the China Sea were known to the Greeks and Romans as *India beyond the Ganges* ('India extra Gangem'), or *Farther India* as it has been Englished (or *Pratara Bhārata*, as it can be Sanskritised). We have in this area Burma, and beyond Burma, Siam and French Indo-China (Viet-nam). The peoples are either Austro-Asiatic (the Mons and Khmers, and the less important or backward peoples like the Paloung and the Wa in Burma, and several small tribes in Indo-China) or Sino-Tibetan (the Burmese and other Tibeto-Burmans in Burma, the Karens, and the various ramifications of the Thai or Shan people); and besides there were the Chams or Champa people, equally Austric with the Mons and the Khmers, and the Viet-nam people (Tonkinese, Annamites), whose exact linguistic affinity is not known—they are probably Austric at base, with strong Thai and Sinic influences. The Austries—Mons in South Burma and South Siam, and Khmers in Cambodia—received Indian culture by both land and sea as in the case of Burma, and by sea (Indo-China), and they passed it on (with Brahmanical and Buddhist religion and literature, Indian writing, Indian arts and crafts, etc.) to their northern neighbours the Tibeto-Chinese Burmans and Pyus, and the Sino-Tibetan Thai. We have in this vast area a continuation of what we see in Assam and Eastern India: a large population of Mongoloids, who became Indianised in religion and culture. The Aryan language penetrated, but only as a culture drift—it could not create a place for itself as a spoken language. Brahman priestly preachers and teachers and Kshatriya adventurers penetrated into this area from early, possibly pre-Christian, times, by way of Assam and East Bengal, and by way of the sea from South Bengal, Orissa and the Telugu and Tamil coasts, and they gave the intellectual and ruling aristocracy. It was a projection of India into a Sino-Tibetan and Austric world.

To complete the picture of the achievements of the Kirāta people outside the geographical limits of India when they accepted Indian religion, culture and letters, a history of the Mons, the Burmese, the Pyus, the Thai in their various branches, of the Khmers and the Chams, and partly of the Viet-namense, will be necessary. But such an extended study is beyond the scope of the present monograph, and special works on Burmese and Indo-Chinese history and civilisation (as expressed, among other things, in Burmese and Siamese architecture and drama and other arts, the architecture and art of the Khmers and Chams, etc.) are to be consulted. (For a brief *résumé* of this phase of Indian cultural expansion, Sir Richard Carnac Temple's excellent survey of Burmese and Indo-Chinese history, traditional and otherwise, with chronological statements, as published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1916, pp. 39ff., is to be mentioned.)

## 98. CONCLUSION

In the above pages I have tried to give a short survey of the nature of Kirāta or Indo-Mongoloid participation in Indian history and their

contribution in the evolution of Hindu or Indian culture for the last 3,000 years. The Kirātas or Indo-Mongoloids from the Vedic times onwards have been the fourth basic element in the formation of the Indian people, and we find them taking their share in Hindu history, beginning with the battle of Kurukshetra, from the 10th century before Christ. Kirāta or Indo-Mongoloid influences may have affected the life and religion of the Vedic Aryans as well. The question of Kirāta influences in the life of the Pāṇḍavas still remains an open question. The greatest international personality of ancient India, Buddha, who is among the greatest thought-leaders and teachers of mankind, and who embodies in himself the principles of *Ahimsā*, *Karūṇā* and *Maitrī*—of Non-injury, Mercy and Charity, which are so characteristic of India, was, for aught we know, of pure or mixed Indo-Mongoloid origin; and through him and other personalities, we have a material and spiritual kinship with the Buddhist Mongoloid world.

The study of this aspect of the evolution of Indian culture and history has not been done proper justice to as yet. Many of us are not as yet alive to the nature and importance of the problems. Closer study through the various human sciences should be carried on with greater intensiveness—through Anthropology (some work has been done in this, the University of Calcutta through its Department of Anthropology taking its humble share), through Linguistics, through Sociology, through Comparative Religion and through Political History. From even a broad survey of these studies, we can see that, at least in the areas where they established themselves, they furnished a new and a fourth element, and quite a powerful one, in the formation of medieval Hindu religion and culture.

Closely interlinked as the various groups of the Indo-Mongoloids were with the affairs of India for over 2,500 years, and considering also the brilliant part they played in becoming the champions of Hindu culture and fighters in the protracted war for Hindu political freedom in North and East Bengal and Assam, they have become an integral part of the body-politic in India, from the deathless story of which land it will never be possible to minimise or relegate to oblivion their services and their contribution. Can we think of Indian History and Civilisation, particularly in Eastern India, without the contributions of the Licchavis and the Newars, the Koch, Kachari, Tipra and other Bodo peoples (details of whose services are now matters of research), the Ahoms, the Jaintias, and the Manipuris?

*Addendum to § 80.* The element *kēra*, *kēla* in place names occurs in Northern and Western Orissa also: e.g. Saraikelā (*Saḍhaikēlā* in Oriya) to the north of Mayurbhanj, Jaraikelā in South Singhbhum, Kumārkorā, Birkorā and Jaraikelā in Gangpur, Laikerā in Sambalpur, Jamunīkīrā in Bamra, and a village Jaraikelā to the west of Jaipur town in Koraput in West Orissa. The presence of Kirāta tribes as far as North Orissa has been suggested by a passage in the Peryplus of the Erythrean Sea (§ 26), and the opinion has been expressed by an authority like J. H. Hutton that 'there is a slight but definite Mongoloid element' among an important Gond tribe of Central India, the Marias of Bastar. Points of contact or agreement between the cultures of the Austro and Dravidian aborigines of Central India and of the Mongoloids of Assam have also been noted (cf. Introduction by J. H. Hutton to the *Maria Gonds of Bastar* by N. V. Grigson, I.C.S., Oxford University Press, 1938).



ICONOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF AN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT OF  
 THE AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ IN THE ROYAL  
 ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, CALCUTTA

By MONOTOSH MOOKERJEE

(Received March 21, 1950)

A palm leaf manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (No. G. 4713) in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was copied, according to the post-colophon statement at the end, at Nālandā in the sixth year of the auspicious reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramasaugata Śrīman-Mahīpāladeva*, who meditated on the feet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramasaugata Śrīmad-Vigrahapāladeva*.<sup>1</sup> Another manuscript of the same work, copied in the fifth year of the reign of *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramasaugata Mahārājādhirāja Śrīman-Mahīpāladeva*, is now preserved in the University Library, Cambridge (No. Add. 1464).<sup>2</sup> The characters of both the manuscripts are what is generally known as *Kūṭila* and the palaeography would place the manuscripts about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The Mahīpāladevas of the two manuscripts are apparently one and the same person and identical with Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal who came to the throne about the year 988 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

Both these manuscripts contain illuminations on the folios as well as on the inner sides of the two covers. Following, to a certain extent, the contemporary idiom of Pāla sculpture, they furnish the earliest extant records of Eastern Indian book painting, and provide significant landmarks for a period when documents of Indian pictorial art are extremely rare. Manuscript paintings of the period have been studied by more than one scholar, but the majority of the documents being Nepalese the emphasis in such studies is more on the Nepalese practice than on the Eastern Indian. Much of the inspiration in the art of Nepal has to be traced to Eastern India and a study of the miniature painting of Eastern India as such is likely to throw valuable light not only on contemporary Indian painting but also on that of Nepal.

In the present paper is attempted an analytical study of the paintings of the R.A.S.B. MS. No. G. 4713, copied in the sixth year of Mahīpāla I.

The first cover has, on the inside, the illuminated representations of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, namely, Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, beginning from the left. These celestial Buddhas are held in high esteem in the Mahāyāna doctrine and supply the framework, so to say, of the Buddhist pantheon. Independent images of the Dhyāni Buddhas, either singly or in a group, are extremely rare. But not infrequently they are found to appear in a group of five among the illuminations of the Buddhist manuscripts.

The Dhyāni Buddhas are all very much alike to one another. Each of them is represented as seated cross-legged on a full blown lotus wearing a monk's dress which leaves the right shoulder and arm bare. No ornaments bedeck his person. The eyes are shown half-closed in meditation. The head is covered by the conventional curls, part of which is gathered upwards in a top-knot. A large aureole surrounds the body, and a halo, the head.



In spite of a similarity in the composition, the five Dhyānī Buddhas are distinguished, one from the other, by their complexions and handposes.<sup>4</sup> In these respects the representations here clearly follow the prescriptions of the *Sūdhana*, Ratnasambhava being characterized by the yellow colour and *varada-mudrā*, Akṣobhya by blue colour and *bhūṣparśa* (Pl. IX, Fig. 1), Vairocana by white colour and *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*, Amitābha by red colour and *dhyāna* or *śamādhi-mudrā* and Amoghasiddhi by green colour and *abhaya-mudrā*.

The second cover is likewise illuminated on the inside, but owing to its damaged condition it is difficult to identify the representations definitely. The composition divides the painted surface into three distinct units, the central showing a group of three figures flanked by two more divinities on the two sides. In the central unit there appears in the middle a divine figure seated cross-legged on a lotus, the two hands being shown near the breast in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. The upper part of the body, in spite of the adamant pose of the figure, exhibits a slight flexion (*bhaṅga*). There are two attendant male figures on the two sides, each seated in *lalitāsana* with one hand resting on the seat and the other held near the breast. Other details, however, have been obliterated. The central figure, if a female one, represents, very possibly, the goddess Prajñāpāramitā flanked by two attendant divinities. The position of honour in the centre of the cover appears to support this identification, as on several manuscripts the goddess Prajñāpāramitā is known to have occupied a similar position.

On the left side of this cover there is the representation of the Buddha seated cross-legged on a lotus in *bhūṣparśa-mudrā*. Evidently the representation is that of the Vajrāsana Buddha which symbolizes the Great Enlightenment at Bodhgaya. Individual representations of the Buddha in this pose and attitude are very popular in Eastern India, in sculpture as well as in painting, and it is quite in the fitness of things that in a manuscript, copied at Nālandā, an identical representation should appear as a sacred piece, apart from its usual significance in connection with the incidents in the life of the Buddha. On the right side of the cover is represented again a figure, in all probability a god, with two hands in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. Other details lacking, the figure may tentatively be identified as that of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of wisdom.

Besides the covers, the first two and the last two folios (each measuring  $21\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ ) contain each three illuminated panels, one at the centre and two on the two sides. The side panels represent each an incident in the life of the Buddha,<sup>5</sup> making a total of the eight conventional scenes. The four central panels on the four folios represent four divinities of the Mahāyāna pantheon.

The scenes from the life of the Buddha, traditionally known also as 'miracles', begin from proper right on each illuminated folio. The first panel on the first folio introduces to us the scene of the Nativity of the Buddha in the Lumbini garden.

(1) In the panel (Pl. IX, Fig. 2) the queen Māyā is seen standing in *tri-bhaṅga* pose with the right hand holding the branches of a tree (*śāla tree*)<sup>6</sup> and the left supported on the shoulders of her attendant, shown to the left, who is apparently her sister Mahāprajāpati. The tree is said to have bent down of its own accord. The baby Buddha is found coming out of the right side of Māyā. A divine figure, seen to the proper left, no doubt represents the god Śakra (Indra) who is known to have received the baby. The figure of the baby has been repeated in between Māyā and Indra. This, no doubt, represents the taking of the seven steps, after which incident the baby declares himself to be the foremost of the world. The yellow complexion

of Māyā, Indra and the baby and the green of the attendant figure produce an effect of strong contrast with the red background. The figures of the Queen, the Baby Buddha and Indra are distinguished by halos round their heads. Each figure is characterized by extreme flexions of the body, and wavy and bulging curves. The composition is of the usual conventional order and similar representations are common in contemporary sculptures and paintings.

(2) The last panel in the first folio reproduces the Buddha, yellow in colour and with a halo around the head, seated cross-legged on a lotus in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* under the spreading foliage of a tree. A red drapery covers the body but leaves the right shoulder bare. There are two more figures on two sides of the Buddha, each with a halo round the head. The figure to the left is white in colour and has two hands, the left resting on the thighs and the right held near the breast in *jñāna-mudrā*. The figure to the right is yellow in colour and has two hands, but the attributes are not recognizable. The upper part of the body is bare in each case, the body being decked with the usual ornaments. The hair is dressed up with bejewelled clasps in front. The panel apparently illustrates the incident of the Great Enlightenment which happened under the Bodhi tree at Bodhgaya. The various texts have long accounts of the series of episodes, including the encounter with Māra, leading to the attainment of the supreme wisdom. The different stages have been simplified to a conventional and stereotyped formula consisting of the *vajrāsana* pose, the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and the Bodhi tree, which collectively stand for this famous event. The Bodhi tree symbolizes the location, the *vajrāsana* pose the grim resolve not to leave the seat until *bodhi* is achieved,<sup>7</sup> and the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, the episode of calling the mother Earth to witness in the contest with Māra. The two attendant figures may represent two of the celestial beings who are said to have approached the seat of Enlightenment after the defeat of Māra.

(3) The second folio contains three separate panels two in the two corners of the leaf and one in the middle. The panel in the right represents the figure of the Buddha, yellow in colour and with red drapery covering the entire body, seated cross-legged on a lotus seat with a cushion behind him. The two hands are placed near the breast in what is known as the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. On either side of the central figure are seen two attending figures, each green in colour and in *añjali* pose, and fully draped in yellow. In front of the seat are seen the effigies of two deer with a *dharmacakra* in between. The panel evidently represents the scene of the first sermon, figuratively known as the *dharmacakrapravartana* or 'turning of the wheel of the Law', which was proclaimed in the deer forest (Mṛgadāva) at holy Rṣipatana (modern Sarnath). The two attendant figures represent two of the five Bhadravargiya ascetics, before whom the Buddha preached his first sermon. The two deer and the wheel in front of the seat represent this epoch-making incident symbolically.

(4) The last panel in folio 2 depicts the fully draped figure of the Buddha, yellow in colour, seated cross-legged in the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. Two more figures, each in a similar pose, are seen on the two sides. All the figures are distinguished by halos around the heads, the central one having a *prabhāmaṇḍala* besides. This panel represents the scene of the Great Miracle (*mahāprātihārya*) which happened at Śrāvastī, the capital of Kośala. It being an important event with far-reaching consequences for the religion of the Buddha, the story may be given here in a nutshell.<sup>8</sup> At Rājagṛha there were six tīrthika teachers who, having lost their esteem on account of the growing popularity of the Buddha and his religion, determined to hold a contest of miraculous feats whereby they

hoped to bring about the discomfiture of the Buddha. At Śrāvastī the contest was arranged for and King Prasenajit built a special pavilion (*prātihārya-maṇḍapa*) for the purpose. On the appointed day the king reached the pavilion with his retinue and the heretics also. While they were thus waiting, the Buddha came there travelling through the air. The whole world became flooded in the golden light and as the Buddha placed his feet on the ground, the earth began to move and tremble while the sun and the moon to shine together. As he was seated rays began to emanate from his body and the *maṇḍapa* was filled with golden light. Next, as he rose in the air and appeared in all directions, fire and water began to emanate alternately from the upper and lower parts of his body. The miracles of the fire and water were known as the *yamakaprātihārya* (literally 'twin miracles'). The gods headed by Brahmā and Śakra appeared on the scene and took their seats. Thereafter a thousand-petalled lotus resting on a jewel-stem sprang up supported by the Nāga kings, Nanda and Upānanda. The Buddha took his seat on the lotus and created multiple representations of himself which went up as far as the highest heaven. The heretical teachers, discomfited at the succession of miraculous events, dared not show their own feats, and were finally confounded by a violent thunder-storm and obliged to flee away. The supreme position of the Buddha was thus indicated, and he preached the law before the huge assembly of people that had come to witness the Miracle. The Śrāvastī episode has been a favourite theme in Buddhist art from very early times. The earlier representations, as we find at Sanchi, Gandhara, etc., were usually very elaborate ones; they attempted to depict a few of successive events ultimately leading to the multiple representations of the Buddha which constitute the Great Miracle, *mahāprātihārya*. In later representations the earlier episode, i.e. *yamakaprātihārya* has been invariably omitted, probably because of the fact that there is disagreement amongst the different authorities regarding the situation and actor of the story. It is neither particular to Śrāvastī, nor is it exclusively the achievement of the Buddha, but shared by a number of persons and śramaṇas. In the later period hence the representation was confined to that of the Great Miracle,<sup>9</sup> and that too in a stereotyped composition of a central figure of the Buddha in preaching attitude with similar effigies around. This has been the usual mode of representing the theme in sculpture as well as in painting from the Gupta period onwards. In still later times the composition was further simplified, there being only two accessory representations of the Buddha, as we find in sculpture and painting of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. In this respect the present miniature closely agrees with contemporary representations of the miracle.

(5) The right-hand panel (Pl. X, Fig. 3) in the last but one folio depicts three figures, the central figure being that of the Buddha, yellow in colour and standing with the right hand shown in *varada*. A red drapery covers the whole body down to the ankles leaving the right shoulder and the arm bare. The red *prabhāmaṇḍala* and the halo are shown as usual. On the right of the Buddha stands a god, white in colour and with more than one head crowned by a *jaṭīmukuta*. Of the two hands a waterpot can be recognized in the left. To the left of the Buddha stands another god yellow in colour and with a crowned tiara over the head. The attributes in the two hands are not recognizable. This particular figure can be identified as that of Śakra on account of the representations of eyes shown on the body, an iconographic peculiarity of which we have a parallel in the Brahmanical descriptions of the God Indra. The figure to the right is that of Brahmā as is clear from additional heads and from the water jug

held in the hand. Two trees are seen on either side in blue background. The panel no doubt represents the scene of the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastrimśa heaven where he went to expound the *Abhidharma* to his mother and other gods. He is said to have descended down to the earth at the city of Sāṅkāśya (modern Sankisa) by a ladder of beryl accompanied by Brahmā and Indra on his right and left respectively.<sup>10</sup>

(6) The last panel on this folio depicts the Buddha, yellow in colour, standing with *abhaya* in the right hand, the left holding the red drapery, which leaves the right shoulder and arm bare. There is the usual *prabhāmaṇḍala* around the body and the halo round the head. The background is blue and a tree with heavy foliage may be seen over the head of the Buddha with two other trees on either side. To right and left of the Buddha appear two other figures each in the robe and attitude of a mendicant and with an alms bowl in one of the hands. In the foreground is seen the figure of a white elephant, repeated twice, once with uplifted trunk and then bending down before the Buddha. The panel should evidently be identified as the well-known scene of the taming of the mad elephant, Nālagiri, whom Devadatta, the wicked cousin of the Buddha, let loose to bring about his death. Stories of Devadatta's attempts to encompass the death of the Buddha are well known. First, he tried to kill him with the help of hired assassins, next by hurling down a rock upon him, and again by letting loose a mad elephant when the Master was out on a begging round, all these events happening in quick succession at Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. It is this last episode which has been frequently represented in art. It is said that the raging elephant was tamed down by the supernatural powers of the Buddha and thereby the attempt of his wicked cousin was foiled. The two figures of monks on either side may represent two of his devoted disciples who accompanied him on this occasion.

(7) The last folio contains also the same type of miniatures. The panel on the right (Pl. X, Fig. 4) depicts the Buddha, yellow in colour, seated on a cot-like seat with a blue cushion at the back. The *prabhāmaṇḍala* is red and the background is blue. A red drapery covers the body leaving the right shoulder and arm bare. In the foreground are seen figures of monkeys approaching the Buddha who is in the attitude of receiving something from them. In the background to the left may be seen a tree. The panel can easily be identified as the scene of the offering of a bowl of honey to the Buddha in a mango grove of Vaiśālī by some monkeys. The tree in the left evidently indicates the location of the event.

(8) The last panel (Pl. XI, Fig. 5) on this folio shows the Buddha, yellow in colour, reclining on his right on an ornamental cot. Behind the head of the cot is a tree with large green foliage balanced by another on the right. There is the effigy of a *stūpa* in the background, which is blue, and on one side of the cot appears a figure in the robe of a mendicant with an offering of garlands. The body of the Buddha is covered with a red drapery. In front of the cot are two figures each seated in an attitude of sorrow and dejection. This represents the well-known scene of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* or the Great Decease of the Buddha which happened at Kuśinagara in his eightieth year. The monk with the garland may be Ānanda, the foremost disciple of the Buddha, and the two figures in the foreground some of the disciples who, not yet completely emancipated from passion, wailed and lamented. The trees may represent the two *śāla* trees between which the cot, the last resting place of the Buddha, was spread. The *stūpa* in the background perhaps stands for the one which Buddha enjoined Ānanda to erect for the enshrinement of his ashes. It is well known that the relics were divided into eight portions over each of which was raised a *stūpa*.

Besides these conventional scenes of the eight Great Events ('Miracles') in the life of the Master on the extreme panels of the four folios, the middle one in each has a miniature representing a divinity of the Mahāyāna hierarchy.

(9) The first (Pl. XI, Fig. 6) represents a fully draped figure, resembling the Buddha, seated cross-legged on a cushioned seat and with a cushion at the back. A red *prabhāmaṇḍala* can be found around the body, and a halo around the head. The hands of the figure are placed in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. The figure has a red complexion and the yellow drapery produces a remarkable effect in contrast with the blue background. In the *Sādhana-mālā* a description is given of Amitābha, the most ancient of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. He was the first to appear in the developed Mahāyāna pantheon and texts glorifying his form and conception were composed from near about the beginning of the Christian era. As the spiritual father of the Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, the dhyāni Bodhisattva who looks after the world in which Gautama Buddha preached the Law, he is also the most eminent of the group. According to the *sādhana* he is to be of red colour and to have the hands in *dhyāna-mudrā*.<sup>11</sup> Amitābha, because of his position, is fairly represented in art and the present figure closely tallies with the iconographic prescription.

(10) The middle panel in the second folio depicts a much blurred figure of a two-handed goddess seated cross-legged on a lotus seat. The upper portion of the body is in slight flexion. The two hands of the figure are held near the breast in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. On either side of the goddess rise two stalks of lotuses each perhaps with a manuscript placed on the full-blown flower. The figure is totally discoloured and the details are obliterated. From the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* the goddess may be identified as the goddess Prajñāpāramitā, the embodiment of the Mahāyāna scripture of the same name. She is thus the goddess of transcendental knowledge and her worship was very popular among the Buddhists. She is also fairly represented in art. Among the illuminated manuscripts the majority constitute the *Prajñāpāramitā* Book, and the representations of the goddess are fairly numerous in these manuscript illuminations. Almost invariably does she appear on the cover as well as within the text, the representation in each case tallying closely with the description of the goddess in the *sādhana*. In the *Sādhana-mālā* there are several descriptions of the goddess. One of the forms is that of a goddess of golden complexion having two hands in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* and with a *Prajñāpāramitā* book placed on a lotus on each side.<sup>12</sup> It will be found that the representation here tallies in all essential particulars with this form of the goddess.

(11) The middle panel in the third illuminated folio exhibits a god, yellow in colour, seated on a grimacing lion of light blue colour. The two hands are shown in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. To the left of the god is seen a blue water lily and to the right a blue lotus. The figure has a cushion behind his back, the background being red. Locks of hair are seen falling below the shoulders. The body of the figure is heavily bejewelled. In the *Sādhana-mālā* a description is given of a god known as Mañjuvara, a variety of god Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of wisdom. The god Mañjuvara is to have a colour like that of molten gold.<sup>13</sup> From the *sādhana* it will be found that the figure of the god in the illustration exactly corresponds to that of Mañjuvara. The five Dhyāni Buddhas which, according to the *sādhana*, the god Mañjuvara is to bear on the crest, are no doubt absent. But this feature is not so important when we remember that the god is represented in miniature and the salient cognizances are all there. It may

be recalled in this connection that among the different forms of Mañjuśrī the present one is fairly represented in Eastern Indian Sculpture.

(12) The middle panel on the last folio shows a god seated on a lotus seat in *lalitāsana*, between two long stalks of flowers, with *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā* in the two hands. The painting is badly effaced, and no definite identification is possible because of lack of details. The *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā* indicates that the god may be either Maitreya<sup>14</sup> the future Buddha, who is to descend down to earth from the Tusita heaven four thousand years after the *Parinirvāṇa*, or a form of the god Mañjuśrī. It is possible that it represents the former as a fitting sequel to the representations of the life scenes of the last of the mortal Buddhas.

The illuminations of the present manuscript, along with those of the Cambridge No. Add. 1464 copied in the year five of Mahāpāla, constitute the earliest records in the series of Eastern Indian manuscript paintings. As such they are invaluable for a study of this phase of Indian pictorial art. Unfortunately, the paintings in both the manuscripts are, to a certain extent, blotched, a circumstance that makes a correct appraisal of their qualities and characteristics rather difficult. Yet, the present illuminations are important as exhibiting, side by side, the thoroughly plastic conception of the 'classical' trend and the linear rendering of the 'mediaeval'. The plastic effect is achieved by modelling in colour as well as in flowing and sinuous lines. In the Nativity scene (Fig. 2) the rounded plasticity and surging mass of the figure of Māyādevī provide a contrast to the rather linearized treatment of the face of her sister. The oscillation between 'classical' and 'mediaeval' trends is already noticeable in Ellora paintings and this oscillation continues in Eastern Indian manuscript illuminations. On the covers colour modelling has a rather thinned appearance; but the easily flowing lines, unburdened by bulging curves, add a new note aesthetically which is to find its fullest scope in the subsequent period.

#### REFERENCES

- 1 *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramasaugata-Śrīmad-Vigraha-pāladevapādānudyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramasaugata-Śrīman-Mahāpāladevapavarādhamaṇa-kalyāṇavijayarājye ṣaṣṭhasamvatsare abhūlikhyamāṇe yatrāṅke samvat 6 Kārtika-kṛṣṇatrayodaśyām tithau maṅgalavāreṇa bhāṭṭārikā nispādītāmīti.*  
Sri-Nālandāvasthita-Kalyāṇamitra-Cintāmaṅkyasya likhita iti.  
Sastri, H. P., *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Government collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 2.
- 2 *Parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaugata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrīman-Mahāpāladeva-pravarādhamaṇa-vijayarājye samvat 5 Āśvinakṛṣṇe . . .*  
Bendall, Cecil, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge, p. 101.
- 3 Majumdar, R. C. (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 177.
- 4 *Jīno Vairocana khyāto Ratnasambhava eva ca Amitābh-Amoghasiddhīr-Akṣobhyaśca prakṛtitaḥ | Varāḍa amīṣāṃ sitaḥ pīto rakto harīamecakau Bodhyugri-varaḍo-dhyānaṃ mudrā abhaya-bhūṣṇau ||*  
Bhattacharya, B., *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 2.
- 5 In the canonical books there is nothing like a connected biographical account of the Buddha. The complete biographies that are known are compilations from the canonical accounts. The relevant details that have to be referred to in connection with these conventional scenes of the Master's life are mainly based upon the accounts of the *Jātaka* (Introduction by Rhys Davids, pp. 47ff.), *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, etc. A brief but succinct account has been given by Kern in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 12-46.
- 6 The Pali version make the tree a *sāla*, while according to the *Lalitavistara*, I, pp. 82-83 it is a *plakṣa* (fig tree).

- <sup>7</sup> *Ihāsane śuṣyatu me śarīraṁ tvagasthimāṁsaṁ vīlayaṁ ca yātu | Aprāpya bodhīm bahukalpadūrlabham naivāsanāḥ kīyamataścaliṣyate || Lalitavistara, V, p. 362.*
- <sup>8</sup> Foucher, A., *The Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 147ff.
- <sup>9</sup> Śrāvastī was the place where all former Buddhas are said to have performed their greatest miracles (Korn, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 33).
- <sup>10</sup> This event is supposed to have followed the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, as it is a fixed law that all Buddhas resort to the heaven of the Thirty-three gods after performing their Great Miracle (Korn, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 33).
- <sup>11</sup> Bhattacharya, B., *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 3.
- <sup>12</sup> *Bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā pūṭavarnā dvibhujakamukhī pañcha-Tathāgata-mukhī vyākhyānamudrāvatī viśvadalapadme candrāsanaśīnā sarvālankāra-vastravātī vāmadakṣiṇapārśve utpalastha-prajñāpāramitāpustakadhāriṇī . . . Sādhanamālā, I, p. 312; Bhattacharya, B., Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 126.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Mañjuśrīyaṁ taptakūṭcanābhaṁ pañcavīrakumāraṁ dharmacakramudrāsam-yuktum prajñāpāramitānvarāṇīlotpaladhāriṇaṁ śiṅhasaṁ lalitakṣepaṁ sarvā-lankārahṣitaṁ . . . Om Mañjuvara hum . . . Sādhanamālā, I, p. 111; Bhattacharya, B., Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 25.*
- <sup>14</sup> *Sādhanamālā, II, p. 560; Bhattacharya, B., Indian Buddhist Iconography, pp. 13-14.*

## GLOSSARY

**Abhaya-mudrā**—The gesture of assurance and protection. The hand bent and slightly elevated with the palm turned outward symbolizes this gesture.

**Abhidhamma (Abhidharma)**—Buddhist Philosophy.

**Añjali-mudrā**—The gesture of adoration symbolized in the two hands joined palm to palm before the breast.

**Bhaṅga**—The bend of the body.

**Bhūmisparśa- (Bhūsparśa-) mudrā**—The gesture of touching the earth which symbolizes the Great Enlightenment at Bodhgaya. The right hand showing this gesture has the palm turned inward over the knee with the outstretched fingers touching the seat that stands for the ground.

**Dharmacakra- (Dharmacakrapravartana-) mudrā**—The gesture connected with the preaching of the first sermon by the Buddha at Sarnath. It consists of the two hands held near the breast with the palm of the left inward and that of the right outward.

**Dhyanā- (Samādhi-) mudrā**—The gesture of meditation consisting of the two hands, with palm upwards and fingers stretched, placed on the crossed soles of the feet.

**Dhyāni Buddhas**—The Celestial Buddhas in peaceful meditation. They have not to pass through the stage of a Bodhisattva, and it is from them, singly or collectively, that the other divinities are said to have emanated.

**Jaṭāmukuta**—The matted locks of hair tied upward in the shape of a crown.

**Jñāna-mudrā**—The gesture signifying wisdom. It consists of one of the hands held near the breast, palm inward and with the thumb and index finger joined.

**Lalitāsana**—The attitude of ease and grace in which one of the legs is bent in the usual position of the Buddha and the other dangles down.

**Mahāparinirvāna (Nirvāṇa, Parinirvāṇa)**—The Great Decease; the passing of the Buddha into the unconditioned state of Nirvāṇa.

**Māra**—The wicked one in Buddhist legend and theology.

**Mudrā**—Gesture signified with the disposition of the hands and fingers.

**Nirvāna**—See *Mahāparinirvāṇa*.

**Parinirvāṇa**—See *Mahāparinirvāṇa*.

**Prabhāmaṇḍala**—The aureole of effulgence.

*Sādhana*—The procedure of invoking Buddhist gods and goddesses in worship.

*Sādhana-mālā*—Collection of such *sādhana*s.

*Samādhi-mudrā*—See *Dhyāna-mudrā*.

*Tribhaṅga*—The body with triple bends.

*Vajrāsana*—The Diamond Seat on which the Buddha attained perfect wisdom (*sambodhi*). The term signifies also the *āsana* or attitude of meditation in which the two legs are firmly locked, one upon the other, with both the soles upwards. Sometimes, a small effigy of *vajra* (thunderbolt) is shown to indicate the attitude which is also known as *Vajraparyāṅkāsana*.

*Varada-mudrā*—The gesture of granting boons consisting of the pendent hand with palm outward and fingers stretched.







1 DHYANĪ BUDDHA AKSOBHYA  
Cave of Prajñaparamita MS (R A S B N G 4713)



2 NATAVITY OF THE BUDDHA  
Prajñaparamita MS (R A S B N G 4713)



3 DESCENT FROM THE PRAYASTIRIMSA HEAVEN  
Prājñāpāramitā MS (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



4 OFFERING OF HONEY BY MONKEYS  
Prājñāpāramitā MS (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



5. THE GREAT DECEASE.

Prajñāpāramitā MS. (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



6. DHYĀNĪ BUDDHA AMITĀBHA.

Prajñāpāramitā MS. (R.A.S.B. No. G. 4713)



## TWO INSCRIBED IMAGES OF IMADPUR

By DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B. and  
DR. J. N. BANERJEA, M.A., PH.D.

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In an article published in this Society's Journal,<sup>1</sup> I drew the attention of scholars to the fact that although the dates of these two records were very important in fixing the chronology of the Pāla kings, 'we have to depend entirely on a footnote to an article by Dr. Hoernle so far as the reading of the date is concerned'. For no facsimile of the inscriptions was published, and though the images containing them were exhibited at a meeting of this Society in 1881,<sup>2</sup> they were not to be found in the Society's collections, and all traces of them were lost. Mr. R. D. Banerji, who had the resources of both this Society and the Archaeological Department at his command, made a search for it, but could not trace it anywhere.<sup>3</sup> With the kind help of the General Secretary I ransacked the records of the Society to get some clues as to the movement of these images, but failed. In my article, referred to above, I pointed out that mistakes were frequently committed in those days, even by learned scholars, in reading numeral figures, and therefore held that 'it is extremely doubtful how far reliance may be placed on the very cursory reading of the date added in a footnote by Dr. Hoernle,<sup>4</sup> unchecked by anybody else'. In conclusion I expressed the hope that 'in view of the importance of the inscriptions an earnest effort should be made to trace these images'.

Quite recently, while going through the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress held at Bombay in 1947,<sup>5</sup> I found a paper written by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta about these very images which he accidentally came across in the King Edward VIII Gallery of the British Museum. Unfortunately my article on the subject escaped his notice, and he did not seem to realize the importance of the date; in any case, he did not discuss its reading. No facsimile of the inscriptions was published along with the article, but it appeared from a footnote that Dr. Das Gupta was in possession of the 'impressions of these inscriptions'. I accordingly approached him and was told that they were sent to the authorities of the Indian History Congress but were neither published nor returned to him. I then took up the matter with the Congress authorities and after about a month or two recovered the photographs of the images and pencil rubbings of the two inscriptions.

These justified the apprehensions I felt about the correctness of the reading of the date by Hoernle, which has been also endorsed by Dr. Das Gupta. The three letters before the figure 48 were read by Hoernle as *samatt* and by Dr. Das Gupta as *samatta*.<sup>6</sup> But the last of these three letters, as will be evident from the facsimile, cannot be read either as *tt* or *ṭṭ*. It

<sup>1</sup> *JRASBL*, VII, 218.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. ASB*, 1881, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *E. Sch. Med. Sc.*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 165.

<sup>5</sup> P. 245 ff.

<sup>6</sup> It has been actually printed in one case as *samatta* (p. 247) which is probably a printing mistake for *samatta*.

is quite unlike any letter of the period of Mahipāla so far known to us,<sup>1</sup> but closely resembles the figure for hundred given in Bühler's chart, Plate IX, Col. IX, the only difference being that the wedge-like sign, instead of being attached to the top is placed at the bottom, such as we find also in the Nepal MSS. (Bühler's chart, Cols. XXI, XXVI). I would therefore read the date is 148. This, referred to the well-known Nepal era of 880 A.D., would be equivalent to 1028 A.D., and this is quite satisfactory, as we have got another inscription of Mahipāla at Sarnath, dated 1083 *Samvat* or 1026 A.D. The use of the Nepalese era need not cause any surprise. Regarding the intimate connection between Nepāl and the Pālas about the time of Mahipāla, the following observations of Lévi may be quoted:

'It is not impossible that the Pāla dynasty had imposed at this time (beginning of 11th century) at least a nominal suzerainty over Nepāl. This satisfactorily explains the presence, in the Nepalese collection, of manuscripts copied during the reign of the Pālas, specially of Mahipāla and Nayapāla. Religion must have made the intercourse between Nepāl and Pāla dominions more intimate and frequent'.<sup>2</sup>

In view of this close relation between Nepāl and the Pāla dominions it is quite conceivable that the dedicator of the image was an inhabitant of Nepāl, and hence used the Newari era with which he was familiar.<sup>3</sup>

If my reading of the date be accepted, we get a fixed point in the chronology of the Pāla kings, and the Sarnath Inscription may be definitely regarded as having been engraved during the reign of Mahipāla and not after his death, as held by some scholars.<sup>4</sup> Besides, the necessity for assigning a long reign of about 50 years to Mahipāla having disappeared, the dates of the earlier Pāla kings may be suitably adjusted. For example, the reign-period of Nārāyanapāla may be placed about ten years later, and his recovery of Magadha from the Pratihāras may be dated after, and not

<sup>1</sup> It no doubt looks like *n* with either an *u-kāra* or *t* joined to it. But a comparison of the letter with the *na* occurring twice in this short record shows that the letter is different; the circle is attached to the perpendicular line in *na*, but there is a small bar between the two in this letter. Even if we read it as *nta* or *nu* it gives no sense. *Samanta* might be a mistake for *Sānanta*, but then *Samanta* followed by 48 is meaningless.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Nepal*, II, 188.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that the numeral figure 4 is unlike that used in Bengal and Bihar during the Pāla and Sena periods, but closely resembles the form used in Nepalese MSS. (Cambridge MSS. Add. 1644 dated 325 NS-1205 A.D.—Bendall's *Cat.*, Pl. V).

The close connection between Eastern India and Nepal in those days is evidenced in various ways, and particularly through old manuscripts. The following information, kindly supplied by Mr. S. K. Saraswati, may be cited as not very infrequent instances where manuscripts written in Newari, the script of Nepal, refer to Indian kings in their colophons, or where manuscripts written in an Indian script bear dates in the Nepal era.

(i) Manuscript of *Kubjikāmata*, written in Newari script, but with the date referred to the reign of Rāmapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (... *Rāmadevasya Paramēśvara - Paramabhāṭṭāraka - Paramasaugata - Mahārājādhirāja - Śrīmad-Rāmapāla-devasya pravardha*...). Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue*, I, p. 54.

(ii) Manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* written in Newari Ranja but dedicated by Vāsantidevi, queen of Govindachandra, the Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj (*Śrī - Kunvakubj - ādhīpaty-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrāyādhipati-vividhavidyāvicāra-vācaspati-Śrīmad-Govindacandra-devasya pratāpavaśatah rājñī śrī-pravaramahāyānā-yāyinyāh śrī Vāsantidevyāh deydaharmoyam*...). Sastri, *Ibid.*, II, p. 78.

(iii) Manuscript of *Padmanābha-saṃgraha* written in Bengali but with the date in the Nepal era (*Nayapāladeśīy-ābhilīkhyamāna samvat 366*...). Sastri, *Ibid.*, II, p. 19.

(iv) Manuscript of *Nāgānanda* written in Bengali but with the date in Nepal era 313 during the reign of Lakshmīkāmadeva. Sastri, *Ibid.*, II, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> R.D. Banerji—*Pālas of Bengal*, p. 76.

before, the collapse of the Pratihāra power by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. But these questions need not be discussed in detail till after my reading of the date is generally accepted.

As regards the inscriptions themselves, the last portion in each case cannot be satisfactorily made out. But it is quite clear that the two records are not identical as Hoernle thought. I give below the readings of Dr. Hoernle and Dr. Das Gupta and then add my own, which is only a tentative one, based on the pencil rubbings which Dr. Das Gupta brought from England.

- Hoernle :— Śrīman-Mahipāladeva-rājasa samatt 48 jeṣṭha dina  
Sukala pakṣa 2.
- Dr. Das Gupta :— (1) Sriman Mahipāla deva rāja samaṭta 48 jeṣṭha dine  
Sukala pakṣa 2, laoo . . . oo.... deyadharmo.  
(2) Sriman Mahipāladevarāja samatta 48 jeṣṭha dine  
sukala pakṣa 2.. laoo.... . oo.... deya.
- My reading :— (1) Om Śrīman-Mahipāladeva-rāja sam 148 jeṣṭha-dine  
sukala-pakṣa 2 ālaicakoiri Māhava-sūta sāhi  
devadharma. (Two letters *kara* are written at  
the right end, above the line, and in a position  
which seems to indicate that they are to be  
inserted after *sāhi*.)  
(2) Om Śrīman-Mahipāladeva-rāja sam 148 jeṣṭha-dine  
sukala-pakṣa 2 ālaicakoiri sāhi vahupa<sup>1</sup> ṭhaū-  
kara deva(dharma).

The first part containing the date has been discussed above. The remaining letters evidently contained the donor's name as the word *deva-dharma* indicates. But it is difficult to construe this part and find out the actual name. The word *Sāhi* is common and so is *Kara* which precedes *devadharma*. The common word *ālaicakoiri* is very puzzling. This part may have been written in a provincial dialect of which the possessive is formed by *ra* or *kara*. The writer or the scribe had a poor knowledge of Sanskrit. Cf. e.g. Mahipāla for Mahipāla, Jeṣṭha for *Jyaiṣṭha*, *Sūta* for *Suta*, and *sukala* for *śukla*. The final consonants or *śrīman* and *sam* are also not properly indicated and one might read them as *Śrīmana* and *Samia*.

So far about the inscriptions. The images also throw much light on the history of mediaeval art in Eastern India. Inscribed images containing dates assignable to a particular era are very few and far between, and from this point of view these two finely cast bronze pieces give us a clear idea about the excellent state of the bronzecaster's art in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. Their iconographic features are also of great interest, as will appear from a note by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, appended to this paper.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

#### APPENDIX.

The identification and description of the two bronze images as given by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta in his article published in the Proceedings of the Bombay (Tenth) Session of the Indian History Congress (247-48) require some modification. He has accepted the Museum label of one of the two images as 'Balarāma, Lakṣmī and Vāsudeva'. But there can be no doubt that the composition stands for 'Balarāma, Ekānamśā (also known in comparatively late period as Subhadrā) and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. The earliest

<sup>1</sup> It may be read as *pu* also.



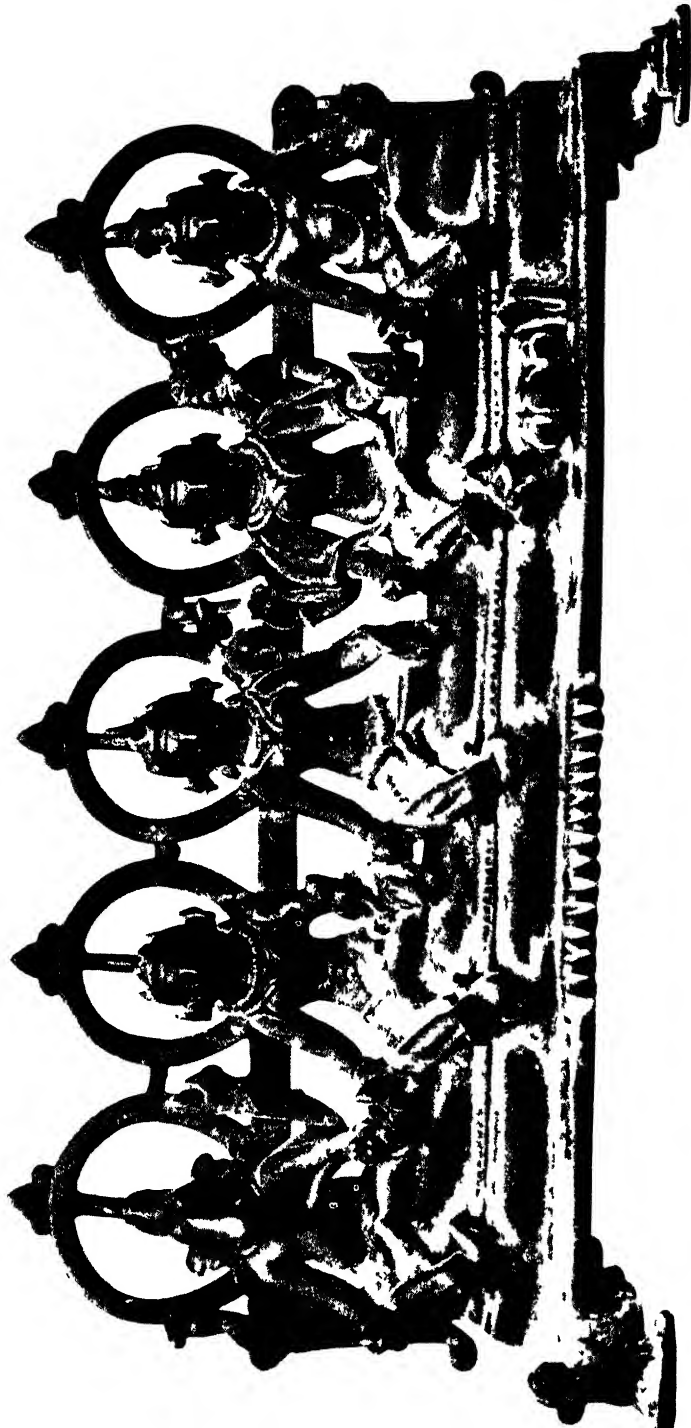
account of such composite icons is found in the chapter on Pratimālakṣaṇam in the *Brhatsamhitā* (S. Dvivedi's Edition, p. 780). It reads—'*Ekānamśā kār्या devī Baladeva-kṛṣṇayor-madhyaḥ | Kaṭisaṁsthītā-vāmakarā sarojam-itareṇa c-odvahati.*' It means that 'the goddess Ekānamśā should be placed between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa; her left hand should rest on her hip, while the other (right) one should carry a lotus'. The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (Bk. III, Ch. 85, 71-2) also gives us an identical account of Ekānamśā: *Ekānamśāpikartavyā devī padmākarā tathā | Kaṭistha-vāmahastā sā madhyasthā Rāma-Kṛṣṇayoh.* It is true that the goddess shown in the middle has a different disposition of her hands, the left one holding a mirror, and the right, an indistinct object (? a lotus). But her position in relation to the two other figures makes this suggestion highly probable, if not certain. The mirror also is one of the characteristic attributes of Durgā-Pārvatī who is no other than Ekānamśā in one of her aspects; the left hand of Pārvatī in the inscribed Hara-Pārvatī image of the time of Kumāragupta I found at Kosam and now in the Indian Museum holds a *darpaṇa* (a mirror). The image of Baladeva on her right can be correctly described as follows: the god stands under the canopy of the spread seven hoods of a snake, wears the usual ornaments, sacred thread and Vanamālā, his back right and left hands are respectively placed on a *muṣala* (a pestle) and a *hala* (ploughshare), while the front left holds a *pānapātra* (a drinking vessel), the front right holding a scythe-like object. Baladeva or Saṁkarṣaṇa, in one aspect of his conception, is a bucolic or harvest god, and the attributes in his hand emphasize this character. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa on the left of the goddess is adorned with his usual ornaments, Vanamālā, etc., his back right and left hands resting respectively on a *gadā* (a mace) and a *cakra* (a discus), the front ones holding a lotus bud and a conch-shell respectively. Dr. Das Gupta's description of the decorative design on the back of the composition can also be improved. On the top corners of the transom are shown on either side a peacock which lifts with a string the snout of a *makara* from whose mouth issues a row of pearls ending on the head of a horse-like animal from whose back rises upwards a long, lean, stylized lion which touches the pearls with its paws. There is little doubt that it is a somewhat novel version of the *Gaja-sārdūla* motif so frequently found in mediaeval eastern art. A stone relief of Ekānamśā in the collection of the Lucknow Museum was correctly identified by J. C. Ghosh (wrongly described by Prayag Dayal as Lakṣaṇa, Sitā and Rāma). The composition is very similar to the bronze relief under discussion, the left hand of the goddess, however, holds a lotus as laid down in the texts; the middle figure of Ekānamśā alone shows two flying garland-bearer Vidyādhara on either side of its lotus nimbus, thus marking it out as the principal deity. The goddess was the tribal deity of the Yādavas; it is proved by some epic and Purāṇic passages (*JRASB*, 1936, p. 43, pl. 7). An extract from the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* quoted by A. Ghosh (*Ind. Culture*, IV, 272) also proves this, though the name is wrongly put there as Ekānaṅgā (A. Ghosh has correctly emended it). J. C. Ghosh has suggested with some justification that the images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā in the Puri temple are local adaptations of this triad, and 'the worship at Puri may represent the superimposition of Vaishnavism over Śaktism' (*JRASB*, 1936, 45-6). The principal object of worship enshrined in the main sanctum of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara (Orissa) is nothing but this composition (Balarāma, Subhadrā or Ekānamśā and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa) which also is to be found inside a subsidiary shrine within the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple in the same place. It seems that the Ekānamśā cult was of some importance in Eastern India in the mediaeval times.

The other bronze shows a row of five figures of which the one in the extreme left is Gaṇeśa and that in the extreme right is Virabhadra. The middle figures are those of the three *Mātrikās* mother-goddesses, who can be named from left to right as Kaumārī, Brahmānī and Vaiṣṇavī. The heads of all the deities are surrounded each by a halo. Gaṇeśa is four-armed, his back right and left hands holding a radish and a hatchet, his front right hand holds a citron, while the front left, a potful of sweets to which his trunk is applied; he is seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, his right foot resting on his mount, a mouse. The next figure is that of the two-armed Kaumārī seated in the same pose, her right foot placed on the cognisance of her consort, a peacock or a cock; she carries an indistinct object in her right hand, while her left hand is put behind the back of a small child-like figure placed on her lap. The figure of the child (*Kumāra*) seems to have some allusion to her name Kaumārī, who was the śakti of the war god, Skandakumāra. The next figure is that of the two-armed Brahmānī, her left foot resting on the back of the swan, right hand holding a citron (?), and the left one a lotus-stalk (?). After her comes the four-armed Vaiṣṇavī, with Garuḍa beneath her right foot, holding in her four hands a lotus bud, a *gadā*, a *cakra*, and a *śaṅkha* from the lower right onwards; she is adorned with a *vanamālā* and the usual ornaments. The last figure in the row is that of Virabhadra, and not Kuvera, as suggested by Dr. Das Gupta, for it was the iconographic convention among the mediaeval artists of Eastern India, to place the *Mātrikā* figures between those of Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra who were regarded as their guardians. The objects in the two hands of Virabhadra, an *ugra* form of Śiva, are not clear from the photograph. Near the left corner of the pedestal are shown three pitchers which undoubtedly stand for the ritual *ghaṭas* of the three mother-goddesses. Flames rising upwards are shown in the middle of the pedestal. The sculpture is of unique interest, inasmuch as only three of the *Mātrikās* are depicted, and Kaumārī is placed first in the place of Brahmānī. It can be compared with two stone sculptures in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, each of which depicts the same theme in a slightly altered grouping. In the first Virabhadra is placed first, after whom come in order Brahmānī, Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī with their usual cognisances, followed by the four-armed Gaṇeśa. The stone slab has a short inscription in late Pāla script on its back, reading—*deyadharmo'yaṁ*. The Museum records show that it was presented by a gentleman from Bogra. The second, which comes from the collection of the late Mr. P. C. Mookerjee, shows the three goddesses with Virabhadra, but Gaṇeśa is absent. The worship of these Tri-Mātrikā images as cult-objects throws some light on one aspect of Śāktism in Eastern India.

J. N. BANERJEA.







## VALUE AND IMPORTANCE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN OLDEN TIMES

By PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, *Krishnagar College*

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In studying manuscripts our attention is mainly directed to the text and subject-matter of the work copied. Paleography and the material of writing have also received some consideration. But details about owners and copyists as well as any other information about the manuscripts do not so far appear to have been given the consideration they so richly deserve. It is, however, found that they occasionally contain valuable and interesting bits of information about social and cultural history.

It is from these sources that we may form an idea about the high esteem in which manuscripts were held—about attempts that were made for the dissemination of learning through the multiplication<sup>1</sup> and presentation of manuscripts and about the state of education and culture in the country in general.<sup>2</sup> Curious sidelights are also incidentally thrown on important historical facts.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of the present paper is to draw attention to this neglected aspect of manuscript-study. It does not claim to give an exhaustive treatment of the subject but aims at giving illustrative notes on some of the points with the hope that fuller treatment will be made by some other scholar.

Books were a rather rare commodity before the introduction of printing. Clearly they were not as easily accessible even with money as now. Ordinary people with a love of learning but with limited financial resources experienced great difficulties in securing books, owners as a rule, being very unwilling to part with them lest they should be lost or damaged.<sup>4</sup> The time required and the hard labour involved in copying books can be very well imagined. Hence manuscripts of books were regarded as valuable treasures. We have it on record that at the time of Marhatta depredations in Bengal in the middle of the 18th century the people were fleeing with their children, the images of their tutelary deities as well as loads of manuscripts—the things which they considered to be their most valued possessions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Well-to-do persons often undertook to get many copies of important works prepared for the use of readers. It is reported that one had got hundreds of copies of the *Kalpavṛkṣa* made evidently for this purpose (*Prasastisaṃgraha*, Ahmabad, 1993 V.S., II, 879).

<sup>2</sup> Literacy and culture was not unknown among the masses. Manuscripts of popular works in the provincial languages copied by members of the lower classes are not rare. Female education does not seem to have been in as deplorable a condition as is generally supposed to be. Manuscripts of even Sanskrit works on different subjects are known to have been copied by and for ladies (R.A.S.B., i.e., Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, VIII, Introduction, p. xiii, *Prasastisaṃgraha*, II, 697, 698, 702, 695 of p. 197, 709, 734, 742, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> One manuscript recording its date of copying states that it was copied in 1687 V.S. at a time when Gujarat was passing through very bad days of famine and pestilence vividly described by the copyist in a few verses (*Prasastisaṃgraha*, II, p. 198).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. The popular adage *लेखनी पुस्तिका कान्ता परचलनता गता* | Of course, there were honourable exceptions and we have instances of manuscripts being copied for one's own use as well as for the use of others.

<sup>5</sup> *Citrācampū* of Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra: *धनजनभारमन्त्रपञ्चारेतिविशारैर्धनतां महाधनानां गृहीतगृहसाराभ्युपयोजनानाम् अज्ञातज्ञानितज्ञानाज्ञातज्ञातज्ञानां*

In fact, a sort of sanctity came to be associated with manuscripts. On occasions like the Sarasvatī Pūjā or Vasanta Pañcamī day they are still ceremonially worshipped especially in Bengal. Worship is also offered to sacred books before they are recited on particular occasions. It may be mentioned that in these matters more sanctity is attached to manuscripts than to printed books. Making gifts of manuscripts was regarded as highly meritorious. Ballāla Sena (12th century) in the Purāṇadāna and Vidyādāna sections of his famous *Dānasāgara* as well as other later compilers of similar treatises quotes elaborate extracts from the śāstras referring to the great merits accruing from the gifting of copies of Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Dharmasamhitās and the Vedāṅgas. Regular ceremonies are prescribed for copying and presenting manuscripts to temples as well as to pandits. The Jains laid special stress on the importance, from a religious standpoint, of copying and making gifts of manuscripts—gifts that were regarded as most efficacious of all religious acts (*Praśastisaṃgraha*, I, pp. 19, 27, 31, 38, 43, 46, 71).<sup>1</sup> Consequently numerous libraries or bhāṇḍāras sprang up containing valuable stocks of manuscripts. Building up such libraries was considered to be conducive to religious merit (*Praśastisaṃgraha*, II, MS. No. 373) and many people presented manuscripts to them (*Ibid.*, No. 375, 380, 737.) The practice of giving away sacred books is known to this day.<sup>2</sup> It is gathered from statements recorded in a number of manuscripts that people with a religious bent of mind would get copies of works, generally religious texts, made by professional copyists and make gifts of them to monasteries and religious teachers with a view to earn spiritual blessings for themselves or for their relatives. The act of copying itself was regarded as a work capable of winning religious merit. We have reference to a number of amateur copyists, including several ladies, who took upon themselves the task of copying books with this end in view (*Praśastisaṃgraha*, II, MS. No. 91, 213, 812). The necessity of multiplying copies of works from the mundane point of view is emphasized by Rājasekhara (10th century) in his *Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā* (Chapter X). He instructs poets to make many copies of their works as soon as they are finished; for a solitary manuscript may be lost or damaged through one or other of many causes like water, fire, sale and even gift. If, however, different copies are in the hands of different learned men there is every likelihood of their being carefully preserved and studied. It is for this reason that a Bengali scholar, Gaṅgādhara, who composed a commentary on the *Mugdhabodha*, notified in the press in July, 1838, offering a reward of five rupees to any scholar who would make out

प्रीतिवस्तुमिदं शास्त्रं पाठयित्वा नाना दुर्बलमहाभारतविधिशास्त्रपुस्तकसंख्यापचयचिन्तासम्पादनजैराष्ट्रं  
भूमिनिर्जरायाम्... विविधार्थनादेन मिथोऽनुवादेन च क्षुभितमिव क्षमामखलमभवत् १४॥

<sup>1</sup> विषयजगदुत्तमिहोर्ध्वेनः कालि शीघ्रं करणवन्नग्नस्य स्यात्तपो वापि कौटुकम् ।

अनवरतमद्वन्द्वारभ्यो भावना का तदिह नियतमेकं दानमेवास्ति धर्मः ॥

ज्ञानाभयोपपन्नदानभेदान् विधा सर्वविदो वदन्ति ।

तत्रापि निर्वाचयैकदीपं सज्ज्ञानदानं प्रवरं वदन्ति ॥

कालानुभावानुसन्तिमान्दत्तस्य तत्राधुना पुस्तकमन्तरेण ।

न स्यादतः पुस्तकलोचनं हि त्रासस्य युक्तं नितरां विधातुम् ॥

न ते मरा दुर्गतिमाप्नुवन्ति न सूकता नैव जलसम्भावम् ।

भवाभ्यां बुद्धिविहीनतां च ये लेखयन्ति हि जिनस्य वाक्यम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a manuscript of the *Agnipurāṇa* which was presented after recital to a Brahmin Nārāyaṇa by name in the year 1865 V.S. (R.A.S.B., V, 3735).

a copy of his work and take it. The author hoped that if the work would thus come to the notice of the scholars all errors and inaccuracies would be detected and corrected.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, professional copyists were given remuneration for their work and regular sale of manuscripts was also not unknown. It is interesting to study the rates of remuneration and the prices charged for particular manuscripts. Information available in this connection is scanty very few manuscripts giving necessary details in the matter. And I have not come across any very old manuscript containing any indication of its actual price or fee for copying. There are of course some old manuscripts referring to the existence of professional copyists who had occasionally to be paid large sums of money.<sup>2</sup> It would, however, appear that there was no fixed rate which was determined as usual by the degree of demand. Ward has noted the price and rate of copying as current in Calcutta in the beginning of the 19th century. According to him the price of written copies of the *Mugdha-bodha*, if written with care, was about Rs.3. Inferior copies were sold at one rupee and a half. A written copy of the *Amarakośa* sold for Rupees three (*A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*, Vol. I, p. 574, 577 f.n.). It is known that a copy of Pūjāri Goswamin's commentary on the *Gītāgovinda* was sold for ten annas only in 1812 (R.A.S.B., VII, p. 134). It was in the first half of the 19th century that Pandit Isvara Chandra Vidyāsāgara acquired the following manuscripts at the prices noted against each:—

Kāvya-darśa (2,000 letters)	..	..	Rupee one and a quarter.
Māghatikā of Kavivallabha Cakravarti <sup>3</sup>	..	..	Rupees five.
Rasamañjariprakāśa of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (900 letters)	..	..	Annas eight.
Kirātaṭikā of Mallinātha <sup>4</sup>	..	..	Rupees two and a half.

I am noting here the price of another manuscript in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat which quotes its price:—

Bengali version of the Rāmāyaṇa by Kṛttivāsa, dated  
1218 B.S. (1817 A.D.) (VSP manuscript No. 2574) .. Rupees five.

There are some manuscripts which do not record the exact prices but only refer to the transactions of sale or exchange. Thus we are told how even a vedic manuscript was purchased by one Vaidyanātha on payment of money and that one Upādhyāya was witness in the matter.<sup>5</sup> A manuscript of the *Prabodhacandrodaya* was exchanged for a copy of a work presumably of the name of *Rasāmṛtasindhu*.<sup>6</sup> The acquisition by money of two Jain manuscripts in 1343 and 1351 V.S. is referred to in the *Prasastisamgraha* (I, 161, 153).

<sup>1</sup> B. N. Banerji, *Samvādatre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. II (2nd edition), p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> पुस्तकानि तु लिखन्ते लेखकैर्ह्यवेतनैः ।

(MS. dated 1352 V.S.—*Prasastisamgraha*, I, 32.)

चौमत् पद्मचरितं बङ्गना इविषेन लेखयितेद्म् ॥ (*Ibid.*, I, 63.)

<sup>3</sup> The MS. of 10,000 letters was copied in 1218 B.S. (1817 A.D.) for rupees fifteen.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript was copied in 1736 S.E. (1814 A.D.) at a cost of rupees seven. The Vidyāsāgara Collection of Manuscripts is now deposited in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta.

<sup>5</sup> R.A.S.B., II, 514.

<sup>6</sup> R.A.S.B., VII, p. 254.



As regards the rate of copying, Ward gives it as one rupee or twelve annas for every 32,000 letters in the beginning of the 19th century (*op. cit.*, p. 599). In his opinion the rate was very high as the charges for copying big works like the Mahābhārata would be exorbitant. R. L. Mitra puts it at rupees four for 1,000 śloka in the sixties of the last century (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1869, p. 133).

I quote below the rates of copying as found in some manuscripts:—

Padmapurāṇa (Pātālakhaṇḍa) (R.A.S.B., V, 3474)	..	Rupees seven.
Kulārnavatantra (R.A.S.B., VII, p. 48)	..	.. Rupee one.

Kālikāmaṅgala, a Bengali work, by Kṛṣṇarāma Dāsa, was copied in 1159 B.S. (1752 A.D.) for rupees two and two pieces of cloth.—(R.A.S.B., IX, 322.)

In 1714 a copy of Bengali Mahābhārata was made on condition that the copyist would be honourably maintained for life with food. He was also given some fee in cash and an annual grant.—(S. Sen, *Baṅgla Sāhityer Itihāsa*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, p. 465, f.n. 4.)

A Bengali version of the Rāmāyaṇa (four Kāṇḍas) was copied for rupees seven in cash together with a promised presentation of cloth, napkin and sweets.—(VSP, MS. No. 303, Chittaranjan Collection.)

Bengali version of the Mahābhārata (Virāṭaparva) was copied for one rupee in 1110 B.S. (1703 A.D.).—(Deser. Cat. Beng. MSS. Cal. Univ., Vol. III, p. 572.)

Bengali version of the Māhābhārata (Śāntiparva) was copied for only thirteen annas in 1253 B.S. (1846 A.D.).—(*Ibid.*, p. 717.)

It must, however, be confessed that the profession of a copyist was never considered to be honourable in society. The sale of learning in every form was deprecated at all times. There are definite records to show that when the printing press came to be introduced it was not deemed proper to get books printed and sell them. As a matter of fact copies of costly publications like the Rāmāyaṇa, the Māhābhārata, the Śabdakalpadrūma and the Bhāgavata were distributed free among learned pandits by a number of wealthy landlords of Bengal who published the works at considerable expense in the 19th century.

Like the imprecatory verses in land grants there were imprecatory verses at the end of manuscripts throwing interesting light on the value and importance of manuscripts. The date and authorship of the verses are not known. Some of them occur in fairly old manuscripts. The first half of the most popular of these verses यथादृष्टं तथालिखितं लेखको नास्तिदोषकः occurs in a manuscript from Nepal stated to have been copied in N.S. 217 (1097 A.D.). The expression लेखको नास्तिदोषकः is quoted by Puruṣottamadeva (circa 10th–12th century) in his Bhāṣāvṛtti (II.2.24). Only a very few of these verses, presumably the older ones, have attained celebrity being found in manuscripts of different parts of the country—in some cases in translated versions in later Indian languages. They were specially composed for the purpose at different times by different people including not unlikely some of the copyists themselves. It may, however, be noted that the main themes of the verses are identical, their principal object is laying emphasis on the importance of manuscripts. It will be interesting to collect the verses from manuscripts scattered over various places. They have so far received scant attention at the hands of scholars engaged in the study of MSS. I am placing before the world of scholars a bird's-eye

view of the verses. It is expected that this will be followed by a thorough and systematic study by other workers.

The verses may be divided into four classes in view of the subject-matter of their contents. One class of these verses speaks very harsh words about people who would feel tempted to steal books. All sorts of curses are heaped on them. Vulgar insinuations are made about their birth and parentage. A few verses falling under this class are quoted below. Prose lines are found in Bengali MSS. containing various curses and vulgar insinuations.

पुस्तकं हरते यस्तु काणो दुःखी भवेन्नरः ।

मृतः स्वर्गं न गच्छेत् पितरं नरकं नयेत् ॥

(MS. dated 1689 Ś.E.—Calcutta Sans. Coll. Cat., V, 76.)

अर्जितं भूरिकथेन पुस्तकं यच्च मेऽनघ ।

हर्तुमिच्छति यः पापी तस्य वंशक्षयो भवेत् ॥

(Tanjore Catalogue, XVIII, 14585, R.A.S.B., VIII, 6062 where the second foot runs पुस्तकं लिखितं मया.)

चौर्येण नीत्वा विषमेव भुक्त्वा ।

पित्रा च गूथं सह नारकी स्यात् ॥ (R.A.S.B., VII, 5589.)

आत्मनो ह्यपकारायोपकाराय परस्य च ।

इदं हरति यो मूढस्तस्य तातः पशुर्ध्रुवम् ॥ (R.A.S.B., VII, 4975.)

यत्नेन लिखितं चेदं यस्मिन् रयति पुस्तकम् ।

शूकरौ तस्य माता च पिता तस्य च गर्दभः ॥

(R.A.S.B. MS. No. 5204.)

The second class of verses contains appeals for the proper preservation of these fragile objects. MSS. were required to be carefully looked after like one's own children though they were to be tightly bound up like enemies. Incidental reference is made in these verses to the hard labour involved in the work of copying. A general appeal in prose is found recorded in an old MS. of the 12th century in the following words:—

पुस्तकमिदं रक्षणीयं पश्यद्विर्जनैः संग्रोधनीयं रक्षणीयं च सर्वप्रमादेभ्यः ।

(MS. dated 1145 A.D.—R.A.S.B., III, 1924.)

A few verses of this class are noted below :—

उदकानलचौरैर्भ्यो मूषकेभ्यस्तथैव च ।

रक्षणीया प्रयत्नेन यस्मात् कथेन लिख्यते ॥

(*Prasastisamgraha*, I, MS. No. 142—MS. dated 1293 V.S., 108—MS. dated 1384 V.S.)

तैलादरक्षेज्जलादरक्षेद् रक्षेच्छिद्यलबन्धनात् ।  
मूर्खहस्ते न दातव्यमेवं वदति पुस्तकम् ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, II, MS. No. 740.  
It also occurs in MSS. No. 154, 200,  
637, 666.)

भग्नपृष्ठकटिग्रोवः क्षब्धवृष्टिरघोमुखः ।  
कष्टेन लिखितं ग्रन्थं यत्नेन प्रतिपालय ॥

Variants:—<sup>०</sup>ग्रोवं, <sup>०</sup>मुखं, लिखति, शास्त्रं, परिपालयेत् ।

(R.A.S.B., VIII, 6114, *Praśastisamgraha* I, MS. No. 111 (dated 1306 V.S.); II, MS. No. 666, Lakshman Svarup's Introduction to Nighaṇṭu, p. 33; Descr. Cat. Tanjore Library, I, p. 270.)

अनिलसलिलतैलपिल्लवन्धान्यहस्ता-  
नववसननिवासाददन्तरायाददोषम् ॥

(*New Indian Antiquary*, July 1938, p. 250, f.n. 4.)

सम्भूयं सदपत्यवत् परकराद् रक्ष्यश्च सुक्षेत्रवत्  
संशोध्यं त्रयिताङ्गवत् प्रतिदिनं वीक्ष्यश्च सन्मित्रवत् ।  
वध्यं (न्य ?) वध्यवदश्लथं दृढगुणैः स्मर्यं हरेर्नामवत्  
नैवं सौदति पुस्तकं किल कदाप्येतद् गुरुणां वचः ॥

(R.A.S.B., II, 306, Descr. Cat. Tanjore Library, I, p. 255, II, p. 22, N.I.A., July 1938, p. 250, f.n. 4.)

In this connection reference may be made to the prayers for the long life of the manuscripts.

अर्केन्दुमण्डले यावद् व्योमश्रीकर्णकुण्डले ।

राजतस्तावदेवास्तु पुस्तिका स्वस्तिशालिनी ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, 13 (1498 V.S.).)

यावद्व्योमसरोवरे विलसतो विश्वोपकारेच्छया

सम्रक्षत्रसिताम्बजौघकलिते श्रीराजहंसाविह ।

अज्ञानप्रसरान्धकारविधुरे विश्वप्रदीपोपम-

स्तावन्नन्दतु पुस्तकोऽयमनिशं संवाच्यमानो बुधैः ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, 24, 43.)

Variants:—<sup>०</sup>तः पक्षदयालङ्घृतौ ज्योतिर्जालजटालनिर्मलजले, <sup>०</sup>निकरप्रध्वंस-  
दीपोपम<sup>०</sup>, आख्यायमानो ।

यावत्तवणसमुद्रो यावन्नक्षत्रमण्डितो मेरुः ।

यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावदिदं पुस्तकं जयतु ॥

(R.A.S.B., VIII, 6140, *Prasastisamgraha*, II, 1082.)

यावन्मेरुकरे गभस्तिकटके ध्वस्तेऽथ पिण्याङ्गना ।

तावन्नन्दतु पुस्तकः सगुरुभिर्याख्यायमानो बुधैः ॥

(*Prasastisamgraha*, I, 14 (1308 V.S.).)

यावन्मेरुं प्रतपति रविर्द्योतते यावदिन्दु-

यावद्वायुः स्फुरति गगने तारकाः सन्ति यावत् ।

यावद् भूमिः प्रवहति पयः सागरे यावदेतत्

तावन्नन्द्याद् गुणिभिरनिष्टं पुस्तकं वाच्यमानम् ॥

(*Prasastisamgraha*, I, 16.)

The third class of verses containing apologetic statements regarding errors of copying is perhaps the oldest and most popular.

यथा दृष्टं तथा लिखितं लेखके नास्ति दूषणम् ।

भीमस्यापि रणे भङ्गो मुनीनाञ्च मतिभ्रमः ॥

(R.A.S.B., VIII, 6110)

Variant :—लेखको नास्तिदोषकः ।

यादृशं पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया ।

यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥

(*Prasastisamgraha*, I, MS. No. 17 (dated 1306 V.S.), 18 (1383 V.S.), 20 (1480 V.S.), 22 (1318 V.S.), 92 (1306 V.S.), 111 (1306 V.S.).)

करकृतमपराधं क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति सन्तः

(R.A.S.B., II, 318, *Prasastisamgraha*, II, No. 746.)

A complete verse with this as the fourth foot is found in the Tanjore Catalogue (Vol. I, p. 464). It runs :—

सरभसकरवेगभ्रष्टवर्णातिदोषे यदिह भवति शास्त्रे पुस्तके हस्तदोषात् ।

सकलमपि क्षतान्तं सदगुणग्राहिकामाः करकृतमपराधं क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति सन्तः ॥

इह लिखितमशुद्धं शुद्धमेवं न दूष्यं

निजकृतमपराधं क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति सन्तः ।

(N.I.A., July 1938, p. 250, f.n. 4.)

यदक्षरं परिभ्रष्टं मात्राहीनञ्च यद्भवेत् ।

क्षन्तयं तद् बुधैः सर्वं कस्य न स्थलते मनः ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, No. 4 (dated 1334 V.S.).)

अदृष्टदोषाद् स्मृतिविभ्रमाद् वा यदर्थहीनं लिखितं मयाच ।

तदार्यवर्यैः परिशोधनीयं कोपो न कार्यः खलु लेखकाय ॥

Variants:—इत्थस्य दोषाद् मतिविभ्रमाच्च यत्किञ्चिद्गूढं लिखितं मयेह,  
न्यूनातिरिक्तं, तत्सर्वमार्यैः, दोषो न देयः खलु लेखकस्य, प्रायेण मुञ्चन्ति हि ये  
लिखन्ति ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, II, No. 525, 1261,  
Descr. Cat. Tanjore Library, I,  
p. 22; IV, p. 2368.)

Several more verses of a similar type are found in MSS. described in the Tanjore Catalogue (I, p. 22; V, p. 2554) as also in a MS. of the *Subhāṣitasuradruma* a verse from the colophon of which is quoted on the last page of Prof. Kosambi's edition of *Satakatrayāḍi-subhāṣitasamgraha* in the Singhi Jain Series. I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan of the Madras University for drawing my attention to these verses along with some other verses found in the Tanjore Catalogue.

The fourth class of verses seeks the well-being of all including readers, copyists and owners of MSS.

शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतः परहितनिरता भवन्तु भूतगणाः ।

दोषाः प्रयान्तु नाशं सर्वत्र सुखीभवतु लोकः ॥

(*Praśastisamgraha*, I, No. 15 (dated 1221 V.S.), 23 (1299 V.S.), 154 (1326 V.S.).)

मङ्गलं लेखकानां च पाठकानां च मङ्गलम् ।

मङ्गलं सर्वलोकानां भूमिभूपतिमङ्गलम् ॥

Variant:—मङ्गलं सर्वजन्तूनां मङ्गलं सर्वमङ्गलम् ।

(*Praśastisamgraha*, II, No. 1118, 1137, 1228, 1255, Lakshman Svarup's Introduction to Nighaṇṭu, p. 37.)

श्रीरस्तु सर्वजगतां श्रीरस्तु लेखके मयि ।

श्रीरस्तु लिखितं यस्य तस्य कृष्णप्रसादतः ॥

(*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 34, 162-3.)

The great importance attached to MSS., particularly the sanctity associated with them, had one baneful effect in adversely affecting the critical spirit of the people. The people at large would blindly accept as infallible whatever was found in MSS. They would be reluctant to question their

veracity and instances are not lacking where inaccurate readings, evidently due to copyist's error, have been accepted resulting in curiously wrong interpretations. An *ā* of *akṣārāḷavaṇāśinaḥ syuḥ* in a sūtra of the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* (IV. 5. 2) was somehow missed in the text of the *Śuddhitattva* of Raghunandana and commentators had not the least hesitation in accepting *akṣārāḷavaṇa* as the correct reading and endowing it with a special sense. It is indeed a relief in these circumstances to meet with cases where copyist's errors are recognized and propriety of readings found in MSS. discussed on strictly logical grounds. Instances are met with in different works though they have not as yet been collected and properly studied. Prof. P. K. Gode referred to a number of them from the works of Hemādri and Ānandatīrtha<sup>1</sup>. I have come upon a good number in a Smṛti work of Govindānanda of Bengal (15th century) which I propose to deal with in a separate paper.

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<sup>1</sup> Textual criticism in the Thirteenth Century, *A. C. Woolner Commemoration Volume*, pp. 106-08.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

**THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL.** By VERRIER ELWIN. Published by Oxford University Press in 1947. Royal octavo size. Pages xxi+730. Coloured plates 3, half-tone plates 151, black and white drawings 146, and maps 9. Price Rs.25.

Dr. Elwin needs no introduction. As a voluminous writer on the tribal life of the Central Provinces, Chattisgarh and Orissa he is equally well-known to anthropologists and laymen in India and abroad. He started life as a missionary but had been later on invited to join Government service. His sympathy for the tribal peoples finds ample expression through his writings.

The book under review contains a graphic account of a hitherto practically unknown tribe, the Murias of Bastar. Field-work among this tribe was carried out between 1935 and 1942. An analysis of Appendix I shows that his visits to the ghotuls (dormitory of the unmarried), which form the main theme of the book, were concentrated between November 1940 and April 1941, and again in November and December of 1941.

The laboratory-scientist is required to give a detailed description of his experiment so that it might be reproduced by other workers in the field, both for verification as well as for further development. This is a fundamental feature universally recognized. In the same manner the investigator in field-sciences is required to describe in detail his method of investigation and particulars connected with his field. In anthropological field-work this is more necessary as it records the picture of a changing society at a particular point of time. The nature and amount of change in the life of a people or in the make-up of an institution can only be judged if field-workers give details of their investigations. Social science may contribute its own mite to the benefit of human society by studying these changes and suggesting means to avoid their bad effects and adapt good ones. In recognition of this principle Dr. Elwin has, this time, given us some clues to his field-methods in pages xi to xiv.

It seems that the author did not know Muria language for which he borrowed the services of an educated Muria, Dhanuram by name (p. xiv). He perhaps carried out his investigation with the help of interpreters, or might be, in Gondi, where possible. There is no direct mention of this important fact.

Dr. Elwin conducted a statistical inquiry 'into certain specific facts relating to marriage from 2,000 adult married Muria men distributed in 220 villages'. It appears that the villages were *selected* by him, but he does not mention whether the 2,000 men were also similarly *selected or taken at random*. There is some difference between a selected sample and a random sample. An account of a sample survey should include this essential information. The author has neither printed the questionnaire nor dealt with the qualifications of his assistants who actually conducted the survey. It is, therefore, not possible to ascertain whether the assistants had the required theoretical knowledge of anthropology. These are important omissions in view of the fact that 'the results of this inquiry are among the most valuable conclusions of this book'. The statistical inquiry seems to have been conducted from the male point of view only, omitting the female side altogether. If he had collected



data from the 2,000 wives of these Muria men, on the very same topics, he could have enriched our literature to a considerable extent. This omission, however, is not always a defect but in the context of this case it was very necessary. It rarely falls to the lot of an ordinary field-anthropologist to hold the posts of Census Officer and Honorary Ethnographer, which Dr. Elwin enjoyed in Bastar.

To lie to an inquisitive ethnographer is a positive virtue with the Muria according to the author (p. 658). 'The Muria have no conscience at all about misleading the inquirer, and it is almost routine for them to give incorrect information at first.' They did so even to Mr. Grigson, but Dr. Elwin overcame this undesirable habit of the Muria by means of 'affection' (p. xi). This atmosphere of affection was, however, created for him by his trained assistants Sundarlal and Gulabdas and by his chaprassis Tularam and Manglu, who went ahead of the author to explore such possibilities of a particular village. If their approaches proved successful, the area was investigated, otherwise it was abandoned. This explains the shortness of the author's residence in the villages investigated by him, in about 60% of which he did not remain more than one day. Anthropologists would be jealous of the author's easy success with the *chelik* (bachelor) and *motiari* (spinster) who could not evidently resist his 'affection' and lay bare their cherished secrets—the sex-life of the *ghotul*—which they usually keep back even from their relatives and co-villagers of maturer age, under the sanction of a strict taboo.

The use of presents by the author to collect information is a risky practice (p. xiv). It may, at any moment, be converted into sale of information which is dangerous to our science. The author's characterization of the anthropologist as both detective and magistrate may not be appreciated by his compeers (p. xi).

In the words of the author 'the subject of this book is the *ghotul*, the village dormitory'. This cannot be properly studied unless its setting and background are clearly described. The latter is, therefore, dealt with in the seven chapters of the first part of the book. They describe the geopolitical background of the tribe, its economic life, its social organization, marriage, funeral rites and ceremonies, and religion. In the second part, he has developed the *ghotul* organization in all its aspects—social, religious, recreational, amorous, and educational. As a result, this part has covered more than 60% of the book. The author seems to have laid great emphasis on a not very important part of the individual's life. In the *ghotul* a Muria lad or girl passes about 7 or 8 years, in round figures, of his or her life, beginning from 10 to 12 years of age. This period cannot be claimed or accepted as the climax in the life of the Muria. It is only a prelude to more important phases which have been starved to provide an unnecessary glamour to this one which has led to a certain extent a disturbance of the equilibrium.

As an example of this disturbance of balance we may cite the case of the economic life of the tribe which has received scanty attention. He has finished a very important aspect of a people's life within a very short compass. To him poverty does not matter, because, in the life of a Muria 'at least twice a month there is a sharp break in the monotony, the colour and music of a festival, the excitement of a hunt, the romance of a dancing expedition—and all the time, if you are young, there is the *ghotul* which you would not exchange for any offer of material wealth'. A human being, unfortunately, cannot live on love and poetry, on music and dancing alone, he requires food and drink. And Muria society is not composed only of the young. The author has not

made any attempt to find out how much land a family possesses or what food it produces and whether that is sufficient for the unit. Trade, industry, arts and crafts, and habitation have not received their due share. The author does not describe the Muria methods of cultivation because some of them appear in books, already published, and others are quite common in the Province. His account of fishing and hunting is incomplete and there is no information on the domestic animals of the tribe. In short, the productive economy of the tribe has received little attention from the author.

But Dr. Elwin is in his proper elements when he describes the 'Course of Muria Life'. The proverbs, riddles, and songs freely scattered in this account, of the growth of a Muria through childhood, adolescence, youth and maturity, create an atmosphere of reality. They convey the accumulated knowledge of generations and help, in an unerring manner, to give the tribal view of life. To my knowledge, there is no other book in Indian ethnography which can boast of such profuse use of these pithy sayings.

The main theme of the book, the village dormitory (ghotul), is introduced with a chapter on its distribution in different parts of the world and its origin. It is useful for the undergraduate students. It has, however, certain interpretations and expressions of opinion which call for examination. For example, the author attributes to Late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy the information that Oraon boys and girls continue their pre-nuptial sexual relation even after marriage 'until a child has been born to either' (p. 296). But the late Rai Bahadur did never make any such statement. He merely wrote 'as Oraon boys are now sometimes married quite young, they now retain their membership, to all intents and purposes, until they have one or two children by their wives' (The Oraons—by S. C. Roy, p. 215). This certainly does not mean that married Oraon girls also indulged in extra-marital sexual relations until the birth of a child. On the contrary, the late Rai Bahadur had repeatedly attested to the chastity of married Oraon girls.

In the last few pages of this chapter (IX) the author has assembled the opinions of Peal, Hodson, Shakespeare, and Roy about the origin of the village dormitory. But he does not state whether he accepts nor rejects them. To him 'the fundamental reason for the ghotul is to prevent children watching what Freud called "the primal scene" and to commit to the older boys and girls the task of educating the younger children' (p. 321). This is not his own theory but the view of a large number of his Muria informants, which he has merely accepted but not evaluated.

In the next sixteen chapters the author draws a vivid picture of the life of the *chelik* and *motiari* in the ghotul. There are two types of ghotul, namely, the *joḍidār* (yoked) and *adalbadal* (promiscuous). In the first type each boy is paired off with a girl; 'he is formally "married" to her'. They live as husband and wife throughout their ghotul life and have to be faithful to each other in their sexual relations. If one of them is actually married and leave the ghotul, the other is then provided with a mate by the ghotul fraternity. In the *adalbadal* type each boy is required to change his ghotul-partner after every three days. Any attempt at permanent sexual relationship between *chelik* and *motiari* is rigidly suppressed in this type of ghotul. In the author's opinion the *joḍidār* ghotul was the original one and the *adalbadal* type came into existence at a later date, in order to prevent the frequent cases of ghotul-pregnancy, which were against Muria social ideals. This change, according to the author, is a conscious attempt based on the Muria belief 'that conception was less likely when the cycle of coitus was frequently broken'. It is doubtful

whether an important social institution like the ghotul can change so radically on such an erroneous conception. The statistical inquiry shows the falsity of this conception. 'Among 2,000 men, 80 made motiari pregnant during their ghotul period; of these 25 or 1 in 28·8 belonged to jodidār ghotul, and 55 or 1 in 23·2 to the modern type' (p. 344). This could not have escaped the notice of the intelligent Muria. Dr. Elwin seems to have been misled by some of his informants who put too much emphasis on ghotul-pregnancy and consequent scandal as the only reason of the change of ghotul type, just to divert his attention from facts which might have led to the real reason. The true cause of this change may be traced elsewhere. Even now the jodidār ghotul has 'retained its place most successfully among the Jhoria, who are undoubtedly the oldest of the Muria groups' and the best sample of the people (p. 333). The modern type of promiscuous ghotul (adalbadal) is, however, more common in the culture-contact areas 'in the neighbourhood of towns and schools, or along the roads'. Therefore it is more probable that the change in the type of ghotul was first initiated in these culture-contact areas by factors essentially peculiar to this area and not by scandal of premarital pregnancy. A scientific distribution-study and analysis of culture elements may reveal the true causes of this sociologically interesting change.

Throughout the day the chelik and motiari work at home or in the field in the interest of their respective families. The ghotul life begins only after the evening meal when darkness envelops the village. One by one, at first the cheliks assemble in the ghotul house; the girls generally come together with a rush, later on, and then they start a romantic existence which is only disturbed by the mellowed light of the dawn when the motiari hurry home before their parents leave their bed. In his inimitable style the author next goes on to describe the personal adornments of the inmates of the ghotul, the maintenance of discipline among the ghotul fraternity and their attitude to sex. This is followed by a graphic account of ghotul expeditions, of dancing and music, of games and riddles, of humour and tests of wit, which make the ghotul so attractive to its inmates. The author is at his best in delineating this part of Muria life. The book is brought to an end with a chapter on moral standards in the ghotul.

As a whole the work is a remarkable contribution to our ethnographic literature. In richness of details and collection of case-histories it is almost unparalleled in Indian ethnography. But when we come to the details we meet with numerous points which require more careful attention. The following are a few examples of them :—

- (1) On page 60 Kharkagaon is spoken of as the pen-reward of both Gaude and Kaudo clans, which is not possible.
- (2) Social organization of the tribe has not been properly dealt with. The table showing phratries and clans (p. 61) is not of much use. The author's statement that he has 'somewhat arbitrarily divided the clans into these five phratries' is not accurate. The clans under one phratry are 'dadabhai' to one another and therefore observe exogamy among themselves. So, one can easily find out the composition of a phratry by tabulating a number of marriages. If the author had followed this procedure in the case of the 2,000 marriages investigated by him, he could have found many interesting facts about the present condition of Muria social organization. But to him details about *bhum* territory, clan gods, pen-rarar and the clan system (p. 59) are not worth while to describe.

- (3) The author states that a man may marry his grandmother or granddaughter 'even when they are in the direct line of relationship' (p. 68). Unfortunately he does not give a single actual instance though he has recorded many case-histories to illustrate other customs.
- (4) Muria personal names have been classified on two principles, namely, linguistic and religious, working simultaneously. The percentages therefore do not reveal the actual position of Hindu religion or Hindi language. It would have been interesting if the author had given the percentages of Hindu and Gond names among the two sexes. That would have shown the relative position of conservatism among the males and females (p. 75).
- (5) The author investigated 2,000 adult married men among whom 150 or 7.5% were found sterile. He does not mention what method he employed to find out this fact. Was it by medical examination or merely by childlessness at a particular age? This makes a gulf of difference in the data. 'Sterility does not seem to be very common' among the Muria in the opinion of the author though it is 7.5%.
- (6) Formerly the Bondo unmarried girls used to live in pit-dormitories constructed on the outskirts of the village. They occupied it for six months from October. The author does not say where they passed their nights during the remaining six months. At present, according to the author, the pit-dormitory has disappeared as a result of the depredations of tigers. The author came to this conclusion on hearing many tales of tragedies from this source. The girls now live in an ordinary hut, constructed above ground, within the village. Removal of the dormitory into the village may be due to attack of tigers, but that does not explain the abandonment of underground construction. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that the Bondos came to their present habitat from an open country where tigers were rare. Customs do not change on such grounds.
- (7) *Jus primae noctis* and ceremonial deflowering of girls by men other than their husbands are attributed by the author to primitive man's desire not to have a virgin girl at marriage. Scholars may differ from him on this causal relation (p. 321).
- (8) The author attributes polygyny to 'the desire for offspring, the repayment of a debt, the need to restore injured dignity, a love-affair'. All of these causes have not the same importance nor are they found in the same proportion in Muria society. Information on their relative strength would have been more interesting and useful (p. 632).
- (9) 'Among romantically-minded people, child-marriage means, inevitably, domestic infidelity' (p. 659). Such a generalization is unjustified in view of the conditions prevailing in Hindu society.
- (10) Classification of the glossary of vernacular words into administrative, astronomical, agricultural, mortuary, religious, and such other groups, each arranged alphabetically, is a novelty of this book. But I am afraid it has defeated its own purpose. The glossary is meant to help the reader in easily finding out the meaning of a vernacular word unknown to him. This

is impossible in the present case; the reader is here required to surmise from the context the particular class to which the word, he does not know, belongs. This is not convenient.

The comments offered above are not meant to deprecate the importance of the author's contribution to the Science of Man. They are intended to attract his attention to other points of view regarding particular situations. *The Muria and their Ghotul* is a mine of information on the sex-life of an Indian tribe—an aspect which has so long received scanty attention from the scholars. We congratulate the author for this remarkable achievement.

T. C. DAS.

MIRĀ SMṚTI GANTH (Jan Bhārati Bhag 2), Baṅgiya Hindi Parisad, 15 Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta, Samvat 2009. Pp. 270+55. Price Rupees fifteen only.

This neat volume in Hindi contains articles and notes on the different aspects of the poetry of Mirā Bāi, the royal saint and poetess of the sixteenth century Rajasthan. The contributors are mostly well-known scholars, and the contributions altogether are well-written and illuminating. The value of the book is much enhanced by the inclusion of an anthology of Mirā's songs, or rather the Rajasthani and Hindi songs with the signature of Mirā, critically selected. *Mirā Smṛti Ganth* is a creditable production of Baṅgiya Hindi Parisad, and it deserves an honourable place in the study of the student of Indian literature and devotional mysticism.

SUKUMAR SEN,  
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A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE, Vol. I, by Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, M.A., D.Phil., Lecturer, Allahabad University. Tirabhukti Publications, 1, Sir P. C. Banerji Road, Allahabad, 1949. Price Rs 15. Pp. i-xxviii, 1-472. A foreword by Professor Amarnath Jha and an introduction by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji; three appendices and seven plates.

The work under review is in eleven chapters and divided into two parts. The first part gives 'the background' in three chapters, 'Mithila and her people', 'the Maithili language and its script', and 'Introducing Maithili literature'. It is regrettable that Sanskrit poetry produced in Mithila has been totally ignored. In his treatment of Maithili versification the author has been sadly misled by Locana's erroneous attempt to connect the *rāgas* of the vernacular lyric poetry with definite metrical patterns. The *gana* mentioned by Locana in this connection is indeed *mātrā-gana*, but it is *tāla-mātrā* (unit of musical beat) and not *chando-mātrā* (unit of metrical scansion, mora). Had Dr. Jha cared to go to the ultimate spring of the vernacular lyric poetry, Jayadeva's songs, he would have at once detected Locana's fallacy. *Paśyati diśi diśi rahasi bhavantam* and *stanavinipitam api hāram udāram* both are written in the same metre of 16 morae but their *rāgas* are different, the first in Goṇḍakirī and the last in Deśa (or Deśākha).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have examined several MSS. and printed editions of *Gitagovinda* dating between 1622 and 1852. The *rāgas* are everywhere the same.

The three chapters of the second part deal with early Maithili literature, — 'Maithili literature prior to Vidyāpati', 'the age of Vidyāpati Thakura (1350–1450)', and 'the contemporaries of Vidyāpati (c. 1400–c. 1527)'. Dr. Jha has taken great but futile pains to prove that the Old Bengali Caryā songs discovered by Haraprasad Shastri are really Maithili. Not satisfied with that he has extended his claim to the vernacular (Bengali) vocables cited by Sarvānanda in his commentary on *Amarakoṣa*. But Dr. Jha, overcarried by enthusiasm, forgets that Sarvānanda was a 'Banerji' (*Vandya-ghaṭiya*) which is exclusively a Bengali brahmin surname. The most daring originality in this chapter is the omission of Umāpati Ojha, a minister of Harasiṃha. According to Dr. Jha Umāpati belonged to the latter half of the seventeenth century (p. 307). The argument in support of this datation is flimsy to say the least. Eight pages are devoted to the discussion of the language of the Caryā songs, but *Prākṛta-paiṅgala* has been dismissed with a single sentence and with a reference to a modern Maithili writer. The work of Dr. Jha has certainly become poorer for not mentioning Hari-brahma and his Avahatṭha poem collected in *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*. The poet was a protégé of Candēśvara the mighty minister of Harasiṃha, and the poem is a panegyric on the poet's patron. The long chapter on Vidyāpati is merely a summary of all that had been done, and no new light is thrown. A little investigation would have brought in new facts about the old master.<sup>1</sup>

The third and last part, 'Middle Maithili Literature' is in five chapters, 'Maithili drama in Nepal', 'the Kirtaniyā drama of Mithilā', 'Maithili drama in Assam', 'Middle Maithili prose', and 'Middle Maithili poetry'. It is true that after the dispersal of the court of Harasiṃha (1324) many of his learned courtiers sought refuge in Nepal, but at the same time it cannot be denied that Bengal scholarship had an honoured place there even earlier. The musical plays and playlets which the kings and nobles of Nepal had patronized for centuries, and which Dr. Jha calls 'Maithil drama' were not the monopoly of writers, Maithili or any other. Dharmagupta, who possessed the title 'Bāla-sarasvatī' and wrote *Rāmāṅka-nāṭikā* and *Ramāyana-nāṭaka* (late fourteenth and early fifteenth century) was a Bengali brahmin. *Gopīcandra-nāṭaka*<sup>2</sup> written during the reign of Siddhinarasīṃhamalla of Lalitapura (1620–57) is almost entirely in Bengali. *Kṛṣṇadeva* the author of *Mahābhārata-nāṭaka* (1702), perhaps the longest vernacular lyrical play coming from Nepal, was a Bengali. So was Gaṇeśa the author of *Rāma-carita* and a protégé of Rānājītamalla the last Gorkha king of Nepal. It is surprising that Dr. Jha would accept Kṛṣṇadeva's play as a typical 'Nepalese Maithili drama'. What Dr. Jha calls 'Kirtaniyā drama of Mithilā' (Chapter VIII) are indeed *padāvali* (serial lyric songs). The Brajabuli lyric poetry produced in Assam in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is, with equal unreason, claimed as 'Maithili drama in Assam' (Chapter IX).

Dr. Jha's work shows erudition and hard work, and he has collected much useful and interesting information throwing light on the literary history of north-eastern India. But as a history of Maithili literature the book is neither precise nor adequate.

SUKUMAR SEN,  
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<sup>1</sup> Vidyāpati was alive and engaged in teaching as late as 1460.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji's copy from the Cambridge MS.



